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## HAPPINESS

By Jyotirindra Ray

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## NOTES

### *Bankim Chandra Chatterjee Centenary*

The Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, the principal literary society of Bengal, celebrated the centenary of the birthday of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee in a manner quite worthy of the place which he occupies not only in Bengali literature but also in the national life of Bengal and India. Not a politician himself, he has been the inspirer of political thought and action and the influence of his writings has been felt also in the economic, social and spiritual spheres.

On the first day of the celebrations a public meeting was held at the Senate Hall. Sriyut Hirendranath Datta was quite fittingly chosen to preside over this meeting and all subsequent gatherings held in connection with the centenary. The meeting was attended by the leading personalities in the worlds of literature and education and in public life of Bengal who were present in Calcutta that day or could come from mofussil stations, some like the Poet Rabindranath Tagore and the Congress President Subhas Chandra Bose being unavoidably absent. A vast concourse of students and the general public thronged the hall. Some notable non-Bengalis were also present.

The proceedings commenced with the singing of "Bande Mataram". It was followed by Mangalācharanam in Sanskrit by Mahāmahopādhyāya Phanibhushan Tarkavagish, an auspicious introduction in the form of a prayer for the attainment of success at the beginning of all undertakings.

Messages sent by the following persons

among others were read at the meeting: Rabindranath Tagore, Subhas Chandra Bose, Amarnath Jha (Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University), Srimati Sophia Wadia, W. C. Wordsworth, Sarat Chandra Bose, Karnatak Sahitya Parishat and Gauhati Sahitya Parishat.

An excellent inaugural address, instinct with fervent patriotic feeling, was delivered by Sriyut Syamaprasad Mukherjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

He would like, said S. J. Mukherjee, to conclude his observations with one more remark. The chairman had suggested that the University should take the initiative in founding study circles among the student community for proper appreciation of Bankim's works. The chairman had also suggested that the University should organise a special examination on Bankim literature, at a nominal fee, in the month of Poush or Magh next. Those who would come out successful would receive certificates and he who would occupy the first place would be suitably rewarded. S. J. Mukherjee heartily supported the idea and hoped that there would be no difficulty for the University to accept the suggestion.

In conclusion S. J. Mukherjee prayed that the object of the celebration be crowned with success. Let no Bengalee think that he had paid his due tribute to Bankim's memory by a few days' celebrations. It would not be done until and unless the message of Bankim was preached in every hearth and home of Bengal and the Bengalee chose the proper path and built up his national life fearlessly, inspired by Bankim's message.

"Let Bengalees sink their differences, be united, be full of action and self-reliant without being dependent on any others. Bankim Chandra used to hate the coward Bengalee. If the Bengalee can stand up as a man, disregarding all obstacles, Bankim's blessings would be on Bengal and Bengalees would be able to rehabilitate themselves."—(*Amrita Bazar Patrika's* translation.)

The president, Sriyut Hirendranath Datta, then delivered his speech.

The creator of Bengali literature, observed S. J. Hirendranath Datta in the course of his address, the memory of Bankim would live for ever in the heart of the Bengalee race. Not only a novelist, Bankim Chandra was poet, philosopher, historian, litterateur, archaeologist and theologian. In fact his genius, which hardly bore any parallel, embracing a number of spheres, had considerably enriched the Bengali literature.

Today, the speaker went on, Bankim centenary was being celebrated all over the province. It was not impossible that in many cases the celebrations would end with holding of meetings and exhibitions without leaving any lasting effect. But two things which had been undertaken by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat were expected to be of permanent value. First, the Centenary edition of Bankim Chandra's entire works, of which *Kapal Kundala*, *Ananda Math*, *Dharmatattva* and *Vijnan Rahasya* had already been published. "Kamala Kanter Daptar" would soon be published. In that connection S. J. Datta referred to the munificent donation of Rs. 10,000 made for this purpose by Kumar Narasinha Malladev of Jhargram. Poet Rabindranath had wholeheartedly approved of the enterprise undertaken by the Sahitya Parishat.—*A. B. Patrika*

The president also referred to the examination to test and reward knowledge of Bankim Chandra's works, already announced by the Vice-Chancellor. The Sahitya Parishat has come into possession of what at present remains of the great author's family residence in *Kānthālpārā*, near Naihati railway station. The Parishat will get the residence properly repaired and maintain it in good condition.

The poem which Rabindranath Tagore had specially composed for the occasion was read.

Srijuktā Sarala Devi Chowdhurani related some personal reminiscences of the great author, as she had seen him about 50 years ago.

Srijut Ramananda Chatterjee made a very brief speech on the work done by Bankim Chandra as an editor and journalist.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar read a learned and convincing paper, enlivened with wit and humour, to show that Bankim Chandra was not anti-Moslem.

In the course of an article entitled "Bankim in the eyes of a non-Hindu," Maulvi Reza-ul-Karim, M.A., B.L., a noted Bengali publicist, expressed the opinion that Bankim as a man was greater than Bankim as a Hindu.

He had a great love for humanity. He felt for the humblest peasant. Today peasant movement was sweeping over the country. But fifty years ago he had written immortal words supporting their legitimate cause. He had advocated the cause of women. He had raised his voice against tyranny and oppression.

English literature without Shakespeare would dwindle into nothing. Similar was the case with the Bengali literature. Very little would remain if Bankim's contributions were left out. But it must be admitted that Bankim was greater than Shakespeare. Shakespeare did not solve any problems nor did he attempt to set up an ideal before his nation. But there was practically no problem which the great Bengalee had not dealt with. He had set up an

ideal before his countrymen which would never fail to inspire them.

Accusations might be levelled against him, said Maulvi Reza-ul-Karim, but Bankim was too great for those. He never cherished any hatred for the Muslim community. That was abundantly proved by the fact that he had never attacked Islam or its Prophet although he might have attacked certain Muslim individuals. It would be absolutely unfair to call it a hatred for the Muslims. For instance, his pen-picture of Aurangzeb could not be construed as an attack on the religion he followed. Besides that, historians were not unanimous on that point and it had not been proved that Bankim's version was wrong. He had depicted an age when tyranny, injustice and oppression reigned, and if he portrayed the oppressors, it was not because they were Muslims, but because they were oppressors.—*Amrita Bazar Patrika's* abridged translation.

Srijut Guru Saday Dutt, I.C.S., spoke next, making some telling remarks in his characteristic manner.

A Hindi poem was read. After the reading of summaries of some papers received from outside Bengal, the function came to a close for the day.

Reports of the second and third days' celebrations are summarized below from the *Hindusthan Standard*.

Kanthalpara, the birth-place of Bankim Chandra, was en fête on Sunday the 26th June, when a large number of literary men from Calcutta paid a visit to the place and held meetings in connection with Bankim Centenary celebrations.

The first batch of literary men, headed by S. J. Hirendranath Datta and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, reached Naihati station by the Chittagong Mail. Others who joined them later travelled by different local trains.

The visitors took great interest in going round Bankim Chandra's ancestral home and seeing things for themselves associated with his loving memory. Bankim Chandra's drawing-room where he composed his "Bande Mataram" and used to write for the *Bangadarshana* is located in a single-storied building and this became the centre of the greatest attraction on the occasion.

From Naihati station to Kanthalpara the parties proceeded singing the "Bande Mataram" song, attracting large crowds on the way.

At 9 o'clock in the morning a large crowd collected in the compound of the house when a public meeting was held in celebration of the Bankim Centenary. S. J. Hirendranath Datta presided over the meeting. The speakers addressed the meeting at great length on Bankim Chandra's invaluable contributions to the cause of Bengali language and literature and also to the cause of Indian nationalism.

In the evening an exhibition of the early editions of Bankim Chandra's works, interesting documents in his hand-writing etc., was opened at the 'Ramesh Bhaban' attached to the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Hall in the presence of a big gathering.

This was followed by a social gathering at the same place where recitations from Bankim Chandra's works were given.

Select scenes from Bankim Chandra's 'Kamalakanta' were also staged on the occasion.

The closing function of the centenary was marked by inclement weather. But,

In spite of pouring rain a large gathering was present at Ramesh Bhaban in Upper Circular Road on Monday evening, 27th June, at the closing function of the Bankim Birthday Centenary Celebrations. S. J. Hirendranath Datta presided.

Messages were read from Babu Rajendra Prasad and Hon'ble Mr N. Qanungo, Minister, Orissa expressing their sympathy with the organisers of the celebrations.

The proceedings commenced with the "Bande Mataam" song sung by S. J. Dilip Kumar Roy and his pupil Miss Uma Bose in a new tune

This was followed by recitations and readings from Bankim Chandra's works, the singing of a song of Ramprasad's, the singing of a Kirtan composed by Bankim Chandra and of a humorous song by the same author

Extending his hearty thanks on behalf of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad to all those who had endeavoured to make the Bankim Birthday Centenary Celebrations a success, S. J. Hirendranath Datta hoped that these celebrations would at least result in inducing the young men and women of the country to read more closely Bankim Chandra's works. Bankim Chandra passed away at the age of 56, but during this comparatively short span of life he had succeeded in laying Bengali literature under a deep debt of gratitude to him by his priceless contributions, which had no parallel in the history of the literatures of the world. The speaker had endeavoured to have some knowledge of the principal literatures of the world and he could say this that the literature produced by Bankim Chandra would occupy a prominent place in world literature. He hoped that Bengalis would not deprive themselves of the priceless legacy which had been handed down to them. They would be raising their lives to a higher and nobler plane by reading the literature produced by Bankim Chandra. Bengalis had special reasons to be proud of the fact that they could claim Bankim Chandra as one of those born in their province.

### "Bankim Parichaya"

In commemoration of the centenary of the birth of Bankim Chandra the Calcutta University has published a brochure, entitled "Bankim Parichaya", containing selections from the writings of the great Bengali novelist, with the purpose of acquainting the younger generation with the ideals he preached

### Bankim Chandra Chatterjee on Bengali Literature

It is not generally known that Bankim Chandra Chatterjee contributed an article on Bengali literature to *The Calcutta Review*, in 1871. Sriyut Manmathanath Ghosh, M.A., has enabled the *Hindusthan Standard* to re-publish it in its Bankim Centenary Number. We reproduce the concluding paragraph of the article below. Readers will bear in mind that it was written 67 years ago, and that during this period Bengali literature has made great strides.

But here must end our brief and imperfect sketch of Bengali literature—a literature which, with much that is

feeble and base and utterly worthless, yet has within it what may encourage no small degree of hope for the future. Its character is for the most part imitative, but what literature, save that of Greece, has ever been independent and original in its youth? Once and again has a voice from that holy land of beauty and truth awakened the torpid heart and mind of Western Europe. Horace himself, the most spontaneous and genuine of all the Latin poets, entertained no higher idea of originality than to make it consist in the imitatio of a new form of poetry from Greece. An imitator in those days meant an imitator of Latin authors—the imitation of Greek being almost implied in the excellence of any work. And when Europe woke again from the long sleep which followed on the dissolution of the Roman Empire, it was on the translation and imitation of Greek and Latin authors that its energies were employed. Is there no imitation in Dante himself? It may seem improbable that European ideas will ever really be assimilated by the people of India—that all we can effect here is a superficial varnish of sham intelligence. But everything cannot come in a day, and there was a time when it would have seemed almost equally improbable that the little remnant of intelligence preserved in the Latin Church, and the study of classical antiquity, would have grown into what we now see among the Celtic and Teutonic peoples of the West. The Bengalis may not seem to have the fibre for doing much in the way of real thought any more than of vigorous action; but it was chiefly among the supple and pliant Italians that the revival of learning in Europe began, and it is possible to imagine that the Bengalis—the Italians of Asia, as the *Spectator* has called them—are now doing a great work, by, so to speak, acclimatising European ideas and fitting them for reception hereafter by the hardier and more original races of Northern India.

### The "Manchester Guardian" on Indian Federation Problems

The "Manchester Guardian" writes in the course of a leading article.

"Not for the first time there are rumours of some action by the British Government to clear up the obscurities in India's political future. Many of the sanest observers in India believe that there will be an opportunity this summer, such as has not been since the War and may not be again, to settle the relations between India and Britain in a peaceful and profitable manner.

"It is believed that Indian leaders are prepared to negotiate with regard to the Federal side of the Government of India Act, that there are suitable grounds for negotiations and that such negotiations stand a reasonable chance of success.

"This optimism is still tentative. It has received no official encouragement and it has been damped, if not drowned, by Lord Zetland's Bombay Dinner speech. There is a feeling that Lord Zetland was unnecessarily brusque. If Lord Zetland's statement means "take or leave it", India will certainly leave it.

"Lord Zetland and the Viceroy have to decide whether some radically new approach to the problems of Federation—new discussions and new understandings—are not immediately necessary. If they decide that there is no such need the whole Act may crumble and nobody would care to say what the state of things in India will then be.

"There is plenty of evidence from India that it will be worth England's while to reconsider Federation. It may be said that to suggest negotiations now ignores the rights and susceptibilities of the Princes. The future, however unpalatable it may be to some people and however the

circumstances may be used to avoid admitting it, must be thought of in terms of a self-governing India and immediately that means free and equal discussions of the difficulties"

Perhaps Lord Zetland's brusque tone was adopted deliberately in order that Indian leaders might not demand any radical changes in the government scheme of federation. He seemed just to give a condescending hint that suggestions for slight alterations in it within the framework of the government scheme might be considered. Whatever the real belief of British statesmen may be, they give themselves airs of being complete masters of the situation so far as India is concerned. They would have Indians believe that they (Indians) are completely at their mercy and that the federal scheme may or may not be changed just as suits the convenience of the British people and parliament. But Indians have been seeing Britain bending the knee again and again before non-Indian armed might. It may be that is just because Britain is not yet ready for a big fight. But her possible enemies, too, are not idle. They are keeping pace with Britain or perhaps outstripping her in the race for increased armaments.

### *Indians and the Government Scheme of Federation*

As in the last great war, so in any future one, Britain must depend to a considerable extent on India's help. In the last war India helped Britain depending on the latter's good faith. In and after the hour of victory India found that she had been deceived. She is not going to be deceived again.

But the success of India's plans for winning the kind of federation she wants and freedom through or along with it, does not depend on the breaking out of a war of some great power or powers with Britain. In times of peace and by thoroughly peaceful means India can have her way. Not that Indians are spoiling for a fray, however peaceful, with Britain. They should know—many do—that they must be cautious, not over-confident, and must not indulge in bluff. But their leaders know India's great strength, too. And they will undoubtedly use it at the right time.

In the last resort, India may have recourse to civil disobedience; and it is not unthinkable that, when she does it next, the Indian sections of the services may adopt a helpful attitude, if not one of active participation.

But though we are not in the secrets of the Congress leaders, we have reasons to think that they are not at present thinking of the last re-

source. If the British Government do not modify their federal scheme in the way the Congress may suggest, the seven Congress cabinets in seven provinces and their adherents in the provincial legislatures may adopt means to make federation impracticable or at least very difficult to work. Such means are to be found in the Government of India Act itself. The Congress party in the remaining four provincial legislatures may co-operate with their fellows in the other seven, as far as they can.

### *Changes in the Federal Scheme to be Demanded*

In the meantime, as early as possible, all parties in the country should formally inform the Secretary of State for India what changes they want in the federal scheme.

Who are the parties who should do it?

There are those who will work or may feel obliged to work—however reluctantly—the federal scheme even if no change in it be made. But that does not certainly mean that they are satisfied with it. So they also should tell Lord Zetland what changes they want.

It will not do to think or say that this has been done repeatedly before. No. Repetition is the soul of agitation. The Secretary of State is not going to turn research scholar or employ research scholars to ransack the files of Indian newspapers or even the files of the India Office to find out what changes in the federal scheme this Indian party or that may have suggested in the past. So they should tell him again what they want.

The Congress or a section of it may have already informally told him through Mr. Bhulabhai Desai. And Congress may say that they are not going to petition the British Government. But it will do, if after consultation with Gandhiji, a statement of the changes demanded be published in the press.

The other parties in the country, who will not care if they be accused of pursuing a "mendicant policy," may communicate to the Secretary of State the changes which they want. To name some of them—

The All-India Women's Conference; the Indian National Liberal Federation; the Hindu Mahasabha with its branches; the Sanatan Dharma Mahamandal; the Varnashram Swarajya Sangha; and other Hindu bodies; the Muslim League and other Muslim organizations; the All-India and Provincial Christian Associations; the Siromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and other Sikh organizations, may

place their suggestions before the Secretary of State. The various commercial, industrial, Labour and Peasants' organizations may similarly make their suggestions known.

The British Government will not accept any suggestion which runs counter to British policy, or unless driven to a corner, as it were. But that is no reason why we should moderate our demands or why the world should not be apprised of any particular demand. Attention is drawn below to a few important probable ones.

The Communal Decision must be scrapped, if Indians are to live as a nation and to govern themselves according to the principles of democratic self-rule. We have repeatedly stated our objections to it from the date of its publication, and notably in our presidential address at the All-India Anti-Communal Award Conference in Bombay, and need not repeat them. Congress has declared it anti-national and anti-democratic, and should feel bound to work for its scrapping if it wants its practice to be in consonance with its profession. It got a very good opportunity for getting it substantially altered, if not altogether scrapped, when it was called upon to consider if it would accept office in the Congress majority provinces. At that time Congress ought to have made the scrapping or substantial alteration of the Communal Decision one of the conditions on which it would be prepared to accept office.

Another opportunity has now come to demand a similar change. Congress should seize it.

It is owing chiefly, if not solely, to the Communal Decision that the political unity of India under British rule has been destroyed to a great extent. The *form* of government in all the provinces may at present be the same, but the spirit is of one kind in some and of the opposite or at least a different kind in the rest. Some are governed, as far as the law permits, according to Congress principles; others according to a different policy.

Therefore, if Congress principles are to triumph in the governance of the whole of at least British India, if all the provinces are to be Congress-ruled provinces, and if the political unification of the whole country is to be completed instead of being destroyed or retarded, Congress ought to work for the scrapping of the Communal Decision. With reference to it, scrapping is the maximum demand.

**The minimum is that provincial minorities must be given the advantages which all-India minorities enjoy under it.**

Some of the other changes which should be

made in the British-made federal scheme are that there should be no dyarchy at the Centre, all subjects—including defence, foreign affairs, and the like, being placed under the charge of Ministers; that all items in the Budget should be votable; that the Chapter on Discrimination in the Government of India Act should be deleted, that the representation given to the Indian States should be proportionate to their population, that the members of the federal legislature representing the States should be elected by the people of the States, not nominated by their Rulers; that the Railways and other means of transport should be under the control of the legislature, and that the elections to the federal legislature should be direct but not through the provincial legislature.

### *Japan Fights China with Narcotics*

It was reported some time ago that Japan intended to use poison gas in her war with China, and there were some wordy Occidental protests or rumours of protests, to which Japan was not likely to attach any importance. Meanwhile another kind of poison is being used by Japan in order to unman and dehumanise the Chinese. The following account of it is given by the No-Frontier New Service of America:

London (NNS).

... For many months reports have been coming from China that the narcotics situation in China is becoming steadily worse, due to the sale of poisonous drugs by Japanese and Korean traders protected by extraterritoriality. Muriel Lester, well-known British crusader for peace and social justice, thereupon went to China to investigate a situation which she had previously studied in China. Her report of conditions is, to say the least, alarming.

The Nanking Government had ordered a vigorous fight against the traffickers and users of heroin and morphine by fixing the death penalty for salesmen and incurable addicts. All of this work has now being nullified by the Japanese, apparently for the purpose of demoralizing the Chinese population and making it unfit to fight the Japanese invaders.

The Japanese themselves no longer carry on this trade but have transferred it to Korean agents who operate under Japanese protection. These drug salesmen operate openly through countless "joints" and Muriel Lester encountered no difficulty whatever in purchasing the demoralizing narcotics in a dozen different places.

In Peking many small clinics have been opened by the Japanese which advertise the various diseases which they cure. These are nothing but drug dispensaries which take this way of operating since the "joints" were closed up. At village fairs similar clinics have been set up which promise to cure tuberculosis and other diseases. They dispense nothing but heroin and morphine and when the patient returns feeling worse after his first treatment he is told to persist in the use of the "medicines" sold to him.

Drug pedlars in large numbers follow the Japanese



armies and go to work on the Chinese population in the conquered territory. A foreign Christian remonstrated with Korean drug runners and asked them: "Why do you come to China?" "We were sent here", was the reply. "Why do you ply this trade?" "That was the part assigned to us", they explained.

### *Insulting and Humiliating China's Womanhood*

Japan has bombed many places in China from the air, killing thousands of women, children and non-combatant men and wounding, maiming and disabling larger numbers of the civilian population. China is a vast and densely populated country. The death of even a few millions will not depopulate it. Yet, massacre is massacre everywhere, and cannot but be felt as a cruel blow.

But worse far than the slaughter of innocents are the outrage and humiliation, worse than death, to which girls and women are being subjected in some areas in China. They are being stripped naked and compelled to expose themselves while being photographed by Japanese cameramen in this condition. We have received photographs from a reliable source, showing girls and women in this condition. They are not fit for reproduction, nor have they been sent to us for that purpose. They were meant to be seen by the Congress President, to whose Calcutta address we sent them on June 11 from Ghatsila in a registered closed cover, containing a covering letter and some appeals for help on behalf of China.

### *Appeals For Help to China*

China stands sorely in need of medical and other help, as the documents sent through us to the Congress President show. Other documents are expected early and will be forwarded to him as soon as received.

### *Disastrous Floods in China*

Coming on top of the destructive war waged by Japan in China, the recent floods have caused a havoc which is staggering in its immensity. More than a hundred thousand have been swept off and many times that huge number have been thrown into dire distress. Chiang Kai-shek and other Chinese leaders remain undaunted in the face of this calamity. If the floods have in any way embarrassed the Japanese armies, they may be considered as a kind of natural help received unexpectedly by the Chinese.

Their patriotism and firm resolve are beyond all praise.

### *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in Spain*

As one who has been three president of the Indian National Congress and who throughout his political career, whether in office or not, has been enthusiastically active in the cause of India's freedom and independence, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is sure to be accorded a very warm reception by all lovers of liberty wherever he may go. Such has been his reception in Spain. He has been quite close to the front in that country. He has been struck by the calm fortitude of the people and the regular and methodical way in which they have been going about their daily work though exposed to imminent danger. The republican government of Spain appeared to be sure of ultimate victory, and he shares their confidence. The Spanish Government, he thinks, has now a better army than at the beginning of the war.

### *Gandhi-Jinnah Correspondence*

The Gandhi-Jinnah correspondence has been published. We have read all the letters, but now know no more of what Mr. Jinnah wants for the Muslim community than we did before we read them. What he wants for himself and the Moslem League, we could guess before reading these letters, and the correspondence confirms that guess. He wants the Moslem League to be considered the sole representative organization of the whole Mussalman community and to be considered equal to the Congress. He wants himself to be recognized as *at least* as great a leader as any other Indian leader.

Gandhi's letters make distressing reading.

### *Jinnah-Nehru Correspondence*

The letters which have passed between Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in connection with what has come to be known as Unity Talks, have been published in the press. Their publication has been pronounced unauthorized by Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The News Agency which was responsible for their publication has offered a public apology for their publication and explained how it came about. Mr. Jinnah has characterized it as a breach of confidence. Technically, perhaps, all these three politicians may be right. But we do not see what harm



has been done by the public coming to know what actually passed between Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Jawaharlal. On the contrary, the correspondence must have led even many Congressmen to wonder why after the receipt of so many non-committal letters from Mr. Jinnah, the Congress High Command continued to cherish any hope of a settlement with the Moslem League, or, what is the same thing, with Mr. Jinnah. Those whose attitude towards the Congress is friendly admire the optimism of the Congress High Command. What critics of the Congress think need not be investigated by us. We have been struck by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's extreme courtesy and his continued effort not only not to give offence to Mr. Jinnah but also to be as forbearing and accommodating as possible. He was also able to suppress the least inclination to take offence even when it would not have been unnatural or unjustifiable to do so.

Mr. Nehru's observations on Mr. Jinnah's fourteen points are fair, clear and convincing.

Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel has expressed the view that the Congress High Command know best when to publish documents of public interest. Certainly, when they are in exclusive possession of such documents, they are the best judges when and how to publish them. But all newspaper editors are not to be presumed to be irresponsible men, not competent to decide what ought or ought not to be published in the public interest. Any correspondence of Congress leaders relating to public matters, not marked confidential, may be published in newspapers without any reference to the Congress High Command, if the editors think such publication to be in the public interest, or at least not likely to affect such interest prejudicially. None of the letters included in the Nehru-Jinnah correspondence was marked confidential.

Many influential and respectable newspapers have published even confidential state documents and have sometimes rendered public service thereby. And sometimes these newspapers have not been very scrupulous as to the means adopted for getting hold of these documents.

The Gandhi-Jinnah and Jinnah-Nehru letters were not state documents and were not marked confidential. Nor were they of a private or personal character.

We think their publication has promoted the interest of the country, though the time and energy spent on them could have been used to better purpose.

### *A Suggested Preliminary to Unity Talks*

In the current number of *Prabasi*, published on the 15th June last, we have suggested that instead of allowing Mr. Jinnah to press the Congress to recognize the Moslem League as the sole Moslem organization representative of the entire Mussalman community, Congress might and should have asked all Moslem representative bodies, including the Moslem League, to settle among themselves first which Moslem body, if any, was to be considered as representative of the whole community. But if they thought that no single body represented the whole community, then the next thing for the Congress to do would have been to ask all these Moslem bodies to choose their representatives—one each, and Congress could have carried on negotiations with these representative Mussalmans.

### *Mr. Jinnah's and Moslem League's Representative Character*

Congress could not have recognized the Moslem League as a body and the only body representing the entire Muhammadan community. Such recognition would have been based on an obvious falsehood, and it would have been suicidal on the part of Congress. It is a national, not a communal, organization. Its recognition of the Moslem League as the sole representative of the entire Muslim community of India would have meant that it had no right to enrol Moslem members and consequently that the Moslem members already on its rolls had no business to be there. This would have gone against the national character of Congress. It would have been reduced to the position of an organization of a somewhat communal character entitled to have only Hindu and other non-Moslem members. But its right to enlist even these latter was subject to Mr. Jinnah's challenge; for he wanted Congress to declare that it was negotiating with him on behalf of the Hindu community.

As a matter of fact many Moslem bodies and many notable Mussalmans have denied the Moslem League's sole representative character.

### *Equality of Congress and Moslem League*

Mr. Jinnah has all along been insisting that Congress should always carry on conversations with the Moslem League on a footing of equality. It can be treated as a just demand if it means that Congress was not to dictate to the Moslem League, that the latter would be perfectly free

to offer any terms of settlement it liked, and that it would also be perfectly free to accept or reject any terms offered by Congress. But it is not true in the ordinary sense or senses that the Moslem League as an organization is equal to Congress as an organization.

Congress is a national, non-communal organization, drawing its members from all the races and religious communities inhabiting India and from all classes of them. The Moslem League is a communal organization, enrolling only Moslems as members.

Congress can enrol members from the more than 350 million inhabitants of India. The Moslem League can enlist members only from the Indian Muslim community some 80 millions strong.

Congress claims to have more than 30 lakhs of members. The Moslem League has not perhaps as many hundred members, and certainly not as many thousand. It is said the Moslem members of Congress alone number more than a lakh.

Congress has from the very beginning striven for the good of all Indians and for the freedom of the whole of India—of all Indians. Its political goal was for long freedom of the kind enjoyed by the British Dominions, but latterly it has been independence. The Moslem League has only recently verbally accepted India's independence as its goal.

Numerous members of Congress have made great sacrifices and undergone great sufferings, many dying in the process, in order to bring India nearer the goal of independence. The Moslem League has done nothing of the kind.

Congress has set its heart particularly on the economic and other welfare of the masses of India, irrespective of their creed and caste, and the Congress ministries in the seven provinces under their charge have been striving by legislation and other means to further this object. The Moslem League has not identified itself either in word or deed even with the Moslem masses—not to speak of the Indian masses in general.

The difference between Congress and the Moslem League can be further elaborated. But more need not be said to show the utter absurdity of Mr. Jinnah's demand that the Moslem League should be recognized as equal to Congress—except, of course, in the limited sense explained in the first few lines of this note.

No organization which is communal, in any sense, can be treated on a footing of equality by Congress except in that sense.

### *Mr. Subhas Bose's Reaction to "Manchester Guardian's" Comments*

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President, said in the course of an interview with a press representative on the 22nd June last in connection with the comments of the *Manchester Guardian* on the problems of Indian Federation:

"India will never accept any ties with Great Britain which may be forced on her against her will. But she may contemplate friendly and cordial relations with the latter through a treaty voluntarily signed by her."

He continued:

"I must say at the very outset that I do not know of any Indian leaders being prepared to negotiate with regard to the federal side of the Government of India Act. I had made it clear more than once that mere amendments of the Government of India Act will not meet the demands of the Indian people. What they stand for is the substitution of the Act by a constitution framed by the Indian people through their representatives."

"The framing of such a constitution need not be such a difficult task as some may be disposed to think. To use the words of the *Manchester Guardian*, what is wanted on the British side is a 'radically new approach'—not merely to the problems of federation but to the problem of India as a whole. That radically new approach will consist, as suggested by the *Guardian*, in visualising the future in terms of a self-governing India by which I mean free India. If the British Government can treat the Indian people as a free nation, it should not take more than 24 hours to settle the outstanding differences between India and Great Britain."

"I do not say this in a light-hearted manner. I am fully conscious of the many thorns in the path of Indo-British conciliation, but what I am urging is that once the Indian people acquire the status of a free nation, they or their representatives will not take long to make any adjustments which may be found necessary to establish a lasting peace and good-will between the two countries."

"As I have made it clear before I am not opposed to the idea of federation as such; rather I believe that free India will have a constitution that will be federal in character. But that federation cannot grow out of the present federal scheme. It must be an entirely new constitution to replace the latter."—(A. P. I.)

Mr. Bose has said that he does not know of "any Indian leaders (he meant, most probably, of the Congress party) being prepared to negotiate with regard to the federal side of the Government of India Act." We cannot pretend to know more. Whether he has come to know of any such leaders during his recent visit to Segaoon and Wardha after his East Bengal tour, has not yet been published. What we presume is that the resolution passed some time ago by the Madras Assembly suggesting that the Government of India Act should be amended in consultation with Indian leaders to make federation workable, taken with Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's recent visit to England, makes it probable that there are leaders who may not be

unwilling to take part in the kind of negotiations referred to by Mr. Bose.

He has spoken as a thoroughgoing nationalist and independentist. We quite appreciate his point of view. The principles underlying his observations should not be lost sight of. Their repetition is necessary to gain his object. But in practical politics the point of view of those who may be for a temporary compromise with the upholders of imperialism requires also to be taken into consideration. What we mean is that just as there are numerous Congressmen (not to speak of others) who are entirely against the Communal Decision but who have nevertheless acquiesced in its practical temporary acceptance by Congress, and just as there are members of Congress who were and still are opposed in theory to the acceptance of office but who have ceased to oppose it in practice and are directly or indirectly working the provincial part of the Constitution on certain conditions, so there may be those who may agree to the working of the federal part of the constitution for the time being, if certain changes in the Government scheme were made.

This may be "reformism". But as Congress has adopted reformist strategy with regard to so-called "provincial autonomy", it may adopt that sort of tactics with regard to federation also. Gandhiji's declaration that the parliamentary mentality has come to stay, may smack of reformism, but his political goal remains the same as it was when he was an active leader of civil disobedience in practice.

Mr. De Valera followed revolutionary methods when they were practicable. He has been following reformist methods since some time past. But his goal, his ideal, remains unchanged.

### *The Defence of India*

*The Guardian* of Madras is right in observing:

At no time in the history of the British connection with India has the defence problem assumed such importance as today. In the past it was assumed that the arm of the British Navy was long enough and strong enough to protect her shores. But in a modern war, as it will be waged, the Navy's strength has been very largely discounted by aircraft. Many Indians are asking the question whether India can defend herself in the event of a war say by Japan against Britain. The answer cannot be doubtful for a moment. She is absolutely helpless and the British Navy will find itself fully occupied in the European waters. Every Indian politician is conscious of this dreadful possibility but thinks that Providence will interfere on her behalf. The Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri had this desperate position of India in mind when in his concluding speech after Mr. F. E. James' platitudes,

he reproached Great Britain for her neglect of India's defence. Britain's want of confidence in Indian nationalists is likely to take not only India but herself to the verge of disaster, if not irremediable ruin.

### *The New-Old Bengal Cabinet*

Mr. Fazlul Huq, Bengal's chief minister, wanted to get rid of Mr. Nausher Ali, one of his colleagues, and in this he had the support of his other colleagues. He called upon Mr. Nausher Ali to resign. This the latter refused to do. So the device was adopted of the chief minister and nine of his colleagues resigning in a body. Then Mr. Nausher Ali, too, resigned. The resignations were accepted, and the Governor of Bengal (Lord Brabourne, at present officiating Governor-General) now asked Mr. Fazlul Huq to form a cabinet. He, of course, formed it with his faithful nine.

The correspondence between the chief minister and Mr. Nausher Ali has been published in the press. There are also additional statements and counter-statements, and that not by these men alone. We do not want to discuss who was wrong or who was right, or whether all were to blame. It is not necessary in the public interest to do so.

The work of the Bengal Cabinet has not given the least satisfaction to the Bengal public. Mr. Fazlul Huq's outbursts have evoked comments which need not be repeated. In calling upon the same Mr. Fazlul Huq to form a cabinet, Lord Brabourne has shown that he does not care a straw for public opinion. Or perhaps he was nonplussed by the situation and in his hurry to take charge of his new (temporary) office, he had recourse to the easiest device. We cannot, of course, suggest the name of any person whom he might have asked to form a cabinet. But he had an opportunity to at least try to give Bengal a better ministry. He failed to avail himself of it.

### *Mahatma Gandhi's Suggested Peace Brigade*

Mahatma Gandhi has contributed to *Harijan* an article on "A Peace Brigade" whose members would be expected to risk their lives in dealing with riots, especially those of a communal character. His idea is that this brigade should be a substitute for the police and even for the military. "This reads ambitious. The achievement may prove impossible." "Yet," says he, "if the Congress is to succeed in its non-violent struggle, it must develop the power to deal peacefully with such situations."

Communal riots are engineered by politically-minded men. Many of those who take part in them are under the influence of the latter. Surely it should not be beyond the wit of Congressmen to devise a method or methods of avoiding ugly communal situations by peaceful means.

I say this irrespective of whether there is or there is not a communal pact. It cannot be that any party seeks to force a pact by violent means. Even if such a pact were a possibility, it would not be worth the paper on which it might be written. For, behind such a pact, there will be no common understanding. What is more, even after a pact is arrived at, it would be too much to expect that there would never be any communal riots.

Gandhiji states the qualifications a member of the contemplated Peace Brigade should possess.

(1) He or she must have a living faith in non-violence. This is impossible without a living faith in God. A non-violent man can do nothing save by the power and grace of God. Without it, he will not have the courage to die without anger, without fear, and without retaliation. Such courage comes from the belief that God sits in the hearts of all and that there should be no fear in the presence of God.

The knowledge of the omnipresence of God also means respect for the lives of even those who may be called opponents or *goondas*. This contemplated intervention is a process of stilling the fury of man when the brute in him gets the mastery over him.

(2) This messenger of peace must have equal regard for all the principal religions of the earth. Thus, if he is a Hindu he will respect the other faiths current in India. He must, therefore, possess a knowledge of the general principles of the different faiths professed in the country.

(3) Generally speaking, this work of peace can only be done by local men in their own localities.

(4) The work can be done singly or in groups. Therefore, no one need wait for companions. Nevertheless, one would naturally seek companions in one's own locality and form a local brigade.

(5) This messenger of peace will cultivate through personal service contacts with the people in his locality or chosen circle, so that when he appears to deal with ugly situations he does not descend upon the members of a riotous assembly as an utter stranger liable to be looked upon as a suspect or an unwelcome visitor.

(6) Needless to say, a peace bringer must have a character beyond reproach and must be known for his strict impartiality.

(7) Generally, there are previous warnings of coming storms. If these are known the Peace Brigade will not wait till the anticipated conflagration breaks out.

(8) Whilst, if the movement spreads, it might be well if there are some wholtime workers, it is not absolutely necessary that there should be. The idea is to have as many good and true men and women as possible. These can be had only if volunteers are drawn from those who are engaged in various walks of life but have leisure enough to cultivate friendly relations with the people living in their circle and otherwise possess the qualifications required of a member of the Peace Brigade.

(9) There should be a distinctive dress worn by the members of the contemplated Brigade so that in course of time they will be recognised without the slightest difficulty.

These are Gandhiji's general suggestions. He thinks each centre can work out its own constitution on the basis suggested in the article.

He adds a few words of warning:

Lest false hopes should be raised, I must warn workers against entertaining the hope that I can play any active part in the formation of Peace Brigades. I have not the health, energy or time for it. I find it hard enough to cope with the tasks I dare not shirk. I can only guide and make suggestions through correspondence or through these columns. Therefore, let those who appreciate the idea and feel they have the ability, take the initiative themselves. I know that the proposed Brigade has great possibilities and that the idea behind it is quite capable of being worked out in practice.

### *Non-violence as a Weapon of Defence*

Dr Kalidas Nag on his way back from Poona to Calcutta last month broke journey at Wardha to see Mahatma Gandhi. In the course of the conversation the question was asked whether non-violence could be used as a weapon of defence. Dr. Nag wished some day Gandhiji could work out the formula of non-violence as a means of defence. Mr. Mahadev Desai has given an account of the interview in *Harijan*. He writes:

"What, for instance, can China do?" he asked. I ventured to reply that the answer had already been given. I said he would offer the same advice as he had offered to Abyssinia and that whereas it seemed impossible for Abyssinia to accept the advice, it should not seem impossible in case of China. For China could afford to sacrifice a few million people on the altar of non-violence. Flood and famine periodically decimate vast tracts of China. Why not offer a voluntary sacrifice of millions? That would stagger even the violence-ridden humanity.

Mr. Desai has given an extract from what Gandhiji wrote in *The Cosmopolitan* of New York three years ago, concluding with the sentence:

"If one great nation were unconditionally to perform the supreme act of renunciation, many of us would see in our life-time visible peace established on earth."

With every desire to believe that it is possible to have universal peace on earth and freedom for all countries we want light to see whether this supreme act of renunciation would enable the nation to keep its freedom.

Without knowing what Gandhiji wrote in *The Cosmopolitan* we could imagine that it was possible for some great nation to perform this great act of sacrifice. We wrote in our notes in the last May number, page 601:

"We can imagine that for the promotion and realization of the ideal of non-violence by nations in their collective capacity, some nation may have to risk its independence and even lose it. But such supreme sacrifice, to be genuine and effective, must be made by a powerful and brave nation."

### *The Will to Violence*

While Gandhiji has been trying to convince people that non-violence is desirable and

possible in all intra-national and international relations and affairs, there are influences and forces in India making for violence.

For example, at a recent conference of political workers in Jessore, so much violence was used that, not to speak of those who sustained more or less serious injuries, a boy of 15 or 16 actually died in hospital in consequence of *lath*-blows received on his head.

In the *Pioneer* of June 4 last there is a report of the proceedings of a Youth Conference at Unao, U.P. There an ex-Kakori case prisoner, in the course of a speech "condemned the Congress ministries and strongly criticized the policy of non-violence, as he thought that Swarajya could not be attained by that method." We had read in the papers that the Kakori prisoners had been released on the understanding that they had become disbelievers in violence—that in any case they would not preach violence. Is the *Pioneer's* report correct? Here is an extract from that report.

From early morning *husans* armed with lathies and red flags began to pour into the city in pursuance of the declaration of the conveners of the Conference that prizes would be given for the best lathies.

Inflammatory speeches condemning Congress ministries and criticizing Mahatma Gandhi's policy of non-violence, were delivered.

The report adds that a big procession, in which communist leaders with red flags took the lead, "paraded the streets of the city with slogans," and the slogans were, *lath zindabad* ("Long live *lath* or cudgel"), *sircar ka nash ho* ("May Government perish"), etc.

### "Progress of the Sino-Japanese Conflict"

The mid-May number of *Foreign Policy Reports* concludes with the following paragraph:

Notwithstanding the possibility of a sudden collapse of organized Chinese resistance, the prospects for a stalemate appear to be increasing. Even if the Chinese Government should be driven back from the coast and from Hankow, it may conceivably succeed in organizing an almost self-sufficient semi-military state in the unconquered interior which would be an important source of resistance to Japan. And whatever the fate of the Chiang Kai-shek regime, Japan's civilian and military leaders openly state that it will be years before Chinese opposition can be completely eradicated from the areas now held by its armies. Meanwhile, the first flush of war enthusiasm in Japan is being displaced by the grim realization that the nation faces a period of extreme economic and political strain. The local incident of July 7, 1937, has thus become the prelude to a fateful war in the Far East.

### Muslim Marriage Law

*Sadhana* of Cocanada writes:

A Bill to consolidate the provisions of the Muslim Law relating to suits by married Muslim women for

dissolution of marriage and to remove doubts as to the effect of apostasy of a married Muslim woman on her marriage was discussed before the Central Legislative Assembly at the instance of Mr. Kazim whose motion for circulation of the Bill received Government support. But the Hon'ble Sir N. N. Sutar, the Law Member of the Government of India, while according his support for the motion for circulation pointed out the serious aspect of the Bill.

He said that the position, if the Bill became law, would be "to enable a Muslim woman to retain the marital tie with her husband. It has been held by High Courts that if a Hindu wife became a Muslim she was entitled to call on her Hindu husband to embrace Islam and if he refused, she could get the marriage dissolved. But if she married a Muslim husband and then reconverted herself to Hinduism, then according to the Bill, she had no right to dissolve the marriage with the Muslim husband. The Muslims thus would have it both ways and it might be regarded as a hardship by other communities." We hope that if the Bill is to be finally passed into law, it would be relieved of such objectionable features as would be felt as hardships in the practical working of it, by one community or the other.

### "Vive la roti" or "Roti Zindabad"

*The Living Age* for June gives a translation of an article in *Vendredi*, a Paris weekly, on the writings on the walls of the public buildings and subways of Paris. These are written by street urchins, soldiers off duty, etc. A passage is quoted below.

Godfrey and I made a little survey of the Parisian inscriptions. 'What can be the meaning,' Godfrey asked me, stopping before the Pavilion of Flowers, 'of *Vive le roti*, (Long live the roast)?' I have read this inscription very often and I must confess that I don't understand this culinary enthusiasm.

'It is only a *Vive le Roi*, the slogan of the French Royalists, which has been tampered with slightly,' I explained. 'The *r* has been made into *t* and another *i* has been added. Almost all the *Rois* in France have been changed into *Rotis*.'

"*Roti*" in Hindi, "*Ruti*" in Bengali, means bread. So in our country the hungry masses may adopt the slogan, "*Roti Zindabad*" or "Long live bread"!

### Rabindranath Tagore's Message to China

The following is the full text of Rabindranath Tagore's message to the people of China, which was sent to them through Professor Tan Yuan-Shan, Director of the Sino-Indian Cultural Society, at Visvabharati, and which has been recently handed to Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and broadcast all over China at his desire:

"Your neighbouring nation, which is largely indebted to you for the gift of your cultural wealth and therefore should naturally cultivate your comradeship for its own ultimate benefit, has suddenly developed a virulent infection of imperialistic rapacity imported from the West and turned the great chance of building the bulwark of a noble destiny in the East into a dismal disaster. Its

loud bluster of power, its ruthless orgy of indiscriminate massacre of life, demolition of education centres, its callous defiance of all civilised codes of humanity, has brought humiliation upon the modern spirit of Asia that is struggling to find its honoured place in the forefront of the modern age. It is all the more unfortunate, because some of the proud powers of the West, tottering under the burden of their bloated prosperity, are timidly condoning the blood-shedden politics of the standard-bearers of their own highly reputed civilization, humbly bending their knees at the altar of indecent success that has blasted some time-honoured citadels of sacred human rights.

"At this desperate age of moral upset it is only natural for us to hope that the Continent which has produced the two greatest men, Buddha and Christ, in the whole course of human events, must still fulfil its responsibility to maintain the purest expression of character in the teeth of the scientific effrontery of the evil genius of man. Has not that expectation already shown its first luminous streak of fulfilment in the person of Gandhi in a historical horizon obscured by centuries of indignity? However, Japan has cynically refused its own great possibility, its noble heritage of 'bushido' and has offered a most painful disillusionment to us in an unholy adventure, which through even some apparent success of hers is sure to bend her down to the dust, loaded with a fatal burden of failure.

"Our only consolation lies in the hope that the deliberate aggression of violence that has assailed your country will bear a sublime meaning in the heroic suffering it causes in a promise of the birth of a new soul of the nation. You are the only great people in the world who never had the snobbishness of extolling the military power as one of the glorious characteristics of national spirit, and when the same brute force of militarism with its hideous efficiency has overtaken your country, we pray with all our heart that you may come out of this trial once again to be able to justify your trust in the true heroism of higher humanity in this cowardly world ready to prove traitor to its own best ideals. Even if a mere physical success be immediately missed by you, yet your moral gain will never be lost and the seeds of victory that are being sown through this terrible struggle in the depth of your being will over and over again prove their deathlessness."—(*United Press*)

### *King Farouq To Be Caliph ?*

Since the overthrow of the Sultanate of Turkey the Islamic world has had no Caliph. The problem of the Caliphate has been revived in Egypt. King Farouq of that country is an aspirant to that high office. It is said that Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Yemen and other Arabian States have no objection to recognize him as Caliph and that Afghanistan and some other Muslim states are to be shortly consulted. We are under the impression that it is only a fully independent and very powerful Mussalman monarch who can be Caliph. If this impression be correct, does the young Egyptian King answer to this description?

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or, If her husband changes his religion;

or, If her husband marries a woman, while the first marriage is in force;

or, If her husband has deserted her for a continuous period of three years.

#### AIMS AND OBJECTS

Cases are occurring frequently in India in which a married Hindu woman's life is made unbearable under circumstances brought about by her husband. The Bill aims at removing some of these, recognising that a Hindu wife has a human personality.

Some bigamous or polygamous husbands may be only too eager to get rid of their first wife or wives. So, the Bill should provide that, until and unless a wife who has obtained a divorce under the proposed law actually remarries after divorce, the husband shall remain liable to maintain her according to his pecuniary position.

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Provided that this section shall not apply to a marriage contracted by a Hindu, where, by law or custom, dissolution of marriage is permissible and has been granted by competent authority.

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#### STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS

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Flagrant cases of the abuse of this liberty given to men under the Hindu Law have come to light during recent years. In order to prevent the growth of such an evil, it is desirable to restrain polygamous marriages among Hindus by law.

### *Mr. Nehru at British House of Commons*

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The feeling in England two and a half years ago was that the Indian question had been settled. That feeling was based on an erroneous conception, because the Indian question to-day was bigger than it had been at any time in the past. There were at the moment enormous potentialities for good or evil. India was passing through a period in which the forces of conflict were not obvious—there was no civil disobedience, etc.—but beneath the surface there was great tension and the feeling that great changes must come.

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were against the abolition of the zamindari system.

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or factory because of strikes cannot lead to any improvement in their material condition but rather to its deterioration.

We do not write in this vein to even indirectly wink at sweating and profiteering, but only to induce in the minds of both capital and labour a reasonable spirit of compromise—of give and take, it being understood that generally speaking it is capital which is in a position to give.

### *Romain Rolland on India's Role in The World Crisis*

About the beginning of this year Mr. Syamaprasad Mukherjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, sent an invitation to M. Romain Rolland on behalf of the University to give a series of lectures in Calcutta under its auspices. Mr. Mukherjee has received the following reply from the great French novelist, idealist and intellectual:

"I am grateful for the honour the University of Calcutta has done by inviting me through you to deliver lectures at Calcutta. I am so very pleased to get the invitation, which means visiting your dear country, which I love and honour. Unfortunately, as my present state of health cannot stand the long voyage and the sudden climatic change, I cannot accept your invitation. I am really very sorry for this.

"In the world crisis, it is in India I repose my absolute faith for the emancipation of the human race, and the thought of her awakening fills me with delight. Please convey to the Syndicate of the University my gratitude and my regret for inability to accept the invitation."

In times past India produced men and women fit to take a leading part in the world's emancipation. Their spirit is still an inspiration to Indians and others who know them. In our times also there have been and still are a few persons who belong to this band of emancipators.

But if India is to effectively play the part which M. Romain Rolland expects her to play, she must herself be emancipated not only politically but also in spirit. Her children must purge themselves of sectarianism, fanaticism and provincial narrowness, as well as of crass materialism and lust of the flesh.

### *India's Role in World Politics*

This issue of *The Modern Review* contains an article on "Present Trend of British Foreign Policy" by Dr. Taraknath Das, who is considered an authority on world politics. In the *New York Sun*, of March 8, 1938, Mr. Lemuel F. Paston, a well-known American journalist, wrote to the effect that about a year ago Dr. Das prophesied the inevitability of an Anglo-Italian pact. More than a year before the out-

break of the present Sino-Japanese war, Dr. Das, in his article on "Peace or War in the Far East" published in the *Calcutta Review* for January 1937 predicted the possible development of the present unfortunate situation between Japan and China. Now Dr. Das presents a picture of British foreign policy which may surprise many people. Britain is following a policy which would lead to a Russo-Japanese and a Russo-German war, and at the same time Britain is trying to use Italy, Germany and Japan at the present time to further the interests of British Imperialism in Asia, Africa and Europe.

At the present time the duty of Indian statesmen is to establish international friendship with potential rivals of British Imperialism as well as with the States which are equal partners in the British Commonwealth of Nations, if the latter aim is attainable.

One practical (not ideal) issue should be considered by Indian statesmen: If Britain with her might (the largest navy, a powerful air force and army) with her alliance with France and with the support of the United States, feels it to be unwise to count the antagonism of Italy, Germany and Japan, would it be wise for weak nationalist India to antagonise these powers?

(Of course we are for China's freedom and also we are for freedom and justice for all peoples. We are opposed to all forms of dictatorships. But should we advocate a policy which will make Russia, Italy, Germany, Japan and other countries enemies of India?)

What can India do to check the march of dictatorships all over the world, when the Indian people cannot free themselves in India itself? Any policy that will create opposition to Indian freedom in Italy, Germany, Japan and other lands will be detrimental to Indian interests and strengthen British hold on India. Should Indian statesmen pursue any policy which will bring about comparative isolation of India in world politics? India needs allies in world politics. India requires statesmen who will work for a new alignment of Powers in which India will play her part and thus further the cause of Indian freedom and world freedom. Have our leaders any real programme to strengthen India's position in world politics? Are they working to make India a deciding factor in future developments in world politics?—If they are, then what is their programme to increase the (military) power of nationalist India?

## EDITOR'S COMMENT

India ought certainly to try her utmost to enlist the sympathies of freedom-loving persons of all nations. Even in countries which are dominated by militarist and imperialist dictators or by imperialist and militarist parties, there must be at least small groups of persons who sympathize with India's aspirations and the spirit of her culture and civilization. It may not be possible to win the friendship of the whole body of the people of every country; but Indians in general, and particularly Indian leaders, journalists and other publicists, should be on their guard against passing sweeping adverse judgments upon the whole body of the people of even aggressive predatory countries.

It is not possible perhaps not to incur the displeasure of some foreign dictators. But even in their case, only their policies and pronouncements need be criticized. Personalities should be avoided.

As for India pursuing a policy which may win for her allies among foreign nations—whether rivals of Britain or not, unhappily Indian statesmen have at present only very limited powers in provincial affairs alone. Even when the federal part of the constitution comes into operation, Indian leaders and members of the federal legislature will not have any control over foreign affairs—unless, of course, the Government of India Act be suitably amended, which does not seem likely. All that Indian leaders can do is to influence world political thought by means of the spoken and the written word.

As regards increasing India's military power for *National* purposes, Indian leaders can do nothing in the matter. For half a century or more, Indian leaders have carried on agitation for Indianizing the army and making the Indian section of the army more efficient and representative of all the provinces of the country. But the British Government have practically turned a deaf ear to Indian public opinion. British imperialists do not want to have an efficient and all-India army manned and officered by Indians, even on the condition that it is to be completely under the control of the British executive government in India. Hence in India's present political status, the increase of Indian *Nationalist* military strength is out of the question.

Whether India should at all have a land army, a navy and an air force, or bend all her energies to the raising of a Peace Brigade (as Gandhiji suggests), we do not try to discuss here.

### *Message Sent to Prague P.E.N. Congress By Srimati Sophia Wadia*

Srimati Sophia Wadia, who founded the P.E.N. India Centre in 1933 and represented India at the International Congress held in Barcelona and Buenos Aires in 1935 and 1936, respectively, cabled from Ootacamund the following message to the 16th International Congress of the P.E.N. Clubs of the leading writers of the world, meeting in Prague, Czechoslovakia, from the 26th to the 30th of June:—

"May the Congress radiate good will for the healing of the nations and uphold freedom as the inspiration of creative expression."

### *"Indiana"*

*The Indian P.E.N* writes .

The Editor of *Indiana*, Sjt S. C. Guha of Benares, makes a strong point in his March issue for the establishment of "copyright deposit" libraries in India. Even the Imperial Library at Calcutta, he claims, has not a set of all copyright publications. He suggests that if matters cannot be mended at present through official channels, the proposal originally made in 1922 for a "Library of Congress" should be considered. The latter suggestion has much to commend it. That proposal involved the Congress's requesting all printing presses to submit three copies of each new publication to the local Congress office, one to be retained there, one to go to the Provincial Congress office and one to the Central Library of Congress at the A. I. C. C. Office. It ought never to be necessary to go to London to consult the British Museum copy of a publication issued in this country.

We may mention incidentally that *Indiana* itself, a current index to periodicals other than daily papers, represents a valuable bibliographic service of which every Indian library and every Indian scholar should take advantage. We understand that it is published at considerable financial loss to its well-qualified and able editor. It is of considerable present and potentially greater value and a subsidy from some Indian philanthropist to insure its continuance and growth would be a service to Indian education and Indian culture.

We fully support this observation.

### *President Masaryk on the Ethical Basis of Politics*

According to the late President Masaryk, the maker of the Czechoslovakian republic:

"No state or policy can prosper unless the ground-work is moral. The ethical basis of all politics is humanity, and humanity is an international programme. It is a new word for the old love of our fellow-men.

"No state can be managed without recognition of the ethical basis of politics, and no state can long stand if it infringes the broad rules of human morality. The Greeks and Romans declared justice to be the foundation of states; and justice is the arithmetic of love."

No political party or religious community in India is as yet at the helm of the State. But

Indian political leaders of some party or other are expected at no distant date to guide the destiny of India—humanly speaking. Hence all our political parties and politicians should pay great attention to the ethical basis of politics.

Communal riots and political rowdiness at meetings show that the men responsible for them have no regard for "humanity."

State patronage influenced by communal or provincial considerations show that the dispensers of such patronage have little regard for "justice".

Educational facilities extended or withheld on provincial or communal considerations betray the same lack of a sense of justice.

The relations between the sexes form a notable part of ethics. Unhappily even matters of sexual morals are in India considered from communal or political party points of view. Some rightly condemn abduction, kidnapping and other offences against women, others appear to hold a different kind of opinion. For this reason crimes against women, traffic in women and children and commercialized vice, far from being put a stop to, cannot even be checked.

The party spirit—whether communal or political, betrayed in the C. P. minister's case and the N-W. F. abductor teacher's case, is a deplorable instance in point.

Coming nearer home, the Calcutta Corporation lady teacher scandal indicates the presence of degraded and degrading party spirit.

### *A Fallacy of Karl Marx*

Professor Gilbert Murray observes in his lectures on "Liberalism and Civilization" that "perhaps the greatest and the most infectious of all the fallacies of Karl Marx" is "the theory that all human action, or at any rate all collective action, is based on the pursuit of direct material interest." The Professor gives his reasons for this opinion.

"It is an idea which, like many others widely current at the present day, owes its success not to its truth, not even to its appearance of truth when exposed to criticism, but to two particular plausibilities. In the first place, it fulfils a wish, in the second, it is supported by crowds and crowds of instances in ordinary life. I should compare it with Christian Science or with Anti-Semitism. Christian Science tells us that all illness is imaginary and unreal. Well, we should love to think so, and we all of us have met with people who spend their time worrying over their various complaints, but recover rapidly if they get busy about something else and cease to

think of themselves. So much human illness is unreal that, by a pleasing jump, one can maintain that it is all unreal."

As regards the animosity against Jews the Professor says:—

"The same with Anti-Semitism, attribute all human ills to the greed and sensuality of the Jews, and since those faults are common to most of humanity, you will find hundreds of Jews who are good instances of your theory."

Returning to the point, Dr. Murray says :

"Similarly, all history and all contemporary social life teems with instances of persons and classes who are influenced, in whole or in part, openly or secretly, by the desire for their own material advantage. In ordinary commercial dealings this is admitted: a man seeks a higher salary or a higher price for his goods without further excuse. But Marx points out, in social and political matters, when a man wants something that is to his own advantage but cannot get it unless other people are persuaded to agree with him, he naturally has to find some other considerations which are likely to move them. He tries to persuade them and constantly succeeds in persuading himself that the action which happens to increase his profit is only desired by him because it is just, because it is moral or religious, because it is for the good of the country."

"No doubt this dash of humbug occurs extremely often; and it is easy enough to make the jump and say that it occurs always; that people are always actuated by their material economic advantage and that, when they put forward any other motive, they are lying. Such a doctrine is of enormous convenience to a certain type of political agitator. Yet it is obviously untrue."

The author proves its obvious untruth from the life of Karl Marx himself.

"Karl Marx himself showed remarkable indifference to his own economic interest when he lived for years in great poverty writing an immense book for which no publisher was likely to pay him. Study his life and you can see that he was moved by all sorts of motives, by vanity, by ambition, by jealousy and ill temper, by intellectual interest, and by a magnificent unselfish idealism. Economic considerations were seldom present to Marx, except when the pinch of poverty became really painful and in a burst of irritation he insisted, unreasonably enough, that someone else should pay for him."

Magnificent unselfish idealism as motivating conduct is to be found in the life, not of Marx alone, but in the lives of numerous other persons.

"Think of any of the great individuals who have moved mankind during the last century: Darwin, Wilberforce, John Stuart Mill, Einstein; no doubt you will find in them here and there beliefs or ways of thought due to their class or nationality or to mere tradition, but in their main activities you will find scarcely a trace of the economic motive. Think of the people we know personally; do we not know many who are guided, when occasion arises, to say nothing of worse motives, by a disinterested hatred of injustice and cruelty, by religious and non-religious idealism, or by mere goodwill and humanity?"

"And if we turn from individuals to communities, and consider the national passions which are devastating the present world, is it not mere wilful blindness to ignore the motives of revenge, inherited prejudice, national ambition and vanity, to suppose that it is an economic motive which makes Germans prefer guns to butter, or Arabs to hate the Jews whose presence in Palestine has increased their wages and improved the value of their estates?"

"I should be more inclined to think that, as a matter of psychology, we overrate the element of pure material selfishness in determining public policy. All sorts of sentimental elements play their part."

Professor Gilbert Murray explains why he has taken pains to elaborately expose the Marxian fallacy :

"I dwell at some length on the falseness of this delusive Marxian prejudice, not merely because I think it is as a matter of fact untrue, but because if accepted and really believed it would undermine our whole faith in ethical values and the possibility of justice and charity between man and man."

### *Forgotten Fighters*

"Battles once won lose their interest. the result is accepted as a matter of course and the long struggle which led to it forgotten" So says Professor Gilbert Murray. These words of his reminded us of those who had to struggle hard and suffer bitter persecution and calumny to abolish the purdah, win for women the right to receive higher education and raise the age of marriage of girls. Girls and women who at present enjoy the fruits of these struggles do not know, do not care to know, the men and women who fought and suffered for them

### *First Peace Brigade in India*

Karachi, June 27

The decision to establish the first peace brigade in India in pursuance of Mr. Gandhi's appeal was taken at a two-hour meeting of the leading citizens, convened by the Mayor this evening at the Municipal Corporation.

The meeting appointed a provisional committee of 24, holding various shades of opinion and including Rev. Thompson.

The Mayor is the Chief of the Brigade with three Secretaries, namely, Dr Tarachand Lalwani, Moulvi Mohammad Usman and Mr. Bhadiashankar Bhatt.

The speakers, including Mr M H. Gazdar and Miss Jethi Sipahimalani, M.L.A.'s, dwelt at length on the horrors of war and communal riots and characterised Mr. Gandhi as an apostle of world peace.

The Mayor observed that the idea occurred to him many years ago while he was travelling by sea in a steamer and saw a victim of the Balkan War.

He concluded: "Let us form a brigade and settle the disputes between nations and communities."—(A. P.)

### *Congress President Appeals for China*

The Congress President has fixed July 7, 8 and 9 to be observed as China Fund Days for collecting funds for the Medical Mission of the Congress in China.

In a statement to the *Associated Press* in this connection, S. Subhas Chandra Bose said, "I have been informed by the Chinese Consulate in India that the Chinese Government have accepted the offer of the Congress Working Committee to send an ambulance unit to China. It now behoves us to push on with our arrangements and send out the Medical Mission as early as possible.

"All-India China Day was successfully observed throughout the country on the 12th June. I am grateful to the public for their splendid response on that day. It is, however, to be regretted that collections could not be made satisfactorily on that occasion owing to shortness of notice. It has been suggested by friends in different parts of the country that some day or days be fixed in July, exclusively, for collecting funds for our Medical Mission.

"I heartily approve of the idea and fix the 7th, 8th and 9th July as China Fund Days. The dates 7th and 9th July are of great historical importance so far as the Chinese people are concerned. I request Congress organisations all over the country to make an intensive drive on these days, for collecting funds. All sums collected should be sent to the All-India Congress Committee office at Allahabad. Let us not forget that we must collect a sum of Rs. 22,000 on this occasion.

"It would be a token of our regard for the Chinese people and would also help considerably to collect funds if miniature Chinese flags are sold on these days. This device should prove useful in the big cities and I hope that wherever possible these three days will also be observed as China Flag Days.

"I do hope that our collection will be enough to keep our Medical Mission at work for at least one year.

"In conclusion, I should like to inform the public that orders have already been placed with Fords for a fully equipped ambulance which will be sent by them straight to Hongkong. The ambulance, together with the medical staff, will be a living emblem of India's sympathy and goodwill for the great Chinese people in the darkest hour in their history. I earnestly hope and trust that the response of the public will be worthy of the Congress and of the Indian nation."

### *Conference of Manufacturers of Bengal*

An appeal for co-ordinated efforts on the part of indigenous industrial units in Bengal was made at the first session of the Indigenous Manufacturers' Conference held on 26th June at Albert Hall under the presidency of Acharya Praphulla Chandra Ray. It was organized by the Commercial Museum of the Calcutta Corporation.

The following resolutions were passed :

Resolved that in consideration of the fact that only a combined and co-ordinated effort of the different indigenous industrial units, handicapped as they are, can withstand foreign and unfair competition and difficulty of marketing, it is decided to organise from time to time conferences and social gatherings to develop mutual acquaintance and intimacy among the manufacturers of the different kinds of indigenous industries and to establish a stronger link among the manufacturers to enable them to protect their interest and to take advantage of corporate and co-ordinated sale-publicity organisations and programmes organised either by the Commercial Museum or any auxiliary organisation under its guidance.

Resolved that the signatories as conveners to the Manufacturers' Conference do form themselves into a

Committee, with right to co-opt, to co-operate with the Officer-in-charge of the Commercial Museum, to make the Museum more useful and helpful and to foster the interest of the indigenous manufacturers

Resolved that this Conference request the Government, public bodies and public utility services to use indigenous products.

The Committee deserve all success and ought to receive the full co-operation of the public.

### *Result of Eleven Months' Ministerial Experience*

Bombay, June 5.

"It is not enough that an individual wrong be righted, or that a few laws be changed. Congress seeks to right the national wrong. I can see no prospect of this through the medium of the Congress Ministries functioning under the Government of India Act," stated Mrs. Vijaylaxmi Pandit, Minister for Local Self-Government, United Provinces, in an interview with the *Associated Press*.

She added: "My eleven months' experience as a Minister has confirmed all doubts I had as to the wisdom of the Congress accepting office; the difficulties that I merely imagined have materialised and daily I am confronted with them.

"It is true the Congress ministries have been able to accomplish a measure of good. A certain amount of confidence has been created in the minds of those who had lost all hopes of a fair deal in the past, but the fundamentals have not changed."—(A.P.)

### *Mansa State Peasants' Successful Satyagraha*

The peasantry of Mansa State, both men and women had been engaged in a non-violent struggle, under great sufferings and privations, to better their material condition. They have achieved success.

Ahmedabad, June 18

A public meeting of the farmers of all twelve villages in Mansa State was held yesterday in Mansa at which Raolji (Prince) Mansa as well as Ahmedabad Congress workers were present. After the settlement reached on the intervention of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was explained Raolji said they had been able to settle amicably their differences. He hoped no such differences would arise in future.—(A.P.)

Ahmedabad, June 23.

The peasants of Mansa State have begun paying 35 per cent reduced land revenue in accordance with the settlement brought about by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel whom they have invited to attend the 1st session of the Khedut Panchayat to be held next month. Preparations are being made to accord a fitting reception to him by the peasants of Mansa State.—(A.P.)

### *Principal Satish Chandra Chatterjee*

By the death of Principal Satish Chandra Chatterjee of Barisal the cause of education in Bengal has suffered a great loss. Those who have seen his robust manly frame could never apprehend that he would die at 65. We had not the pleasure of meeting him recently, and so

cannot say whether he had latterly aged distinctly. But even a few years back he looked quite young for his age. His amiable, cheerful countenance always gave him a youthful appearance. That pleasant exterior concealed a stern, unbending spirit, a soul always hopefully devoted to the cause of freedom. As a young man, when employed in Brajamohan College as a professor, he was an indefatigable and undaunted lieutenant of Aswini Kumar Datta in promoting the Swadeshi movement and in the boycott of foreign salt and cloth, thus furthering the cause of freedom. He had his reward in being deported under Regulation III of 1818 along with Aswini Kumar Datta, Krishna Kumar Mitra and others. He was very strong both in mind and body. But he always remained non-violent even under grave provocation. So, if any police spy or informer had misled the government of those days into imagining that his presence anywhere as a free man would provoke a breach of the peace, he certainly lied. On being released from prison, he worked as a professor in Ripon College and City College, Calcutta, and finally as principal, Brajamohan College, Barisal.

He was a man of exemplary character and a very efficient teacher. His students could become not only learned, but better men, too, morally and spiritually under the inspiration of his example—if they had the right stuff and the inclination in them. He was a devout worshipper of God and an attractive speaker. He was of a charitable disposition and would help others—particularly, political sufferers—not only with money but in other ways, too. We remember, on one occasion while staying at his home in Barisal a few years ago, he used to be roused from sleep at intervals throughout the night by the police patrol, because he had given shelter to a political suspect, and the police wanted to make sure that the latter had not gone out prowling—perhaps with Principal Chatterjee himself! He had put himself to this indignity and trouble, because otherwise the suspected young man would not have been released from confinement.

### *80th Death Anniversary of Maharani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi*

It is in Gwalior that "the last remains of the illustrious Maharani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi lie scattered and mixed up in the soil and her last ambition and aspirations are afloat in the ether." So this year Gwalior celebrated the 80th anniversary of the day of martyrdom of the Maharani on the 18th June last.



"The name and memory of the great Maharani calls back those stirring days of the latter half of the 19th century when conditions in the country were no doubt unsettled but the spirit of resistance was still alive and the native heroism in men and women had not resigned itself to complete prostration and self-surrender as inevitable. She flashed through history without regard for consequences and left behind nothing but an undying name, which for all time will ennoble and inspire the lives of posterity for greater deeds and sacrifices"

Present-day Indians cannot follow her example literally—some because of changed external conditions and others because of faith in the spiritual excellence of a different method. But her absolutely heroic spirit and devotion to the motherland should inspire and be imbibed by all. She declared she would never surrender her Jhansi. May we all resolve never to surrender our Bharatavarsha, all external appearances to the contrary notwithstanding.

Years ago, we used to witness the annual Rām-līlā procession in Allahabad. What an inspiration it was to see the boy dressed as Maharani Lakshmi Bai riding a white horse drawn sword in hand! What enthusiasm it aroused!

### *Santiniketan Ashramika Sangha Art Exhibition*

Some of our colleges annually celebrate their Founder's Day or Foundation Day, when the Old Boys and the present-day alumni meet and have a good day. Some Women's Colleges, too, have such celebrations.

The Santiniketan Ashramika Sangha is an association which seeks to bind together all teachers and alumni of Santiniketan, past and present, in a homelike fraternity and sorority. It has its meetings like other associations. This year it attempted something more substantial. It held an exhibition of the works of art produced by teachers and students of Santiniketan. Sriyut Kshatish Chandra Ray, sculptor, lent his studio rooms in British Indian Street for the purpose. The works exhibited were considerable in number and varied in range and character. Some of the drawings of Rabindranath Tagore were there. And then from Nanda Lal Bose downwards many artists, too numerous to remember or mention, contributed their quota. We could spend only a few minutes at the exhibition, but were impressed with the excellence or the promise and the joy-giving power of many a thing of beauty. There was one thing notable about this show—some of the earliest works of Nanda Lal Bose along with some of his latest were there. Among the latter, we remember the vigour and beauty of one of his Haripura pictures—a village damsel

grinding corn. We were not surprised to learn that the exhibition drew larger crowds than the promoters had expected. The Congress President opened it.

### *The Great Usefulness of "Indiana"*

Books are many and of the making of books there is no end. And without bibliographies and accurate and full indexes, scholars, would-be scholars and all other seekers after knowledge cannot take advantage of the treasures hoarded in books. But books are not the only repositories of knowledge. Periodicals, and even newspapers, contain much intellectual wealth which may never be collected in the form of books. It is only a bibliographical periodical which can make these available to students in the most inclusive sense. Sriyut Satis Chandra Guha of Benares has undertaken this task in the form of his monthly, *Indiana*. It is literally a selfless task. It can never make him rich; it can never even be barely remunerative or self-sufficing in a country like India. He, not blessed with this world's goods, is in fact losing money over it. It cannot make him famous. He will not receive plaudits. He cannot have the joy of creation of poets and artists. The only satisfaction which he can have is to know that he is doing work which is indispensably necessary for thorough-going scholarship.

The Current Contents Subjects Index, a feature which he has recently introduced, should appeal to editors, journalists and other publicists.

He has been indexing not only the leading English periodicals of India but also those in her principal modern languages.

*Indiana* should receive practical encouragement from the Government, the educated public, universities, all higher educational institutions and libraries.

### *Mineral Wealth of Two Indian States*

Many Indian States contain much mineral wealth—some, in immense quantities. News of such wealth in two of them has appeared in the press in recent weeks.

Tripura has been known all along to contain many mineral deposits. Perhaps, this State has not yet been geologically explored to the fullest extent. But it has become known that it contains natural gas, mineral oil and deposits of coal. Bauxite and other minerals have also been found. The forest wealth and the potentialities of Tripura as a producer of tea are also known. Some Maharajas of Tripura have also been known as patrons of literature and art. But,

because the British Government does not recruit soldiers from it, the outside world hears much less of Tripura than of many Panjab States—some smaller than it.

Mayurbhanj has been long known for its mineral wealth. The mines which are the principal feeders of the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur are in Mayurbhanj. But there are various other valuable minerals in this State.

Baipada, June 18.

The Geological Survey of India in 1936 recorded the presence of vanadium bearing titaniferous magnetite in Singhbhum and Mayurbhanj. Kumardhubi deposit in Mayurbhanj, according to Dr. Dunn, is at least one million ton. The presence of vanadium in Mayurbhanj had been known long before to one Mr. S. Ghosh, M.Sc., Chemist (who is perhaps the discoverer) and Tata Iron and Steel Company Ltd. The mining and prospecting department of Mayurbhanj State during the last two years has discovered many similar large titaniferous vanadium ore deposits along foot hills of north and west Simlipal in a length of over 50 miles. More of such deposits are expected to be found in the near future.

Mayurbhanj vanadium deposit may be considered as one of the largest and richest in the world.

In spite of its great mineral and forest wealth, and also its population, it has not been perhaps given the status given to many Panjab and Rajputana States, because perhaps soldiers are not recruited in it.

But official recognition does not really matter. What is of intrinsic importance is that the natural resources of the states should be developed. Mayurbhanj and Tripura are not lacking in alertness in this regard. Perhaps it would be best if the states themselves could exploit their resources. Failing that, Indian experts and Indian capitalists should be allowed to exploit them for the benefit of the states as well as for their own advantage.

### *Educational Enterprise in Mayurbhanj*

Greater than vegetable and mineral wealth is the wealth of personality of the men and women inhabiting a region. It is, therefore, welcome news that Mayurbhanj has taken steps in the direction of the liquidation of illiteracy by the establishment of new schools. Moreover, several scholarships for general and technical education, to be given to the aboriginal boys and "Aryan" students, have been announced in the *Mayurbhanj State Gazette*.

### *"Financial Bankruptcy in Bengal"*

Professor Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, leader of the Congress party in the Bengal Council of State, spoke on the 26th June last at a meeting of the Indian Journalists' Association on the subject of Financial Bankruptcy

in Bengal. He gave definite statistics in support of his conclusions. These conclusions cannot be assailed unless his figures can be shown to be wrong. This is not the first time that he has placed these figures before the public, and, so far as we are aware, nobody has pointed out any errors in them. His case, which is Bengal's case, is strong. And, for years, we have also occasionally placed the relevant facts and figures before the public. But where is the remedy?

### *Haile Selassie's Declaration to the Council of the League of Nations*

We have received from our representative at Geneva a copy of the statement which His Majesty Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, made to the Council of the League of Nations, together with its annexes. We quote three passages from this pathetically forcible document, of which no one can impugn the truth.

The statement begins:

"The Ethiopian people to whom all assistance was refused, are alone climbing their path to calvary. No humiliation has been spared to the victims of aggression. All resources and procedures have been tried with a view to excluding Ethiopia from the League of Nations, as the aggressor demands. Thus for three years, there has been before the world and before the League, a problem of international order: will law win the game as against force, or force as against law?"

Referring to an observation made by the British representative, His Majesty stated:

"Yes, the League has as its essential object the maintenance of peace. But there are different ways to maintain peace; there is the maintenance of peace through right, and there is peace at any cost. Ethiopia firmly believes that the League of Nations has no freedom of choice in this matter. It would be committing suicide if after having been created to maintain peace through right, it were to abandon that principle and adopt instead the principle of peace at any price, even the price of the immolation of a State Member at the feet of its aggressor."

His Majesty concluded his statement by declaring:

"As the Emperor of Ethiopia, basing myself on the faithful devotion of my chiefs, my warriors, on the affection of my people, being desirous of putting an end if possible to their sufferings, I repeat the declaration that I have already made in the League of Nations. I am prepared now, as I was previously, to discuss any proposal for a solution which even at the cost of sacrifice would ensure to my people the free development of their civilization and of their independence. But should this appeal remain without response, war against Italy will be continued, whatever happens, until the triumph of right and justice has been won. I ask the League of Nations to refuse to make any effort that may be asked of it with a view to encouraging the Italian aggressor by sacrificing his victim to him."



### *Bengali Learners Outside Bengal*

That the mother-tongue is the best medium of instruction for the young is an admitted principle. Therefore, for them, it is also the best medium for answering examination questions. But owing to certain decisions of the governments in Assam, Bihar, U P, and Orissa, Bengali pupils are liable to lose the benefit of this principle. As the recognition of this principle in the case of Bengali learners in those provinces will not injure the cause of the Assamese, Hindi and Oriya languages or add in the least to the difficulties of those pupils whose mother-tongue these are, and as the financial difficulty, if raised, is either imaginary or can be easily overcome, we appeal to the ministries in these provinces to consider the question in a statesmanlike and sympathetic spirit, with a view to furthering the cause of national unification. We remind them of the linguistic liberality of the Calcutta University and Visvabharati

### *Panjab Premier Responds to Public Opinion*

The decision of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan not to proceed further with his government's intended Press Bill after its introduction, at least for the present, is a statesmanlike response to journalistic and other public opinion.

### *Separation of Chota Nagpur*

As the Congress Working Committee has approved of the idea of separating the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar Province from it, and as many of these areas are included in the sub-province of Chota Nagpur, no Congress minister or other Congress man can consider the separation of Chota Nagpur from Bihar as an altogether novel proposition, nor should the Bihar Congress ministry oppose it *in toto*, if party discipline has any meaning. If Manbhum Bengalis are asking for this separation, it is because Manbhum, though a part of geographical Bengal, is officially reckoned a part of Chota Nagpur and because the Bengalis of Manbhum are as much natives of its soil as Biharis are of Bihar proper.

A Bihar paper calls the Chota Nagpur separation movement a conspiracy in a minatory tone. Well, it is an "open conspiracy", as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru called the Congress movement in his Lahore presidential speech in 1929.

The historic argument that Chota Nagpur has been a part of Bihar-*province* for a long time, can be met with the similar arguments that Bihar, Orissa, and Assam were for long parts of Bengal-Province, that N.-W. F. P. was for long

part of the Punjab-Province, that Sindh was for long part of Bombay-Province, that Andhra is still a part from long ago of Madras-Province, and that Karnataka is still a part of Bombay and Madras Provinces from long ago. But Assam, N.-W. F. P., Bihar, Orissa and Sindh are now separate Provinces, and Congress does not oppose the separation of Andhra and Karnataka. Congress has declared itself in favour of linguistic provinces. The periods during which Assam, N.-W. F. P., Bihar, Sindh, and Orissa were parts of other provinces or during which up till now Andhra and Karnataka have been such, are different in length. In spite of this difference, some of them have already become separate provinces, and Congress has approved of the rest being made such. If it could be shown that the whole of Chota Nagpur is a part of Linguistic-Bihar, as for example Allahabad Division is that of U. P., that would be a strong argument from the Congress point of view, but it cannot. The languages of the Mundas, Oraons and other aborigines of the region, or Bengali, which is the mother-tongue of the *native* Bengalis of Chota Nagpur, are mother-tongues of the people of Chota Nagpur.

The financial objection may be and has been trotted out. But the financial resources of Chota Nagpur have not yet been carefully and accurately investigated by any impartial authority, opinions differing about it. And the N.-W. F. Province, Sindh and Orissa have been constituted into separate provinces in spite of their deficits. If a linguistic region be a deficit region, at least for the time being, and if in spite of that fact it be decided to constitute it into a separate province, it would be for the Government of India to meet the deficit, as it does in other cases. No *province* need bother about it.

And if Chota Nagpur be really destined to remain for ever a deficit region, why does not Bihar decide to part with it at once? Why insist upon *charitably* going on meeting its deficits? Why this philanthropic zeal to do good to this sub-province? The selfish motive of exploitation of its natural resources is being ascribed to those who demand its separation. But, though we do not want to ascribe it to Biharis, is it impossible that they also are consciously or unconsciously actuated by the same motive?

The permanent Bengali inhabitants and settlers of Chota Nagpur have as much right to voice the wants of the region as anybody else. But it is not Bengalis alone who are speaking for Chota Nagpur. Some aboriginal leaders, too, waited upon Gandhiji some time ago.

The Bihar Government cannot say that it is paying due attention to the uplift of the aboriginal population in the province. A writer in the *Chota Nagpur Samachar* points out that it made no special provision in its 1937-38 budget for their education. In the present year's budget the provision is as follows:

	Literate	Educational
Community	Number	Per cent.
Aborigines	32 lakhs	·53 to 1
Momins	10 lakhs	3·6
(Native Moslems)		
		Grant
		Rs. 3,000
		Rs. 7,000

If these figures be correct, the Bihar ministers have provided Rs. 3,000 for the education of 32 lakhs of aborigines whose percentage of literacy ranges from ·53 to 1, but it has provided Rs. 7,000 (which also is inadequate) for another community of 10 lakhs whose percentage of literacy is 3·6! Yet the Bihar ministers will not allow these aborigines to pass out of their guardianship.

### *China Information Committee's "News Releases"*

We cordially thank the China Information Committee for the "News Releases" sent to us by air mail. They enable one to realize the situation in China to a far greater extent than the news sent by *Reuter*. We are only sorry that *The Modern Review*, not being a daily, is unable to publish them. But they will nevertheless be utilized. The numbers, up to June 7, so far received, contain the following articles:

Singapore Scouts And Guides Die For China, The Last Train From Hsuechow, Compulsory Adult Education In China, Library Of War-time Literature, West China Abreast Of World Affairs, China's Juliet In Her Last Tragedy, Wuhan—Graveyard Of Japanese Airmen, China Still Making China, Cholera Epidemic In Central China Checked, No Festivals While China Fights, Japan Monopolizes North China Trade, American Women's Way Of Aiding China War, Simpler Living Urged By Dr. Kung, All Trade Unions In China United Against Japan, What I. S. S. Money Is Doing In China, North China Facing Economic Disaster, Wife of Kwangsi Commander Mobilizing China's Women, Furthering China's State Medicine Movement, War Correspondents In Epic Retreat From Hsuechow, Graveyard For Japanese Planes, Pushing Highway Construction In West China, China's Fight Against Opium, China's Spoils Of War, Free Schooling For China's Soldiers, China's Financial Conditions Stable Dr. Kung Says, War Accelerates Social Reform In China, Dual War Against Japanese And Opium, Administrative Reforms In Kiangsi Province, The Fighting Spirit In China, Thrice Under Japanese Occupation, China Biding Her Time, Kwantung's Food Shortage Solved, Relief For China's Front-line Refugees.

### *Mr. Nehru As India's Unofficial Ambassador*

That, besides receiving very enthusiastic receptions and making speeches wherever he is

going, Mr. Nehru will be able unofficially to do some important ambassadorial work also will appear from the following message:

London, June 29.

It is confirmed that Pandit Nehru is meeting Lord Zetland and Lord Halifax on Thursday and Friday. He intimated to *Reuter* that the invitations had been extended to him personally.

"If," said Pandit Nehru, "Lord Zetland and Lord Halifax want to know Congress views regarding Federation and India's reaction respecting international developments, I am prepared to express them forcibly." *Reuter*.

### *Calcutta Town Hall Labour Demonstration*

An assurance that the Indian National Congress would stand up by the side of labour and give them full sympathy and support in their struggle for securing their just and legitimate rights was given by Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President, presiding over a huge demonstration of workers consisting of members of various labour unions at the Town Hall on the 29th June.

Resolutions condemning the callousness of the Bengal Ministry towards the grievances of the workers and appointing a committee to unearth the real nature of their 'sinister' move against the workers as also to secure protection to distressed workers were passed. Other resolutions passed touched upon the grave situation which had arisen out of the dispute between the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation and its workers, condemned the Bengal Government for their repressive measures against leaders and prominent workers of the Seamen's Union, and sympathised with Cawnpore textile workers and strikers at Kulti, Hapur and other places. The meeting broke up at 10-30 p.m.—*Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

### *Subhas Bose's Experience in East Bengal*

Brahmanbaria, June 16.

Nearly 15 persons, including Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President, and Maulvi Asrafuddin Ahmed Choudhury, Secretary, B. P. C. C., received injuries following what the Congress President, in the course of a statement issued through the *United Press* characterised as "hooliganism on the part of Moslem Leaguers", who threw brickbats on the procession organised in honour of the Rastrapati on his arrival here this morning.

Similar feats stand to the credit of some Moslem League "tigers and lions", in the United Provinces.

"The response I received from the Muslim public exceeded my fondest hopes and I have come back with the confidence and certainty that the Muslims of Bengal will, before long, be all inside the Congress", said the Congress President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, interviewed by the *Associated Press* as regards the impressions of his East Bengal tour.

### *Calcutta Corporation Lady Teacher Incident*

What the Calcutta Corporation has done in relation to the lady teacher incident is not at all satisfactory. The disclosures made in the police officer's report and in the minute of dissent of Councillor Phanindranath Brahma

have not been dealt with, perhaps some of the greatest scoundrels have been left untouched, and the Education Officer has been dealt with too severely, even if what the Corporation say of him be held true. What is worse, nothing has been done to convince and assure the public that the Corporation schools are fit for pure-minded women to serve in and innocent boys and girls to receive education in. We hope they are.

An attempt was made to re-open the question, but it was frustrated. In consequence Congress President Subhas Chandra Bose has severed his connection with the Corporation and the Congress Municipal Association. That is a sufficient condemnation of the Corporation's action and inaction.

### *Labour Picketing and Linguistic Picketing*

Picketing in connection with labour strikes is an ordinary procedure. The linguistic picketing in Madras in connection with the Anti-Hindi agitation is a new departure. So there is picketing and picketing. Hence whilst the U. P. Ministry have allowed picketing at the Cawnpore mills, the Madras Ministry have taken legal steps against the linguistic picketers—though both are Congress ministries. But even at Madras the ministers have not been treating the picketers exactly as the bureaucratic government dealt with the Congress picketers during civil disobedience. The latter set in motion both Lathi and Law, whereas the former have set in motion only the Law—thus keeping non-violence intact to the letter.

### *India's Urgent Need of Organizing Large and Key Industries*

The Hon'ble Dr. Syed Mahmud, Minister for Education and Development, Bihar, has addressed a circular letter to all Provincial Ministers in charge of Industries, inviting them to meet at Simla on the 2nd and 3rd of July next to discuss in an informal meeting the development of large and key industries. A timely move.

It was on the 16th September last year that Acharya Praphulla Chandra Ray contributed an article to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on the Menace to the Indigenous Chemical Industries, quoting passages from some letters of Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni, President of the Northern India Chemical Manufacturers' Association, and indirectly suggesting what should be done to meet the menace.

Under India's new British-made constitution, her industries lie completely at the mercy of the British Government and the Government of India. But the Provincial Governments can perhaps do a little to save them and start new ones. Let us wait and see what they do.

### *E. I. Railway Disaster Again*

In the course of some months there was a third serious disaster in the E. I. R. line. This time it was at Madhupur. Is this line very much worse managed than the other lines in the country?

### *New Constitution For Cochin*

The new Cochin constitution inaugurated on the 17th June last associates the people to some extent directly with the Maharaja's government through the Legislative Council and a responsible minister. Though not a full measure of self-government, it is a forward move.

### *Bihar Anti-Dowry Bill*

Whether the dowry evil, which has brought about the decrease in numbers of some Hindu castes and caused much immorality, caused great hardship to poor parents, and led many a girl to commit suicide, can be remedied by legislation is not certain. But it should be fought by every available weapon. It is good that Bihar proposes to arm itself with a legislative weapon to fight it.

### *Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri on Universities In India*

The Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's broadcast talk on universities in India on the 18th June last was a very important pronouncement. Among other points he discussed Mahatma Gandhi's remark that universities had no claim on State funds. He had no difficulty in showing that Gandhiji's opinion was not correct.

### *Power Alcohol From Molasses*

A joint committee was appointed in January last by the Governments of U. P. and Bihar, consisting of Mr. Padampat Singhania, Mr. M. P. Gandhi, Mr. Anantasubramaniam, Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, Mr. G. H. Dickson, Dr. N. R. Dhar, Mr. P. S. Maker and Dr. N. G. Chatterjee, "to report on the best method of manufacture and of mixing power alcohol with petrol and to examine the possible uses of molasses and their practical application." The committee has

come to the conclusion that power alcohol can be manufactured economically from molasses in the U. P. and Bihar, which are advantageously situated for such manufacture, and it can be marketed at substantially the same price at which petrol is now being sold.

A very distinguished scientist supplied us with the information and we published it on page 597 of *The Modern Review* for November, 1937, that "Mr. N. G. Chatterjee of the Harcourt Butler

Technological Institute, Cawnpore, has actually demonstrated that molasses can be easily converted into power alcohol and placed in the market at competitive rates. His report was submitted to the U. P. Government (not the Congress Government.—Ed., *M. R.*), but was suppressed, and he was not permitted to publish it."

It was some time after the publication by us of this information that the U. P. and Bihar Joint Committee was appointed



*Bharat Phototype*

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee  
The centenary of whose birth was observed last  
month throughout the country  
*See page 1*

## THE SHADOW OVER EUROPE

BY MAJOR D GRAHAM POLE

WITH the translation of Lord Harlech and the Duke of Devonshire to the House of Lords the expected Cabinet re-shuffle has taken place. The Premier has dropped his friend Lord Swinton in response to the public outcry but, except for that, the fittest comment that can be made on the new Cabinet is that the more they change the more they are the same. It will not be surprising if by autumn still further changes are made. Mr. Chamberlain has none of the personal magnetism of his predecessor, and Lord Baldwin certainly left while the going was good.

Apart from the ghastly mess of European affairs possibly the biggest cloud on the horizon is the inauguration of Federation in India. I hardly think this is likely to be attempted within the lifetime of the present Parliament. The difficulties of the scheme proposed in the Government of India Act, which were pointed out very strongly by many of us before the passing of the Act, are only now beginning to be realised by the Government. There is no doubt that the whole scheme should be scrapped and something substituted that will be more in accordance with the quite justifiable wishes of the people of India. Mr. Chamberlain prides himself on being a realist, but there is no doubt that in questions about India the Labour Party is much more realist than the Premier and is opposed to the Federation scheme as outlined in the Act. They believe that India should have self-government without the innumerable shackles on it contained in the Act. Of course there are difficulties, but difficulties are made to be overcome. In the words of Epictetus, "Difficulties are things that show what men are."

Mr. Chamberlain still continues to boast about the good effects of the Anglo-Italian Pact which he concluded with Signor Mussolini. The speech of the latter at Genoa last Saturday seemed to indicate that in his view Great Britain was now on the side of the Dictators with regard to Spain and that the chief difficulty of making a similar pact with France was that France was on the side of Republican Spain, while Italy was out to see that Franco won. As far as the people of this country are concerned, it is certainly far from true to say that they support General Franco. And it is difficult to see how

it can benefit England to have the possibility, in the unhappy event of war, of the Mediterranean being closed against them at the western end by the guns of the totalitarian Powers.

Nor has Mr. Chamberlain enhanced the dignity of the British Empire by the sending of Lord Halifax to Geneva. Lord Halifax's reputation was, of course, what the Premier banked on and everyone both here and abroad wondered how that Christian nobleman could reconcile his task with his conscience. Apparently Lord Halifax had to enunciate the doctrine of Peace—at any price—and the price was fixed by Mussolini. As the *Manchester Guardian* pointed out:

"At Geneva we were the agents of a new Holy Alliance. Mussolini and Hitler need not re-enter the League when their work is done so effectively for them."

The League of Nations was formed so that the collective judgment of the nations might if necessary over-rule the individual judgment of any one nation. Now, at the instance of Great Britain, the theory of collective obligations—the corner-stone of the League—is thrown over and individual nations are left free to recognise the Italian King as Emperor of Abyssinia if they so wish. And Mr. Chamberlain's government was returned to power on their promise to uphold the principles of the League! No wonder Madame Tabouis, the famous French political correspondent, is reported to have remarked that it is difficult for foreigners to understand the British belief that they have a private and direct line to Heaven! When this Government goes out it will be the first job of its successor to rebuild the League which now lies broken. But meanwhile will our surrender to Mussolini bring the much-desired peace? There is little sign of it in Europe today. While no doubt both Spain and Abyssinia think there is much truth in the appellation of perfidious Albion. Many millions in this country feel a deep sense of shame at the Geneva episode and the fact that the good name of our country has been dragged in the mud. The only stand made by Great Britain in defence of League principles since the National Government came into office in 1931 was last week and over Czecho-Slovakia and, in the first instance at least, it seems to have been successful. Had they taken the same stand with Japan



and Italy, history might have been different today.

It is indeed a considerable shock to realise just exactly what the League idea has suffered during the past weeks as a result of Great Britain's tactics at Geneva. The trouble with these professed realists such as Mr. Chamberlain is that they lack the imagination to realise what may be the *consequences* of the example they have set. To do a great right (as they see it) they think it is worth while to do a little wrong. To reclaim Italy seems to them more important than to desert Abyssinia and Spain. But look what has followed to the whole idea of collective security! See what a rent the envious Swiss have made! Switzerland, home and heart of the League, has seized the opportunity to contract right out of her obligations. She has informed the League Council of her intention to remain neutral in any future dispute and so repudiate the common duty of imposing sanctions against an aggressor. And *her* defection has drawn on that of Denmark, Iceland, Finland, Norway and Sweden. At the moment of writing the news has come that they too have "pledged themselves to adopt common rules of neutrality in the event of a war between other Powers."

The National Government then, returned at the last General Election on a League mandate, has played the part of its executioner. The ghost of the League may stalk for a little longer at Geneva but the League itself is dead. How can it be otherwise? Since this Government came into power Japan has left it, then Germany, then Italy. America remains outside. And now Switzerland and all the Scandinavian countries are forsaking it in fact if not in name. There is of course talk of Italy returning. Talk of a Three Power Pact or a Four Power Pact or a Five Power Pact. But what does all this mean but the one thing—that the Great Powers are playing power politics amongst themselves, jockeying for position, and reviving in its old familiar form the uneasy Balance of Power. Some say that the balance is between the Berlin-Rome-Tokio system and the Franco-Russian alliance. Some would add Great Britain to France and Russia. But Britain (at her peril?) even now, even after her recent stand in the matter of Czecho-Slovakia, still flirts with Germany. (Is it not just reported that Lord Halifax and Lord Londonderry may visit Germany next month as the guests of General Goering—General Goering the extremist?)

Two things are most striking when you look at Europe today. On the one hand there is the absolute, hammer-like, consistent and increas-

ingly successful policy of Germany. On the other there is the temporising, compromising, policy of the democracies. This was brought out very forcibly the other night in an address given by Dr. Gooch who, it will be remembered, is one of the official historians of the Great War. In listening to him one realised that just as Gandhi is the very soul of India, Hitler is the incarnation of defeated Germany. Dr. Gooch considers his career is the most romantic thing since Napoleon. Consider for a moment that in 1918 he was poor and friendless and completely unknown. Today he is "not the greatest but the most important man in the world". Because it hangs on him alone whether there will be another World War or not. If there is another World War, Hitler will start it and no one else.

The terrible consistency of German policy—terrible because it is tireless and inflexible—is the consistency of Herr Hitler himself. Nothing perhaps exists for him outside his own experience. The Hitler today, we are told, is the Hitler of pre-war Vienna. In those far-off, poverty-stricken days, he acquired three disapprovals. Disapproval of the Socialists with whom he was thrown in contact, disapproval of the Jews who were the brains of the Socialists, disapproval of the Austrian Empire. What, he asked himself, in Vienna, are these Teutons doing lost in the flood of non-Teutonic races?

But see how events have played into his hands! No wonder if, like Napoleon, he believes in his star. First of all, the disappearance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire smoothed the way for the absorption of Austria in the German Reich. And ever since January 1933, when he became Chancellor (swept into power by the increasing slump and our treatment of Germany at the Disarmament Conference?), his luck has been as conspicuous as is his instinct for knowing the psychological moment when to act, whether in the Rhineland or in Austria.

When Herr Hitler first came into power there was a tendency to discount him and regard him rather as the tool of dissatisfied German landlords or of the powerful industrial groups. A pinchbeck Napoleon or a Mussolini out of the bargain basement were the kind of epithets in vogue. But they were about as wide of the mark as can be. One thing which is certain about Herr Hitler is that he is a law unto himself. He reaches his own decisions, says Dr. Gooch, in the teeth of the advice of his civil or military advisers. (They were opposed, it was said, to the re-occupation of the Rhineland and to the rape of Austria.) And if he does

so, he certainly has reasons for believing in his own instinct. Consider Germany as it was in 1933 and as it is in 1938. In 1933 Herr Hitler could look around and see that there was not a single Power friendly to Germany. Even the minor Powers were unfriendly and leaned rather on Paris and London. But today all that is changed. Italy is Germany's ally. The French "continental system" of alliances has completely broken down. On every hand, save in Czecho-Slovakia of which more later, Hitler is finding more and more backing. Together Germany and Italy stand up against the hitherto unchallengeable domination of Britain and France.

Hitler began to change the face of Europe as far back as in January 1934. In that year he entered in to a ten year Non-Aggression Pact with Poland. Up to that moment Poland had been a threat and an enemy. The next war, the saying went, will start in the Polish Corridor. But it suited Hitler, in the words of Dr. Gooch, to put the problem of Danzig and the Polish part of Upper Silesia into cold storage for ten years. And the point is that in doing so he loosened Poland from France and at the same time freed himself to deal with the south, with Austria and Czecho-Slovakia—with the gate to south-eastern Europe, to the Danube and the Balkan lands.

In July 1934 there followed the Austrian *putsch*. Hitler had been intervening already by every method, by wireless, press, money, advices. Now he intervened by murder, the murder of Dr. Dollfuss. The *putsch* failed and of course Hitler repudiated it. And it was lucky for him that he failed then or there would have been war with Italy. For it was then that Signor Mussolini gave his famous pledge: "I will stand by Austria to the end."

But events were playing into Hitler's hands. In 1935, Signor Mussolini carried out a decision he had reached two years previously and attacked Abyssinia. And this led to his break with England and France, and that led to his agreeing to the Berlin-Rome axis. Duplicity also had its uses, and there appeared the Austro-German Pact of July, 1936. By that Pact, Hitler agreed to the illegalisation of the Nazi Party in Austria and in return, Dr. Schuschnigg agreed that Austria was a "German" State. It looked like a climb-down on the part of Germany and as such was intended to lull Italy. And it succeeded. But in reality it was a case of *reculer pour mieux sauter* for it was on the plea that this Pact had been broken that Hitler forced a crisis in Austria in

March this year, forced it in despite of his dear brother in Italy who now found himself caught in the Berlin-Rome axis.

Hitler bungled his first attempt on Austria but that was not the end of the story. Last week-end he bungled over Czecho-Slovakia and was put in his place (for the time being?) by England. But no one can tell what will happen there. For whereas Dr. Schuschnigg was too good a "German" to spill German blood over the quarrel, the Czechs are not Germans and will fight if Germany presents them with an ultimatum. But in what a tragic situation are the Czechs. With the best will in the world—and at this eleventh hour they would do everything in their power to reach a just solution—they cannot right the wrongs of the Sudeten Germans. These Germans, although they have never formed part of Germany but were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, wish to be absorbed in the German Reich. Of course the trouble has only boiled over since the rape of Austria, but none the less, on the principle of self-determination, they should be allowed to choose their own Government. Yet Czecho-Slovakia cannot admit this. All these would-be Germans are situate along the German frontier. To cede her frontier would be suicide and out of the question! There are only 14 millions in Czecho-Slovakia. In Greater Germany there are 75 million people, a people, in the words of Dr. Hodza, the Prime Minister of Czecho-Slovakia, who are at the summit of a nationalism which is now in an emotional phase. How can he hand his frontier over to them, how can he give the Sudeten Germans autonomy, give them the job of being frontier police?

Will there be war then? No one, says Dr. Gooch, can answer that except Herr Hitler who reaches his own decisions in accord with his own "intuition."

But these are the essential elements in the situation. Dr. Hodza has said that agreement can only be reached within the present framework of the State. He proposes a Nationalities Statute which will "cut deeply into the structure of the Czecho-Slovak State." But there can be no question of ceding any territory to Germany. Equally Czecho-Slovakia cannot come into the German orbit. Herr Henlein, leader of the Sudeten Germans, has of course made a great stir on this point. He wants Czecho-Slovakia to come into line with German foreign policy, in other words to give up the Russian alliance. But how can the threatened and outnumbered and encircled Czechs even contemplate this? To do so is to invite their own destruction.

Will Hitler, whose consistency is the same thing to him as his and Germany's destiny, who has a "neurotic horror of Communism," will he push this point to the end? If he presses the Russian question to a categorical yes or no, there will, says Dr. Gooch, be war.

It would be gratifying now to be able to turn one's attention to the way out of this difficult situation. But alas the world seems to produce men who can analyze the crisis but none who can tell how it must end. Indeed, far from there being any comfort to be had, the only reason why, in some men's minds, the shadow will not blot out the sun is that another shadow is also rushing towards us and may get there first. This of course is a new world depression.

I remember twenty years ago, at the end of the last war, how many men prophesied, shook their heads and prophesied that there could be no escape from the conclusion that sooner or later all the Powers would go bankrupt. Is that what is happening now? What is the meaning of these recurring depressions—or of this long, unending depression? At the moment all the symptoms of the 1932 depression are re-appearing. In the United States unemployment is almost back where it was then. In England, we have had seventeen years and more of phenomenal unemployment and today, instead of there being any signs of its yielding to processes now at work there is a danger, as the Council of Action for Peace and Reconstruction has pointed out in a recent statement, that it may adopt "a new and higher rock-bottom level." And it has to be remembered of course that the present rearmament programme is, for the time being, masking a great deal of potential unemployment. So what will happen when these programmes are completed (supposing they do not end, as armament programmes generally end, in war?) The nations of the world are at present spending £7,000,000 a day on armament programmes. Spending these vast sums on unproductive expenditure. How can they ever be paid for? How at the end can we afford to keep the displaced workers? Only a vast effort, on the part of all the nations, only a revival of world trade, can save us. But all the time these armament programmes are making us more and more nationalist in feeling—so that if war does not come, but the slump comes, we shall only aggravate the difficulties by trying to be self-sufficient and "protecting" ourselves with tariffs. . . . The wages of sin are death all right. And we are caught in the vicious circle we have made. We re-arm, we shelve the Van Zeeland

Report, and all the time there is a persistent fall in commodity prices, sure sign of the deepening economic depression.

How can we divert Germany, led by a fanatic with a certain amount of right on his side, and an undoubted amount of luck? How can we avert the Depression? No new ideas can be expected from the present Government. And one can hardly even wish for the fall of the Government since it is when Governments fall—as we saw in the case of France that Herr Hitler marches.

Yet the world is full of wrongs and, instead of even acknowledging that they exist, we let them slide, regardless of the fact that we are piling up nemesis all the time. We left China to her fate, then Abyssinia, now Spain. We made some stand about Czecho-Slovakia because we saw that the Czechs would fight and that Russia and France would be drawn in. But what are we going to do when Hitler strikes again? Because of course he will strike again. Last week-end he bungled matters. He was not sure of our position and thought he could intimidate the Czechs with impunity. Now that he has had that experience, will he try to lull us, as he lulled Italy, with a Pact which proves in the end to be a trap? (Why is Lord Halifax invited to visit General Goering?)

German diplomacy, in any event, is extremely active at the present time. Look at their latest move in the Far East. They have now intimated that they are withdrawing their experts from China—and they give the naive explanation that they are doing so because they want to maintain strict neutrality. As the *New Statesman* remarks:

"It is by no means certain that they will all obey the call of the Fuhrer. There is reason to believe that some of them would rather be living lions in China than dead dogs in Germany."

Heretofore gold had been more precious to Germany than such principles and a very large part of the armaments used in China against Japan have been supplied by Germany in spite of the Berlin-Rome-Tokio triangle. (There are rumours too that Germany has been helping *Republican* Spain with arms. Well, stranger things have happened).

It is to Germany's interest to have a disturbed Europe. It makes an atmosphere favourable to Hitler's plans. The Anglo-Italian agreement only comes into force when there is a "settlement" in Spain and the withdrawal of Italian troops and armaments. The longer Hitler can cause them to be kept there the better



for his fishing in troubled waters so that if he can delay a Franco victory by helping Republican Spain it all fits in with his plans.

But Germany now is setting her alliances in order. And is there anything that we can

do about it? Can indeed anything be placed in the scales that can weigh against the prospect of world hegemony?

London,  
28th May, 1938.

## PRESENT TREND OF BRITISH POLICY

By DR. TARAKNATH DAS

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THE conclusion of the Anglo-Italian Pact, by the Chamberlain Government, gives a clearer indication of the present trend of British Foreign Policy. One thing is certain that the British Government is not concerned about the so-called *United Front of the Great Democracies against the Fascist States*. In fact at no time has the foreign policy of any State been primarily determined by ideological considerations. This has been the case with the Government of Great Britain more than any other State; because of the necessity of preservation of its worldwide empire. Common interests against a common enemy and conflicting interests between states have been the causes of alliances and wars. In the arena of international politics, an imperialist democracy like Great Britain formed alliances with autocratic Japanese Imperialism (the Anglo-Japanese Alliance) and the Czarist Imperialism (The Triple Entente) as well as Republican France. Now we see that British Imperialism is at the threshold of forming an understanding, verging on an alliance with Fascist Italy.

None should be surprised at the conclusion of the Anglo-Italian understanding, because it was evident to all far-sighted agents of international affairs some three years ago that ultimately, three great colonial imperial powers Great Britain, France and Italy—must co-operate to preserve their interests in Africa; otherwise conflicts among these nations would lead to the loss of their imperial possessions. Therefore three years ago, when the League of Nations, led by Great Britain and supported by France and other states, used economic sanctions against Italy, I predicted that such activities on the part of the British and French Governments

would fail; because among other things they could not afford to see Italy defeated by Abyssinia. Such a defeat would have undermined British supremacy in India, in the Near East and Egypt. It would have ultimately destroyed French authority in Morocco, Algeria and Tunis. This being the case, while Mr. Anthony Eden, on behalf of England, was working for coercion of Italy through economic sanctions, it was the British Government controlled Anglo-Persian Oil Company which supplied oil to Il Duce's Air Force and mechanised army to crush Haile Selassie's ill-equipped forces. It was not only England which indirectly aided Italy, but Soviet Russia also supplied oil to Italy and the United States oil concerns and Rumanian companies did their share. Let this be noted that neither Japan nor Germany invoked sanctions against Italy in the days of her trial and this was the real foundation of Italy's policy of co-operation with Japan and Germany.

From the published text of the Anglo-Italian Pact, signed on the 16th of April, 1938, it becomes evident that the policy of Sir Samuel Hoare, who as British Foreign Minister advocated Anglo-French-Italian understanding through the defunct Hoare-Laval Pact, against which Anthony Eden and others raised so much objection and which was the cause of Sir Samuel's resignation from the position of British Foreign Secretaryship, has triumphed against the policy of coercion of Italy by Britain. It is evident that Great Britain would not only acknowledge Italian sovereignty over Abyssinia, but would use her full influence over the League of Nations, so that other League members might extend their blessings on Italian Imperialism in

Abyssinia. On the other hand Anglo-Italian rivalry in the Mediterranean, Africa, the Near East and Arabia would take the form of recognition of mutual interests by these Powers, which would really mean co-operation between them to further their interests.

In Great Britain two groups of statesmen were advocating two different courses of action to gain the same end of maintaining the British Empire from any possible menace in Europe, Africa and Asia. One group—headed by Tories of the type of Mr. Eden supported by some liberals and laborites—was following the course of Anglo-French-Russian understanding against German-Italian-Japanese groups of Powers; and they of course counted on active support of the United States in their fight against the Fascist States. The other group of British statesmen—Tories of the type of Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Samuel Hoare, Sir John Simon (a liberal Tory!), Lord Halifax (the former Viceroy of India Lord Irwin) and other lesser lights—advocated the idea that they should come to an understanding with France and Italy first and thus maintain their mutual interests in the Mediterranean, Africa and the Near East and thus check increase of Russian and German influence in these regions. Furthermore they felt that, the conclusion of an Anglo-French-Italian understanding on the basis of co-operation would be the first step for a Pact in which Germany would be invited to participate; and thus it would guarantee peace in Western Europe. Thus the signing of the Anglo-Italian Pact is the first step towards re-alignment of Powers under British leadership, which would revolutionize the course of international relations during the coming years.

## II

The next development in World Politics in line with British Foreign Policy, is the possibility of an Anglo-French-Italian understanding. In fact before this article may be published, this may be accomplished. It must be accomplished in fact, if not by signing a pact before the visit of Herr Hitler at Rome on the 3rd of May. The first step towards the conclusion of an Anglo-French-Italian understanding was completed when the second popular front government by M. Blum was overthrown and the present Daladier government came into power. The Popular Front government in France, like all other French governments, was committed to the policy of Anglo-French co-operation; but at the same time it was anti-Fascist and pro-Russian. When Mr. Eden was relieved of his

post in the British Foreign Office then it was decided that Britain would prefer an Anglo-French-Italian understanding to an Anglo-French-Russian understanding. A British Government seeking an understanding with Italy could not whole-heartedly co-operate with a French Government headed by M. Blum or some of the Popular Front leaders committed to anti-Italian policy. Thus Blum Government could not get the full support of the British Government and it had to go.

It has been reported from London that Premier Daladier and Foreign Minister Bonner of France are to visit Prime Minister Chamberlain and Foreign Secretary Lord Halifax for a conversation strengthening Anglo-French co-operation in World Politics. It is needless to point out that, after the signing of an Anglo-Italian Pact, one of the prime requisites for whole-hearted Anglo-French co-operation would be Franco-Italian understanding. It is also significant that it has been reported from Paris that the Government of France would recognise Italian supremacy over Abyssinia and thus follow the policy of Franco-Italian co-operation as established by Leval-Mussolini Pact of Rome (1933). It is also well-known that M. Daladier is a disciple of M. Callicaux, who is an advocate of Franco-German understanding and not in favour of Franco-Russian understanding which has strained Franco-German and Franco-Italian relations. Therefore we may expect that Anglo-French relations would be regulated on the basis of Anglo-Italian understanding and there will develop Anglo-French-Italian understanding which would safeguard British interests in the Mediterranean, Africa, the Near East and even in India.

## III

Settlement of Spanish Civil War has been taken into consideration in concluding the Anglo-Italian Pact. It has been agreed that Italy would withdraw her forces from Spain only after the conclusion of the Civil War in Spain, and Italy would not disturb territorial *status quo* of the Spanish republic. This means that the British Government has agreed with Signor Mussolini that it would support Franco regime and thus help Signor Mussolini in upholding his Spanish policy. This would not only help Italy in strengthening her position in the Western Mediterranean, but it would help increasing prestige of Herr Hitler in Germany.

Thus the French Government will have to modify its Spanish policy and in order to cement Anglo-French-Italian solidarity, France will

have to follow Great Britain and Italy in Spain and have to recognise Franco regime; and this may result in Anglo-French-Italian-Spanish understanding on the basis of *status quo* with increased prestige for Signor Mussolini and full justification of the policies inaugurated by Signor Mussolini, M. Leval and Sir Samuel Hoare

#### IV

To be sure, with the annexation of Austria by Germany, Nazi Germany has become the strongest military power in Central Europe. It has virtually broken up the Little Entente. It has shaken the foundation of Franco-Czecho-Slovakian Alliance as well as Russo-Czecho-Slovakian Alliance. It has paved the way for further extension of German power and influence in Central Europe. Germany annexed Austria with the tacit consent of, if not with direct encouragement from the rulers of Great Britain—Chamberlain-Halifax-Simon-Hoare section of the British cabinet,—Germany would not have dared to annex Austria in direct opposition of Britain, Italy and France, not to speak of Russia and other Powers. When Herr Hitler was in the process of annexing Austria, the French Government appealed to Signor Mussolini to take decisive action against the German menace; but he refused to do so, because he wished to force the British and the French governments to realise the importance of Italian co-operation in world politics. It is significant that after Herr Hitler's annexation of Austria, the British and the Italian Governments showed their determination to come to an understanding in which they have so admirably succeeded. None should forget that Herr Hitler undertook his Austrian adventure, after he made sure of the support of Signor Mussolini in this matter. To be sure the appearance of Germany at the Brenner Pass may be a source of apprehension for Italy, but the growth of German power has forced the British and the French to settle their disputes with Italy.

Signor Mussolini and Count Ciano are honest and sincere in their declarations that while they have signed the Anglo-Italian Agreement, it did not mean a break in the Rome-Berlin axis. If Italy would have given up her close relations with Germany and Japan, in order to win the goodwill of Britain and France, then Italy's influence in world politics would have been considerably reduced and she might have been at the mercy of Anglo-French pressure. Therefore Signor Mussolini will continue to be on the very best terms with Herr Hitler; and this will

be a factor in forcing Anglo-French Powers to respect Italy's wishes. On the other hand Italy's closer co-operation with Anglo-French Powers will force Herr Hitler to court Il Duce's goodwill.

Under the circumstances what would be the policy of Great Britain regarding Germany? Great Britain would try to come to an understanding with Germany directly or through the co-operation of Il Duce. Great Britain would not make any serious objection to German expansion in Eastern Europe; because it would serve two definite purposes—(a) increase of German power and influence in Hungary and Rumania would increase Russo-German tension, which will be an asset for Great Britain and (b) any move for Germany to increase its influence in the Balkans might hurt Italian interests; and such a possibility would solidify Anglo-Italian co-operation. Thus it is expected that after the Anglo-Italian understanding, Anglo-French understanding and Franco-Italian understanding, British statesmen would encourage a move for a general Western European Pact in which Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany will be the principal participants while Belgium, Poland and Spain may be invited to co-operate. It may also encourage a pact among Danubian Powers for the purpose of maintenance of peace. Then it may even take steps for reconstruction of the League of Nations, which may allow Italy and Germany to re-enter the League on their own terms

It means that the present trend of British Foreign Policy would be to have an understanding with Italy and Germany without sacrificing Anglo-French understanding. In order to accomplish this, if it be necessary to induce France to give up her Russian alliance, Britain will use full pressure on France dependent upon British goodwill. The net result of such a policy would mean isolation of Soviet Russia in European politics, at least temporarily. *This policy of weakening Russia would be agreeable to Britain, because Soviet Russia's increased influence in the Moslem bloc of Powers—Turkey-Persia-Afghanistan—and in China, through increasing penetration in Shinkiang is decidedly opposed to British imperial interests in Asia.*

#### V

In spite of much anti-Japanese demonstration among the masses of Britain, the group of statesmen who favour an understanding with France, Italy as well as Germany, recognise the fact that while Italy and Germany are willing to co-operate with Britain, they may not be willing

to sacrifice Japan to win British friendship. None should misunderstand the motive behind Germany's understanding with Japan and Italy's friendliness with the Empire of the Rising Sun. Herr Hitler is committed to anti-Soviet Russian Foreign Policy and, if possible, acquisition of at least a part of Russian territory for German expansion. This cannot be accomplished without Japanese pressure against Russia as well as British, French and Italian neutrality in case of a Russo-German conflict. German-Japanese co-operation then is a weapon against Russia and a means of pressure against Britain. Signor Mussolini has taken up the side of Japan, because in case of an Anglo-Italian conflict, Italo-Japanese co-operation would split British navy at least in three sections—one for the North Sea to watch over the German menace, one for the Mediterranean and one for the Pacific against the Japanese march to South Pacific. It is conceivable that both Italy and Germany would refuse to adopt a policy which will reduce Japan to impotency and thus increase British naval power proportionately in the North Sea region and the Mediterranean. Furthermore, if British statesmen are really opposed to increase of Soviet Russian influence in Asia, then it would be the height of folly for Britain to weaken Japan to such an extent that Soviet Russia would feel free to carry out her designs in Asia through a Sino-Russian combination.

Thus if Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini be determined to maintain the Rome-Berlin axis and also maintain their agreements with Japan (German - Japanese - Italian anti-communist Pact), then it is conceivable that Great Britain would be willing to come to an understanding with Japan, on the basis of recognition of mutual spheres of interest in the Far East. It might lead to formation of some form of Anglo-Japanese understanding to check any increase of Russian influence in China and other parts of Asia, at the cost of British influence.

Furthermore, one must not forget that if Japan be defeated by China, primarily through Russian aid, then its effect would be increase of Russian influence not only in China, but in India also, where men like Mr. Nehru and others are professedly pro-Russian. It is clear that neither Lord Halifax (former Viceroy of India), nor Sir Samuel Hoare, Sir John Simon and Mr. Chamberlain would adopt a policy which would undermine the prestige of Japanese imperialism, rouse Chinese and Indian nationalism to assert their powers against British and other (French) interests in Eastern Asia and serve the cause

of Soviet Russia. It is expected that unless Signor Mussolini and Herr Hitler show shortsightedness in their policy towards Japan, they will use their influence with British statesmen (Chamberlain-Hoare-Simon-Halifax group) to have an understanding with Japan; and France which has already an alliance with Japan would support such a move. Under these circumstances, one is inclined to think that there is much truth in the reports of conversation between Mr. Tani, the Japanese Ambassador at large in China and the British Ambassador in China, Sir Archibald Kerr for a possible Anglo-Japanese rapprochement on the basis of respecting British sphere of influence in Southern China and Great Britain recognising Manchukuo. (This will be in line with the Anglo-Italian Pact, which is based upon British recognition of Italian supremacy in Abyssinia).

British support to Japan will inevitably lead to Japan's aggressive attitude towards Soviet Russia. Thus, a Russo-Japanese rivalry in the Far East will be an asset to Britain in Asia, as a German-Russian rivalry is an asset to Britain in Europe and the Near East.

## VI

If the above calculations be accurate, it becomes clear that Great Britain will be maintaining her interests in Asia, Europe and Africa by coming to an understanding with Italy, Germany and Japan and thus isolating Russia. This policy may result in a Russo-German war or a Russo-Japanese War, which would be welcomed by Britain, because it would weaken her three potential enemies—Germany, Russia and Japan.

It may be argued that in making these calculations we have not taken the United States into consideration. It was not necessary to say that Great Britain would not follow anti-American foreign policy; and at the same time it is beyond dispute that the American Government would adopt the policy of "parallel action" with Great Britain to maintain peace and aid the British Empire. Just as Great Britain did not take any objection to German annexation of Austria, similarly the United States also has followed Great Britain on the Austrian question. It is well understood that in the near future the United States will recognise the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. If Britain pursues a policy of consolidating Anglo-French-Italian-German understanding which might adversely affect Soviet Russia but would promote British interests, the government at Washington would not act adversely to the British programme. If Britain decides to act in the Far East as a mediator in

the Sino-Japanese conflict and thus act to curb the increase of Soviet Russian influence in China, in spite of genuine anti-Japanese feeling in certain influential quarters of the United States, the Government of the United States would never align itself with Russia and China against Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany and Japan.

In conclusion, I wish to make it clear that British statesmen who are directing the Foreign Policy are neither Fascists nor anti-Fascists in principle. They have only one principle and aim—preservation and extension of the British Empire—and they feel that Britain has no reason to take the burden of fighting Germany, Italy and Japan. Such a struggle would materially benefit Russia and France and not Britain. Therefore they are at present interested in consolidating British interests by securing French, Italian, German and Japanese co-operation and thus weakening Soviet Russia as well as Germany and Japan through adopting a policy which would make a Russo-Japanese War or a Russo-German War inevitable.

April 17, 1938.

New York.

#### Annexes to the Anglo-Italian Treaty of April 16, 1938.\*

##### ANNEX ONE

*Reaffirmation of the Declaration of January 2, 1937, regarding the Mediterranean, and of Notes exchanged on December 31, 1936.*

The Government of the United Kingdom and the Italian Government hereby reaffirm the declaration signed at Rome on January 2, 1937, regarding the Mediterranean and notes exchanged between the two governments on December 31, 1936, regarding the status quo in the Western Mediterranean.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) PERTH, CIANO

##### ANNEX TWO

*Agreement regarding the Exchange of Military Information.*

The government of the United Kingdom and the Italian Government agree that in the month of January each year a reciprocal exchange of information shall take place through naval, military and air attaches in London and Rome regarding any major prospective administration movements or redistribution of their respective naval, military and air forces. This exchange of information will take place in respect of such forces stationed in or based on:

1 Overseas possessions of either party (which phrase shall for this purpose be deemed to include protectorates and mandated territories) in or with seaboard on the Mediterranean, Red Sea or Gulf of Aden, and

2 Territories in Africa other than those referred to in paragraph 1 above, and lying in the area bounded on the west by Long. 20 E. and on the south by Lat. 7 S.

Such exchanges of information will not necessarily preclude occasional communication of supplementary

military information, should either party consider that political circumstances of the moment make it desirable.

The two governments further agree to notify each other in advance of any decision to provide new naval or air bases in the Mediterranean east of Long. 19 degrees E., and in the Red Sea or approaches thereto.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) PERTH, CIANO

##### ANNEX THREE

*Anglo-Italian Agreement regarding certain areas in the Middle East.*

The Government of the United Kingdom and the Italian Government,

Being desirous of insuring that there shall be no conflict between their respective policies in regard to areas of the Middle East referred to in the present agreement,

Being desirous, moreover, that the same friendly spirit which has attended the signing of to-day's protocol and of the documents annexed thereto should also animate their relations in regard to those areas,

Have agreed as follows:

Article I. Neither party will conclude any agreement or take any action which might in any way impair the independence or integrity of Saudi Arabia or Yemen.

Article II. Neither party will obtain or seek to obtain a privileged position of political character in any territory which at present belongs to Saudi Arabia or to Yemen or in any territory which either of those States may hereafter acquire.

Article III. The two parties recognize that in addition to the obligations incumbent on each of them in Articles I and II hereof it is in the common interest of both of them that no other power should acquire or seek to acquire sovereignty or any privileged position of a political character in any territory which at present belongs to Saudi Arabia or Yemen, or which either of these States may hereafter acquire, including any islands in the Red Sea belonging to either of those States, or in any islands of the Red Sea to which Turkey renounced her rights by Article XVI of the treaty of peace signed at Lausanne July 24, 1923.

##### WOULD CURB OTHER POWERS

In particular they regard it as an essential interest of each of them that no other power should acquire sovereignty or any privileged position on any part of the coast of the Red Sea which at present belongs to Saudi Arabia or Yemen or in any of the aforesaid islands.

Articles IV. As regards those islands in the Red Sea to which Turkey renounced her rights by Article XVI of the treaty of peace signed at Lausanne July 24, 1923, and which are not comprised in the territory of Saudi Arabia or Yemen neither party will in regard to any such island firstly, establish its sovereignty or secondly, erect fortifications or defences.

It is agreed that neither party will object to: Firstly, the presence of British officials at Kamaran for the purpose of securing sanitary service of the pilgrimage to Mecca in accordance with the provisions of the agreement concluded in Paris on June 19, 1926, between the Governments of Great Britain, North Ireland and of India on the one part and the Government of The Netherlands on the other; it is also understood that the Italian Government may appoint an Italian medical officer to be stationed there on the same conditions as The Netherlands medical officer under the said agreement; secondly, the presence of Italian officials at Great Hanish, Little Hanish and Jebel Zukur for the purpose of protecting fishermen who resort to those islands; thirdly, the presence at Abu Ali, Centre

\*Reproduced from *The New York Times* of April 17, 1938.



Peak and Jebel Teir of such persons as are required for the maintenance of lights on those islands.

Article V. The two parties agree it is in the common interest of both of them that there shall be peace between Saudi Arabia and Yemen and within the territories of those States. But while they will at all times exert their good offices in the cause of peace they will not intervene in any conflict which despite their good offices may break out between or within those States.

The two parties also recognize that it is in the common interest of both of them that no other power should intervene in any such conflict.

#### ARABIAN ZONE CITED

Article VI. As regards the zone of Arabia lying to the east and south of the present boundaries of Saudi Arabia and Yemen or of any of the future boundaries which may be established by agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom on the one hand and the Governments of Saudi Arabia or Yemen on the other:

1—The Government of the United Kingdom declare that in the territories of the Arab rulers under their protection within this zone:

No action shall be taken by the Government of the United Kingdom which shall be such as to prejudice in any way the independence or integrity of Saudi Arabia or Yemen (which both parties have undertaken to respect in Article I hereof) within any territory at present belonging to those States or within any additional territory which may be recognized by the Government of the United Kingdom as belonging to either of those States as the result of any agreement which may hereafter be concluded between the Government of the United Kingdom and the government of either of them.

The Government of the United Kingdom will not undertake or cause to be undertaken any military preparations or works other than military preparations or works of purely defensive character for the defense of said territories or of communications between the different parts of the British Empire. Furthermore, the Government of the United Kingdom will not enroll inhabitants of any of these territories or cause them to be enrolled in any military forces other than forces designed and suited solely for the preservation of order and for local defense;

While the Government of the United Kingdom reserve the liberty to take in these territories such steps as may be necessary for the preservation of order and the development of the country, they intend to maintain the autonomy of the Arab rulers under their protection.

2—The Italian Government declare they will not seek to acquire any political influence in this zone.

Article VII. The Government of the United Kingdom declare that within the limits of the Aden protectorate as defined in the Aden protectorate order of 1937 Italian citizens and subjects (including Italian companies) shall have liberty to come with their ships and goods to all places and ports and they shall have freedom of entry to travel and residence and the right to exercise there any description of business, profession, occupation or industry as long as they satisfy and observe the conditions and regulations from time to time applicable in the protectorate to citizens, subjects and ships of any country not being a territory under the sovereignty, suzerainty, protection or mandate of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, Emperor of India.

#### NEGOTIATIONS PROVIDED FOR

Article VIII. Should either party at the time give notice to the other that they consider that a change has taken place in the circumstances obtaining at the time

of entry into force of the present agreement such as to necessitate modification of the provisions of the agreement, the two parties will enter into negotiations with view to revision or amendment of any of the provisions of the agreement.

At any time after the expiration of a period of ten years from the entry into force of the agreement either party may notify the other of its intention to terminate the agreement. Any such notification shall take effect three months after it is made.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) PERU, CIANO.

#### ANNEX FOUR

##### *Declaration regarding Propaganda.*

The two governments welcome the opportunity afforded by the present occasion to place on record their agreement that any attempt by either of them to employ methods of publicity or propaganda at its disposal in order to injure the interests of the other would be inconsistent with the good relations which it is the object of the present agreement to establish and maintain between the two governments and peoples of their respective countries.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) PERU, CIANO.

#### ANNEX FIVE

##### *Declaration regarding Lake Tsana.*

The Italian Government confirm the government of the United Kingdom the assurance given by them to the government of the United Kingdom on April 3, 1936, and reiterated by the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Ambassador at Rome on December 31, 1936, to the effect that the Italian Government were fully conscious of their obligations toward the government of the United Kingdom in the matter of Lake Tsana and had no intention whatever of overlooking or repudiating them.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) PERU, CIANO.

#### ANNEX SIX

##### *Declaration regarding Military Duties of Natives of Italian East Africa.*

The Italian Government reaffirm the assurance that they gave in their note to the League of Nations on June 29, 1936, that Italy on her side was willing to accept the principle that natives of Italian East Africa should not be compelled to undertake military duties other than local policing and territorial defense.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) PERU, CIANO.

#### ANNEX SEVEN

##### *Declaration regarding Free Exercise of Religion and Treatment of British Religious Bodies in Italian East Africa.*

Without prejudice to any treaty engagements which may be applicable, the Italian Government declare they intend to assure to British nationals in Italian East Africa free exercise of all cults compatible with public order and good morals; and in this spirit they will examine favorably any request which may reach them from the British side to assure Italian East Africa religious assistance to British nationals; and that as regards other activities of British religious bodies in Italian East Africa in the humanitarian and benevolent spheres such requests as may reach the Italian Government will be examined, the general line

of policy of the royal government in this matter and the principles of legislation in force in Italian East Africa being borne in mind

Done at Rome, etc

(Signed) PERTH. CIANO

#### ANNEX EIGHT

##### *Declaration regarding Suez Canal.*

The Government of the United Kingdom and the Italian Government hereby reaffirm their intention always to respect and to abide by the provisions of the convention signed at Constantinople October 29, 1888, which guarantees at all times for all powers free use of the Suez Canal

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) PERTH. CIANO.

#### LETTERS ON LIBYA

*The Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Ambassador at Rome.*

Rome, April 16, 1938.

Your Excellency,

During our recent conversations Your Excellency referred to the question of the strength of Italian forces in Libya.

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that the head of the government has given orders for the diminution of these forces. Withdrawals already have begun at the rate of 1,000 a week and will be continued at not less than this rate until Italian Libyan effectives reach peace strength. This will constitute an ultimate diminution of these effectives by not less than half the numbers present in Libya when our conversations commenced

I avail myself of this opportunity to convey to Your Excellency expression of my highest consideration.

(Signed) CIANO

*Lord Perth to Count Ciano.*

Rome, April 16, 1938

Your Excellency,

I honor and acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's note of today's date wherein Your Excellency informed me of the intentions of the head of the Italian Government with regard to the progressive diminution of Italian forces in Libya.

I shall have the pleasure of communicating this information to His Majesty's Government.

I avail myself, etc.,

(Signed) PERTH.

#### LETTERS ON NAVAL TREATY

*Count Ciano to Lord Perth.*

Rome, April 16, 1938.

Your Excellency,

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that the Italian Government has decided to accede to the naval treaty signed at London on the 25th of March, 1936, in accordance with procedure laid down in Article XXXI of that treaty. This accession will take place as soon as the instruments annexed to the protocol signed this day come into force.

In advising Your Excellency of the foregoing I desire to add that the Italian Government intend in the meantime

to act in conformity with the provisions of the aforesaid treaty

I avail myself of this opportunity, etc.

(Signed) PERTH

*Lord Perth to Count Ciano.*

Rome, April 16, 1938.

Your Excellency,

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's note of today's date which Your Excellency informed me of the decision of the Italian Government to accede to the naval treaty signed in London on the 25th of March, 1936, as soon as the instruments annexed to the protocol signed this day come into force, and in the meantime to act in conformity with the provisions of the aforesaid treaty

I shall have the pleasure of communicating this decision to His Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom.

I avail myself, etc

(Signed) PERTH

The Bon Voisinage agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom, the Egyptian Government and the Italian Government.

The Italian Government on the one hand and, on the other hand, in respect to Kenya and British Somaliland, the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and, in respect to Sudan, the Government of the United Kingdom and the Egyptian Government,

Desiring to provide for friendly relations in East Africa:

Undertake, in addition to proceeding with due course to the discussion of detailed questions connected with frontiers between Italian East Africa and Sudan, Kenya and British Somaliland as provided in the protocol signed today by the Government of the United Kingdom and the Italian Government, at all times to co-operate for the preservation of good neighborly relations between the said territories and to endeavor by every means in their power to prevent raids or other unlawful acts of violence from being carried out across the frontiers of any of the above-mentioned territories,

Agree that in view of the fact that by virtue of the Italian decree of the 12th of April, 1936, slavery was prohibited in Ethiopia, as it had already been abolished in other above-mentioned territories, the good neighborly relations referred to above shall include co-operation to prevent evasion of anti-slavery laws of the respective territories;

Agree that the nationals of the other party shall not be enrolled in native troops, bands or formations of a military nature maintained in the above-mentioned territories, including in particular any such nationals who are deserters from troops, bands or formations maintained in or are fugitives from territories of the other party.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized thereto by their respective governments, have signed the present agreement

Done at Rome in triplicate on the 16th of April, 1938, in the English and Italian languages, both of which have equal force

(Signed) PERTH,  
MUSTAFA EL SADEK,  
CIANO.



# COLLECTIONS OF CHINESE ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

By DR. KALIDAS NAG, D. Litt. (Paris)

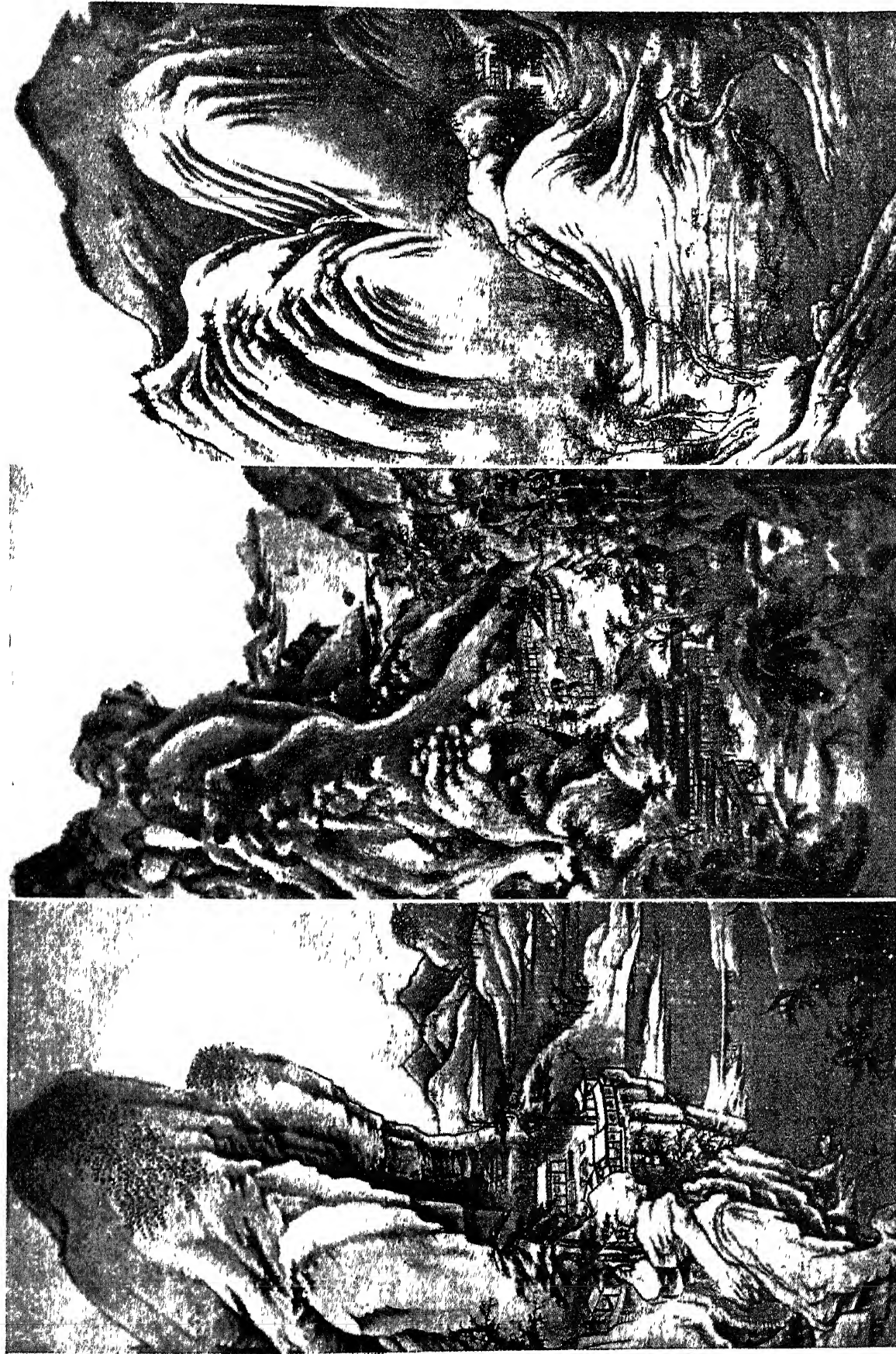
To prepare a mere inventory of Chinese manuscripts and art treasures removed from China and sequestered in the various public and private collections of Europe and America is a task of international significance. It should have been taken up by the National Government of China in collaboration with the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, which has a special division known as the International Office of Museums. But it is a matter of deep regret that while China like India paid enormous subsidies as subscription to the coffers of the League of Nations, it has done very little by way of such useful surveys, if the restoration and conservation work proved too heavy for the League experts. Consequently, a scholar interested in tracing the valuable Chinese works of art abroad must have the rare leisure and financial resources to travel all over the Occident and study the exhibits in the public museums as well as in private collections. The British Museum, London, the Louvre, the Musée Guimet, the Musée Cernusky of Paris, the State Museum and the Folk Museum of Berlin, together with the smaller, yet none the less important Chinese collections in Holland, Italy and other countries, go to demonstrate how many of the national artistic patrimonies of China lie scattered in foreign lands. The New World also, specially Canada and the United States, have developed Chinese collections of outstanding merit, specially in Toronto and in the McGill University, Canada, in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, in the Metropolitan Museum of New York and other places. Benjamin Marsh has rendered a real service by compiling a short yet useful list of the Chinese and Japanese collections in the American Museums. For the present, we shall indicate some of the important museums and research institutions which have been functioning with more or less efficiency in the various cultural centres of the Chinese Republic.

## PALACE MUSEUM OF PEKING

Privileged to accompany Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in his cultural mission to China, I visited the splendid museum in 1924 when the last Manchu Emperor, Hsuan Tung, invited us to the historic palace in the Forbidden City. H. R.

Johnston, private tutor to the Emperor, was all courtesy to us and I could see some of the rarest treasures of Chinese art in the historical setting of the Palace which very soon after changed its complexion with the flight of the Emperor who emerged in history as Emperor Pu Yi of Manchukuo. After his departure, the Palace Museum was formally inaugurated (Oct. 1925) and for the benefit of the public a detailed inventory of the valuable palace collection was made, each article being numbered, labelled and recorded and according to importance photographed. Thus the contents of each room of the palace were made known to the public for the first time. Since 1914, the Ministry of the Interior was maintaining the Peking Museum of Antiquities occupying the Outer Court of the Forbidden City. In the Outer Court we find the three great Throne Halls. Tai Ho Tien or the Hall of Supreme Harmony was the centre of ceremonial life where the most important state functions were formally held with great pomp and splendour. It is the most impressive of all the imperial structures, 200 ft. long, 100 ft. wide and 110 ft. high. Five richly carved marble steps lead to lofty terraces where we find wonderful bronze cisterns, incense-burners, the sun and moon dials and other treasures removed to Peking in 1914 from the former Imperial Palaces at Mukden and Jehol. The exhibits number over 200,000 articles and 10 volumes were necessary to complete its catalogue of paintings and calligraphy. This museum in the Outer Court came in November, 1930 under the jurisdiction of the National Palace Museum, occupying the Inner Courts or the Northern section of the former Imperial Palace. It is divided into five sections, the most important being the Chien Ching Kung or the Hall of Resplendent Brilliancy. Behind it are the halls of Imperial Wedding and the Throne Hall of the Empress beyond which is the wonderful imperial garden where the young Emperor with his two beautiful queens received the Indian Poet and his party. Many large pavilions in the palace have been turned into exhibition rooms, some always open to the public and the remainder open on special occasions. From nowhere could we form a better idea of Chinese court life, its gorgeous architecture and wonderful furniture and





Ancient Chinese Landscapes in the Collection of the Palace Museum of Peking



Ancient Chinese Landscapes in the Collection of the Palace Museum of Peking

interior decorations as from our visit to the palaces of the Forbidden City.

#### IMPORTANT COLLECTIONS OF THE PEKING MUSEUM

From the point of view of antiquity, the bronzes are the finest things in the Museum dating from 1500 to 1000 B.C., coming from the Shang and the Chou dynasty. Next in importance come the objects of jade and other precious stones. A rock-shaped jade block is named "the mountain of longevity" and the wonderful jade basin representing a lake is called "the sea of happiness." The ivory collection is no less remarkable, and to form an idea of the historical value of these objects of art, one has only to consult the learned monographs of Dr. B. Laufer of the Field Museum of Chicago, on *Jade* (1912) and *Ivory in China* (1925).

More than 6,000 specimens of Chinese porcelain come from the various famous kilns from the Sung to the Ming dynasty. In modelling, design and colouring, they mark the apogee of Chinese art. The earliest Chinese painting has unfortunately been lost to China, as it now decorates the British Museum. The oldest in the Palace Museum come from the Tsin dynasty (265-419 A.D.). I saw one or two small sketches of remarkable vigour attributed to the Tang dynasty. Thence the pictorial documents become more copious, for we find over 8,000 scrolls from the Sung, Yuan and Ming epochs. The museum authorities have already published several volumes of reproductions of selected paintings and four volumes of portraits of Manchu Emperors and Empresses.

Amongst the miscellaneous collections we find real gems of minor arts in ancient bronze mirrors, ivory fans, snuff bottles, paintings and writing materials, carved bamboos, brocades, tapestries, carved lacquer, cloisonne enamels, etc. Students of Indian art also will find valuable materials in the statues, paintings and religious relics of Buddhism from India, Nepal and Tibet. I was agreeably surprised to find several apparently diplomatic documents written in Nagri or derivatives of Nagri script, possibly from Nepal, which might have sent embassies to the Chinese Court.

That reminds us of the fact that the Palace Museum is also the depository of the largest collection of ancient manuscripts, books, and historical records. According to the statistics of 1931, there were about 370,000 volumes and many of them were the only copies in existence. The famous Chinese Encyclopaedia (5,000 vols.) printed in 1724 on *Kaihua* paper from movable blocks is there. So many original editions of

books printed during the Sung, Yuan and Ming dynasties are deposited together with about 36,000 manuscript volumes from the Imperial Library of Emperor Chien Lung. A great number of unpublished edicts, memorials and historical maps is kept, together with imperial robes, shields, ornaments and various other objects of historical or literary value.

The annual budget of the museum amounts to \$432,000 plus \$123,312 for special expenses during 1934-35. The museum, amongst other publications, issues an illustrated bi-weekly and also the Palace Museum monthly. Peking is also proud of its National Library, which contains rare documents of artistic and historical value. It has more than 15,000 sets of rubbings of bronzes and stone tablets and many Mongolian and Tibetan books together with Manchu translations of Chinese works. In 1929, the library purchased a unique collection of 99 volumes of printed Buddhist Sutras in the Hsi Hsia (Tangut) language and some Buddhist paintings. Moreover, the library has a good collection of Buddhist texts from the 8,500 manuscripts discovered in Tun Huang caves mostly from the Tang dynasty.

The private library of over 41,000 volumes of our noble host Liang Chi Chao with his own manuscripts have been deposited by his heirs in the National Library. It started operating in 1910 and was reorganised in 1925 when the Ministry of Education agreed to co-operate with the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture which paid in 1934-35 \$275,000.

In 1933, the National Library possessed 500,000 volumes of Chinese works and about 85,000 volumes in European languages as well as works in Arabic, Hebrew, Turkish, Persian and other Asiatic languages—a veritable museum of Oriental culture.

Before the transference of political power to Nanking, the cultural capital of China was undoubtedly Peking, which alone had nine universities which were amalgamated (1927) to form the National University of Peiping. These universities, of course, are so many colleges and the earliest, the Metropolitan University, was started in 1898. In 1908 the American Government returned to China a portion of the Boxer indemnity which went to the foundation of a splendid college which we visited in 1924 and which developed into the Tsing Hua University in 1925. It takes interest in ancient culture publishing *A Commentary to the Kacyapa-parivarta* in Chinese and Tibetan, as well as a study on *The Prehistoric Relics of Hsi Yin*.



*Tsun.* Dr. P. C. Chang, an authority on Chinese drama, was the Dean of the University, who showed us its splendid library and other departments.

Invited by the National University of Peking to deliver lectures on Indian Art which were interpreted in Chinese by our esteemed friend Dr. Hu Shih, I came in touch with many outstanding art-critics and antiquarians who were deeply interested in Indian art and archaeology. Dr. Hu Shih, one of the leading spirit of the Chinese renaissance in the Republican epoch and who introduced John Dewey, Bertrand Russell and other celebrities to the Chinese public, not only introduced me and S. Nandalal Bose to the artistic circles of the metropolis but, in consultation with Liang Chi Chao, secured for us the co-operation of eminent scholars like Liang-Su-Ming, the philosopher and Dr. Li Chi, the archaeologist, who guided my steps (1924) through the historical sites and relics of China.

Nandalal's masterly brush-work was keenly appreciated by the expert painters of Peking. Some of them worked in their private studios, while others helped in the establishment (1918) of the Peking Art School which developed into the National Academy of Fine Arts. Between 1928-34, the Academy operated as the College of Fine Arts of the National University. It attained independent status with the annual subsidy of \$120,000 from the Ministry of Education. It offers three years' courses in painting, sculpture, industrial and decorative arts. The Peiping School of Fine Arts is an independent non-official organisation which was founded in the year of our visit (1924). It was maintained by an income from private sources amounting to \$24,000 per annum.

Three major American learned societies contributed to build research centres in China. In 1906, was founded the Union Medical College which was maintained by a joint English and American mission board until July, 1915, when Rockefeller Foundation assumed the full financial support and developed it into the now famous Peiping Union Medical College whose Prof. Davidson Black contributed so much to the scientific evaluation of the Peking Man.

The Yale University also finances many projects under its Yale-in-China programme and the University of Harvard was entrusted to administer a trust under the Will of the late Charles M. Hall to "conduct and provide research instruction and publication in the culture of China." The Harvard University entered into an agreement with the Yen Ching University

which was created in 1917 and which grew out of an institution founded as early as 1867 by the American mission board. It started the Women's College in 1905 and in 1934-35 showed the total student roll of 250 women and 550 men. Its annual budget is met by the American trustees. The Harvard-Yenching Institute, for the last ten years (1928 onwards) is promoting researches in the fields of Chinese philology, history, literature, philosophy, religion, art and archaeology. In 1929, the Sino-Indian Institute of Peiping was merged through the co-operation of Alexander von Stael-Holstein who so kindly guided us in 1924 and who is now the Professor of Sanskrit of the Harvard University, resident in Peking. He tried for years together to train advanced scholars in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongolian. A profound student of the history of Buddhism, Baron Stael-Holstein recited to me some of the forgotten hymns of Asvaghosa which he has recovered. He also kindly presented me, before my departure, with a copy of Chinese-Buddhist iconographical texts which I handed over to my friend Dr. P. C. Bagchi and I was glad to find later on that the text was utilized by my colleague Prof. Jitendranath Bannerji co-operating with Dr. Bagchi. Another fellow-student of mine at the classes of Prof. Paul Pelliot (College de France) was Prof. Serge Elliseiff, an authority on Japanese art who is now one of the directors of the Yenching Research faculty.

The second portion of the American Boxer indemnity amounting to 12,545,000 gold dollars came to be returned to China in the year of our visit (1924) when it was decided that the fund would be paid in twenty annual instalments, up to 1945, and was to be devoted to the development of scientific knowledge and technical training. This was the history of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture which maintains several scientific researches fellowships and professorships, also giving subsidies to several cultural institutions.

#### CULTURAL INSTITUTES OF NANKING

With the formation of the National Government in the spring of 1927, the Central Political Council of Nanking took a momentous step by authorising the establishment of Academia Sinica, advocated long ago by the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen. Starting work in June, 1928, the Academy began to attend to (a) pursuit of scientific research and (b) promotion and co-ordination of scientific studies in China through international conferences, lectures, broadcasting, etc. The Academy maintains a National Research Coun-

oil, composed of thirty members selected from the experts of the Country. It maintains ten institutions devoted to Astronomy, Biology, Chemistry, Engineering, Geology, History and Philology, Meteorology, Psychology, Physics and Social Sciences. Most of them are located in Nanking but some are in Shanghai and Peking.

For the students of cultural history, the Institute of History and Philology is of special interest. At the time of its inception in 1928, it was located in Canton. Later on, removed to Peking, the Institute was again removed to Shanghai after the Manchurian incident of 1932 and finally established in Nanking (1934). Its section of historical studies continues to function from Peking where alone one could find rare original texts, specially the archives of the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties. This section attends to the textual criticism of ancient classics, the study of bronze and stone inscription and other problems of Chinese history.<sup>\*</sup>

The section of linguistics promotes researches on experimental phonetics, on general linguistics, on Chinese dialects and borderland languages. It organised sound archives and studies on Hsi-Hsia texts as well as comparative studies on English and Chinese intonation. Its section of Anthropology undertook the study of ancient Chinese skulls, correlation of cranial indices and of Chinese finger-prints. It also organised systematic anthropological and ethnological surveys of the Provinces of Szechwan and Yunnan.

Last, though not the least, is the section of archaeology which, as we have noted above, has gathered a wonderfully rich harvest within a very short time. Among other things it has initiated a survey of the Painted Pottery sites in Honan, and researches on pre-historic remains in Manchuria and Jehol. Excavations of Black Pottery sites in Honan and Shantung have been conducted. A happy collaboration between the Institute and the Freer Gallery of Washington led to the financing of the momentous excavations at Anyang under Dr. Li Chi leading to extraordinary discoveries of Shang culture of 2nd millennium B.C.

When we visited Nanking, it still looked like a provincial capital but within the last ten years it has undergone a phenomenal growth. Quite apart from its being the headquarters of Academia Sinica, Nanking established in March,

1938, the Institute of Chinese Cultural Studies in the University of Nanking. Its annual revenue of \$32,000 (1934-35) came from the American Hall Fund administered by the Harvard-Yenching Institute. The Institute has to its credit important publications like "*A Catalogue of the Recorded Paintings of Successive Dynasties*, (6 Vols.); *Bronzes from 12 Peiping Collections* (2 Vols.), *A Survey of Contemporary Japanese Sinology*, and several studies on the Oracle Bone inscriptions."

Nanking Museum of Antiquities founded in 1915 was taken over by the Ministry of Education in 1928. The Ministry grants annual subsidy of about \$4,000 helping the museum to exhibit, for the benefit of the public education, its valuable collection of paintings, rubbings and other antiquities in its six Exhibition Halls. In 1933, a preparatory committee was entrusted with the task of organising the National Central Museum. The Ministry of Finance sanctioned annual grant of \$24,000 to the committee which started its work under the Chairmanship of Dr. Li Chi.

A most interesting branch of applied arts was developed in 1928 in the form of the Ceramic Laboratory administered by the Academia Sinica and the National Central University of Nanking. It not only undertakes researches contributing to the further development of ceramic industry but also applies itself to the study of ancient Chinese ceramics analysing the bodies and the glazes of the wares so that we may understand the composition of Chinese porcelain and the method of its manufacture in ancient days.

From Canton and Amoy to Keifeng and Sinan there are innumerable centres showing collections of art and archaeology which have not yet been satisfactorily catalogued and which, let us hope, the Museum Association of China would co-ordinate for the benefit of the outside public. The Archaeological Society of Honan (Keifeng), and the Archaeological Museum of the West China University (Chengt'u), among others, are discovering and developing valuable collections. China, as we all know, co-operated with other Asiatic nations mainly through her North-Western provinces which, owing to later political disturbances, were neglected although they were on the life-lines of the Han Empire.

Recently a scientific mission to North-Western China was organised (1927) by the Federation of Scientific Institutions of China. It started a systematic archaeological exploration in collaboration with the Swedish explorer Dr. Sven Hedin, well-known in India as the

\* The Peking Committee started excavation works (1930) at I-Hsien in the Hupeh Province. It also started excavating (1933) in Sian-Fu and other parts of Shensi in co-operation with the archaeological society of Shensi.

author of *The Trans-Himalaya*. The Han archaeological finds of Dr. F. Bergman were turned over to the scholars of this society who also undertook the study of the Han dynasty manuscripts on wooden strips. The archaeological finds of the Tang Dynasty made by Mr. Huang Wen-Pi are also being studied. During 1932-33 over 90 wall-paintings and 50 clay-figures were repaired and an illustrated monograph on the Kaochang Pottery was compiled. Annual grant of \$15,000 comes from the China Foundation for the Promotinn of Education and Culture.

Shanghai, although a modern city compared with Peking, enjoys the benefit of some progressive and well-equipped scientific institutions, the most outstanding being the Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch. It was established in 1857 under the name of the Shanghai Literary and Scientific Society. It was affiliated in 1858 to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. The British Government made a gift in 1871 of a fine building at 20, Museum Road, which is the Society's headquarters. An entirely new building was added in 1933 and the Society is proud to show a membership of 719 members of all nationalities. Its annual budget (1933-34)

amounts to \$20,000, out of which \$6,000 come as grant from the Shanghai Municipal Council. Apart from the Journal, the Society has other valuable publications. Amongst its many learned office-bearers I had the privilege of meeting (1924) Mr. A. de C. Sowerby, the learned editor of the *China Journal of Science and Arts*, who very kindly helped me with the latest bulletins, reports and above all, with the splendid Guide, *The Shanghai Museum*, which he published in 1936 when he was the honorary director. The Society founded its Museum in 1874 and it has grown to be one of the best arranged and scientifically treated collections on China which no scholar can afford to ignore. Pre-historic arrow-heads, stone-carvings, ancient bronzes, tomb-figures, pottery, porcelain, coins and precious stones are exhibited with sedulous care. The mammals, birds and fishes of China together with the life-like reconstruction of the Peking Man are all scenically mounted. Its sections on Natural History, Zoology, Botany, Geology, etc. are object-lessons for museum workers. Of special interest are the remains of extinct animals, such as the Mastodon, Stegodon and Hyperion or three-toed horse, most of them coming probably from the Szechwan province.

## INDIA IN FISHER'S HISTORY OF EUROPE

By RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

THE Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, P.C., D.C.L., F.B.A., F.R.S., Warden of the New College, Oxford, has written a History of Europe. Prof. Earnest Barker has described it as a 'triumph of historic art.' The Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin (now Earl Baldwin) called it 'a great work.' The reviewer of *The Manchester Guardian* discerned in it 'wisdom, detachment and serenity.' All these highly flattering and ennobling opinions are carried on the dust cover of the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher's book. They are very impressive and it is not surprising that some Indian Universities and Colleges should have recommended this History of Europe to their students.

Fisher's book carries a chapter on British rule in India. My knowledge of the book is limited to this chapter. It made a strangely disgusting impression on me. It is mean and

unhistoric and is certainly as far removed from detachment and serenity as any of Churchill's or Joynson-Hick's speeches on India. No decent-minded University or College in India and outside has, I hope, recommended Churchill's or Joynson-Hick's utterances on India as text-books or as triumphs of historic art.

Fisher begins his study with the histology of the British conquest of India. "The English succeeded in conquering India because they brought peace and deliverance from oppression," "Such measure of intellectual and political unity as may now be found in India is due to the English conquest and administration,"—describe Fisher's diagnosis of reasons of the Englishman's success and of his achievements. There is no qualifying clause, no cautious hesitation, nothing of the historical

spirit which trembles to straighten out in a single thread the tangled skein of human events

There have been many conquests in human history and there is hardly a race which has not some time been the conquered and at another time the conqueror. The reasons of a successful conquest have lain in the military organization, the civilization and, infrequently, the culture of the conquerors on the one hand and in the disunity and softer life of the conquered on the other. At the time of the British conquest, India was politically disunited and her civilization was based on the comparatively self-sufficient economy of the village. England, on the contrary, was realising national unity through the industrial revolution and her military machine carried with it the advantages of a capitalist civilization. The British conquest of India was thus the victory of a better-organised civilization over a looser and softer life. I might also be prepared to admit that, around the time of the British conquest, Indian culture and character were temporarily eclipsed and, so, inferior to Britain's, but there will be qualifying clauses and a lot of cautious hesitation. That is however beside the point. The English succeeded in conquering India because their muskets were loaded with a better-organized gun-powder. Besides being untrue, it is incoherent and unhistorical to say that the cause of their success lay in the peace and freedom that they brought to India. Only an incoherent mind or one gifted to receive divine revelations can describe the effect of an event as its cause. That might be the triumph of theology or of irrelevance but, hardly, that of historic art.

Did British conquest and administration bring into India peace and freedom or intellectual and political unity? A punch on the jaw of a weakly boy some times results in a sturdy manhood, but, even in that sense, India has received far too many punches to profit from the British conquest. Fisher, however, is clear in his own mind that the British administration of India has directly worked for freedom, peace and unity. The mind of a historian is commonly supposed to feed on events, but Fisher has obviously cultivated a preference for fancies and wishful thinking. No amount of fanciful thinking can, however, blot out the memory of unceasing wars, famines, pestilence and the entire disorganization of the nation's economy which the British conquest and rule has meant to

India. The hundred years between the first successful battle of the British and their final conquest of India were a state of permanent wars; disorganization of systems of land tenure, destruction of industries and famines went alongside. The eighty years since have known such political evils and economic poverty and famines that the balance of the results of British administration in India is frankly not in its favour.

It is said that the greatest good that could be done to India was the benefit of unity, peace and security and that is exactly what the British have done. They have given India the peace of a Central Government. Almost at once two questions arise: what was the cost of achieving this peace and what is its exact nature. No historian dare forget that it cost India a whole hundred years of continuing wars and destruction to achieve the peace of the last eighty years. At any rate, the background of war against the present state of peace is so far of a longer duration that history must make a clear record of it. Moreover, the peace of the last eighty years that has fallen upon India is the forced apathy of foreign rule and not the peace of creative effort. It has not activated India's population to an increasing sense of its human dignity; it has not generated that noble sensitiveness which is the prelude to great national achievements. If the Indian peasant and worker and intellectual are at last awakening, it is very much in spite of the British rule. The other much trumpeted achievements of Britain in India, the railways, irrigation canals, hospitals and the like must similarly be studied in the background of the general political and social conditions in the country and of the growth and development during the same period in the free countries of the world. India has continued to be a prey to under-nourishment, preventable diseases, premature death, widespread ignorance and political evils, while the free nations have sped very much ahead of her. There can be no doubt that, had she been free, India would have been a far happier nation today. If contemporary historians must needs draw the balance of British rule in India and credit it with the achieving of peace and security, they must at the same time declare the cost of this achievement and its exact nature.

Fisher has singled out the achievements of the English educational system and the public services for specific praise. "The fruit of Macaulay's famous minute on Indian

Education is the development in India not only of an excellent official class some 2 million in number but of a body of educated politicians who have been taught out of English books to admire liberty," is Fisher's verdict on British Indian education. The Oxford Warden does not seem to be conversant with the newer trends and beliefs of the British ruling classes themselves, for even they would regard his opinion as rather antiquated, one-sided and demonstrably rhetorical. British education has sought to denationalise India and, though happily it failed to achieve its purpose finally, it has made of learning a very rare and special privilege. Fisher has tried to explain away the widespread illiteracy in India as a necessary consequence of the Indian social conditions. Extraordinary diversity of creeds and languages, prevalence of child marriage and non-use of unmarried women teachers in elementary schools are the three reasons which he ascribes to India's illiteracy. The British administration's utter disregard of primary and secondary education, its insistence on English as the medium of instruction, the poverty of the vast masses and the entire detachment of the educational system from the country's economic and social life have with Fisher faded away into nothingness. The Congress provincial administrations, despite their many shackles, are bringing them back into our memories and Free India will most surely prove that, more than anything else, the fact of British rule was responsible for the country's widespread illiteracy.

"The British members of the Indian Public Services have perhaps more nearly than any other ruling class realised the ideal of disinterested government which Plato thought could be secured only if the Guardians of the State were shielded from the temptations of ownership and family."

It must gladden every student of history to come across even an inadequate approximation to the Platonic ideal in human flesh and I do not grudge Fisher his joy in the discovery. He further describes his Platonic statesmen as being actuated with "a certain contemptuous indifference natural to the agents of a benevolent power which has long usurped the role of Providence" in their relations to "the effervescent nationalism of the young." Prejudiced pamphleteering alone can so definitely decide as to which is effervescent, the nationalism of the young or the contempt of the public servant. In any case, the gods of Fisher are, in his own language, a modern edition of the unicorn, one-half of whose face bears the gentle suffering of Platonic stateman-

ship and the other the disfiguring contempt of an effervescent tingod. That the gentle suffering of the British public servant is not in every case quite so disinterested has recently been disclosed by an Indian who had self-respect enough to change over from the clerkship of the civil service to the Indian National Congress.

"I know of a European officer who about 3 years ago removed some silverware which was being disposed of as unclaimed property. My knowledge of law is not profound but I am not sure that ordinarily such conduct would not have amounted to misappropriation or theft.... Even when the matter was reported to a superior officer, unfortunately an European, he ordered that the property should be struck off the register."

This charge of vile theft against two of Fisher's British tingods has been made by a former insider so late as April, 1938. It is of course not my intention to suggest that petty larceny is a universal practice with the British public servant in India; disinterested service to imperial Britain is perhaps quite as frequent. History may not shut its eyes to the petty and gross misdeeds and glorify the petty and big services of the British public servant in India, but that is exactly what Fisher has attempted to do. The British civil servant has at the same time been both good and evil. History can give only one estimate of his role. He was the agent of British rule in India; as such, he was, to Indians themselves, a balance of disadvantages.

Britain's government in India is theoretically based on a series of Acts and Charters and Royal Proclamations. On the basis of a study of these, Fisher concludes that an essentially liberal faith has guided Britain's task in India; Britain has not interfered with the liberties, firstly, of Princes and, secondly, of Religion and, thirdly, has granted equality to all without distinction of colour and creed in respect of public services.\* How far a historian is justified in relying on professions and proclamations for the discovery of practices and actual conditions is another matter. In effect, the liberty of the Indian Princes is the pomp of a most dutiful feudal vassal. The ecclesiastical department of the government favours Christianity at the expense of the other Indian religions. The competitive examinations to the civil service had once favoured the English and, now that Indian competitors are beating the English students in their own language, the plan to retain the British civil servant through nomination is being put through.\* Still, it is no

\*Is it "equality to all" to lay down the percentage of appointments which must be bestowed on various non-



doubt true that, in respect of freedom of religious faith and, partly, of public appointments, Britain has followed a comparatively liberal policy. Incidentally it has paid Britain to do so. Moreover, the absence of freedom of religious faith and equality in respect of public appointments may, no doubt, prove galling, but their presence, in itself, is no mark of good government. Should they be the chief pillars on which a government rest, it is sure to be dull, inert and insipid. In respect of freedom of the more active political and social thought and of the cultural and material achievements of the State, the Indian Government has no doubt been thoroughly insipid and reactionary. But Fisher is slightly unjust to his countrymen's work in India; the Indian Government has not been so colourless in other spheres. It has rested predominantly on the pillar of making India profitable for British trade and capital. With that hangs the colourful tale of the unification of the Indian market, the commercialisation of agriculture, the investment of British capital and the like. As the story unrolls, there is a lot of interesting detail and, even while it frequently resulted in great injury to the Indian masses, it is at least not insipid.

The final stage of British rule in India is now completing and Fisher has also attempted to describe it. According to him there are two dominant patterns in Indian nationalism; the one is western and constitutional and the other eastern and revolutionary. Incidentally, Fisher has, through this description, given expression to his social philosophy; it is unhistorical, jejune and philistine. That a historian of modern Europe can forget the Cromwellian Revolution, the French Revolution, the Central European Revolts, the Italian War of Independence and a host of other rebellions and call the West constitutional and the East revolutionary is not so much the result of his ignorance as of his distorted social vision. He is so much embedded in the security and comfort of the present that he would prefer to deny his parentage and blot out the memory of his revolutionary ancestors. This unhistorical social philosophy of Fisher has inevitably resulted in his complete misunderstanding of the aims of British rule in India and of the character of those who oppose it.

"So far and so fast has Britain been prepared to advance along this perilous road guided by the two load-stars of the Anglo-Saxon race, of which the first is that all government must rest upon consent and second that it is the office of statesmanship to avert revolution by reform."

Hindu communities, irrespective of merit, at the expense of the Hindus?—Ed., M. R.

Fisher has thus summed up the various measures of self-government granted to the Indian people. I will first take up the element of popular consent on which the Indian Government is supposed to rest. The verification of this popular consent lies in two directions. How else would an army of 60,000 Englishmen rule a 350 million people? How else do we explain that India did not seize Britain's peril in the last world war as her opportunity? The answer is simple enough. Between the two extremes of government based on popular consent and of revolution, there is a vast middle field stretching from apathy and indifference to hostility. During the eighty years of British rule, the Indian people had first been brought into a state of submissive apathy and have then slowly awakened into that of definite hostility. At the time of the last world war, they were not yet actively hostile. It is the last seventeen years of the non-violent revolt that have given the Indian people the adequate consciousness and organisation to seize Britain's peril as India's opportunity. History is always in the making; it is never a final product. From the day a people is conquered starts a whole process of consent and apathy and hostility to the conquerer's rule and the various trends of the process are of different duration. To Fisher, however, there is just one long and unending period of popular consent up to the point that a government is actually overthrown. This attitude results in much misunderstanding and bitterness in the relations between a government and its people and among the different peoples of the world. A naive belief that all is right up to the point when all is wrong does not produce the atmosphere in which the aspirations of a people unsupported by acts of violence may be understood. It is also an unhistorical belief.

India has developed a new way of the struggle for freedom. It is the way of non-violence. How far the non-violent way was the result of India's weakness and how far it was a resolute effort to introduce a new era of human relationships will not be an easy discovery even in the distant future, much less so is it today. In its immediate consequences, the non-violent struggle of the Indian people has not yet effectively challenged the British military machine, but it has already demanded deaths by the thousand and imprisonings by the hundred-thousand. It may yet succeed in crippling and destroying the British military power in India. This valiant struggle of the Indian people has not even been mentioned and, in the absence of an armed rebellion, Fisher has concluded that

the Indian government rests upon popular consent. That this is no objective history is plain enough, but it might as well be a clumsy attempt to mislead the British people and other peoples of the world into supporting a government that has no basis in justice or reason.

The statement that the British in India have tried to avert revolution by reform is both untrue and likely to awaken false notions about their generosity and broad-mindedness. Respectable historians often forget the Chartist revolutionaries when they describe the first measure of parliamentary reform in England or the Tolpuddle martyrs when they dwell upon the generous concession to the working-class to form trade unions. Naturally enough, Fisher forgets the brave sufferings of the Indian people which precede every measure of reform. British rule over India, like any other foreign rule, will not voluntarily cease but will be overthrown by the organised power of the Indian people; its striking proof is the divergent history of British promises and practice. British imperialist technique, however, has known how to avoid friction within a narrow range. It has tolerated criticism upto a limit and kept up the comparative independence of the judiciary. How far is this the outcome of a genuine democratic impulse and how far that of a cool calculation as to long-run results is difficult to decide. In any case, the capacity of British imperialism to work for justice and the avoidance of friction is very greatly limited; it snaps as soon as an attack starts on its fundamentals. Self-interest kills the democratic impulse.

In his anxiety to prove that the British rule is both democratic and progressive, Fisher does not hesitate to resort to gross untruths to prove Indian nationalism as reactionary. Mahatma Gandhi is in Fisher's words "an indubitable saint, yet as a member of the money-lending caste a friend to usury, an ardent patriot yet as a politician the beneficiary of the worst slum properties in India". I have tried to interpret this description literally and as a figure of speech; it has made no sense to me which I can square up with facts. Unless usury stands for interest and worst slum properties for capitalist ownership and unless all notion that the Mahatma himself benefits from the institution of capitalist interest is ruled out, Fisher's des-

cription is not only merely an error of interpretation but is a lie in point of fact. Fisher has perhaps lied with the calculated intent to glorify British imperialism at the expense of Indian nationalism. We may not forget that he is an Oxford Warden and, as such, engaged in training up colonial administrators to adopt "contemptuous indifference" in their relations with "effervescent nationalism". He must invent Mahatma Gandhi's friendship to usury and the worst slum properties. Fisher is no historian; he is a low pamphleteer of the British Empire.

Fisher's book is huge, I have read only a single small chapter. I cannot help feeling that the rest of the book must be as poorly unhistorical, its chief interest being the elevation of British character and the singing of British glories. In different measures, it must have done injustice to the history of France, Russia, Germany, Spain, Italy and other European countries. It must be altogether a distorted picture of European humanity.

How a book such as this could ever have been recommended for use in Indian colleges and universities is difficult to understand except on the basis of the opinions on its dust-cover. We may not however forget that imperialism is a fraternity and mutual adoration is its chief cultural weapon. The exclusion of this book from the curriculum of our Universities is the least that we can do in the interests of truthful history. We may also expect our historians and research students to undertake a thorough enquiry into the vicious imperialist propaganda of the history books now in use in our schools and universities and make known the results of their labour to the country. It is time they began writing histories of the world and its various areas.

Beyond our shores our voice of protest may come back to us as an empty echo. Still, the mass of the peoples all over the world is fundamentally honest and there are large sections who believe that the study of history should result not in bitterness and conflicts but in international reconciliation and co-operation. May we hope that they will associate with us in the condemnation of low imperialist pamphleteering that passes as the triumph of historic art?

Allahabad,  
May 9, 1938.

## A YEAR OF PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

By PROFESSOR SRI RAM SHARMA

ON March 31, 1938, the Provincial Autonomy completed the first year of its eventful life. It is yet a babe in arms, but it has already proved a changeling. It is possible, however, to discern clearly much that was dim at its birth. Let us try to take stock of the situation and see in what variegated hues it presents itself today.

We have to start with the Provincial Autonomy as it was conceived by its authors and as they presented it to the Indian world on April 1, 1937. For that the Government of India Act alone is not our guide, nor does the Instrument of Instruction to the Governors complete the picture. The most authoritative picture of the Provincial Autonomy as it was intended to work is to be found in the evidence of the Secretary of State before the Joint Parliamentary Committee and a briefer outline thereof is to be discovered in the correspondence (kept confidential so far) that was carried on between the Governors-in-Council, the Government of India, and the Secretary of State on the subject of the Rules of Business of the Provincial Cabinets and the Rules governing the submission of papers by the Provincial Cabinets and the Secretariat to the Governors.

Taking all these four sources together, we can draw up a tolerably clear picture of what Provincial Autonomy meant to its friends and foes alike on April 1, 1937. Here we first notice that between the first session of the Round Table Conference and the Report of the Joint Committee the definition of the Provincial Autonomy had undergone a change. To understand the fact clearly, it is necessary to quote both the definitions. The Prime Minister speaking at the end of the First Round Table Conference thus outlined the policy of His Majesty's Government :

"Responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon *Legislatures*, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary. . . . 'The Governors' Provinces will be constituted on a basis of full responsibility. Their ministers will be taken from the Legislature and will be jointly responsible to it. . . . .

"There will be reserved to the Governors that minimum of special powers which is required in order to secure, in *exceptional circumstances*, the preservation of tranquillity, and to guarantee the maintenance of rights provided by *statute* for the Public Services and minorities."

Place this beside the definition of Provincial Autonomy given by the Joint Committee.

"Each of Governors' Provinces will possess an Executive and a Legislature having exclusive authority within the Province in a precisely defined sphere."

Now while in the Prime Minister's statement emphasis was placed on the fact that the Provincial Government will be responsible to the Provincial Legislature, with some reservation of powers to the Governors in *exceptional circumstances*, the Joint Committee cut the matter short by investing the Provincial Legislature and the Executive with exclusive authority within the province. Unlike the scheme visualized by the Prime Minister, which recognized the reservation of powers to the Governors as an inroad upon Provincial Autonomy, the Joint Committee by extending the authority in the provinces to the Executive as well made of exceptional circumstances a normal feature. The Provincial Executives and Legislatures were to be independent, not Provincial Legislatures holding the Executive responsible to themselves.

The position on April 1, 1937, then, was that the Government in the provinces was to be carried on jointly by the Governor and the Provincial Legislature. The Governor was, under the Rules of Business, the President of the Council of Ministers, settling its agenda, fixing its time and place of meeting and otherwise performing other functions ancillary to his position as the presiding officer. He was not a Minister without portfolio, but a Minister Extraordinary. In this capacity he administered the Excluded Areas, settled all questions concerning the organization and discipline of police, took action when crimes of violence intended to overthrow the government threatened the province, and could make rules to secure that police officers were not obliged to disclose the sources of their information to persons other than those authorised by him. He was also in charge of all questions concerning the posting, transfers, promotions of officers of the All-India Service. In his third capacity he acted as an examiner of ministerial conduct, and prevented them from doing wrong in certain spheres by stepping into the administrative arena himself

when their action or inaction threatened communal interests, statutory rights and legitimate interests of the services, and produced grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of the province or a part thereof. In what was left to the ministers as their sphere of action after all these deductions had been made, he was to work as a constitutional head of his Government, offering advice, but leaving the decision to the Council of Ministers, of course, meeting under his presidency and amenable to his influence therein as well.

The Ministers who accepted office on April 1, 1937 knew these limitations and agreed to abide by them. The Secretary of State had spoken of the 'two sides of the administration' in the provinces in his evidence before the Joint Committee. He had been driven to admit that the ministers would be allowed to work during the pleasure of the Governor and only so long as he was convinced that the ministers were neither endangering the peace of the province, treating the minorities unfairly, or jeopardizing the good government of the province by threatening the peace and tranquillity of the province.

The essence of the scheme as outlined in the Act was that the Ministers were not to be really responsible either for their actions politically or held responsible for the entire administration of the province while in office. If the action or inaction of a Ministry, for example, created a grave menace to the tranquillity or the peace of the province, it could go on functioning merrily in other departments of the administration, the Governor taking upon himself the task of doing all that was necessary for removing such a danger. He could make laws for the purpose, he could spend money for the furtherance of his ideas on the subject, and he could issue orders, if necessary, over the heads of the Ministry to permanent civil servants. All that was done by the Governors in the discharge of their special responsibilities, or in their individual judgment or discretion, was beyond effective criticism by the Legislature.

Or to put it in another way, the Act started with the suspicion that the Provincial Ministers would know their business so little as to act in ways that might endanger public peace, attack the statutory rights and legitimate interests of the services and be unfair to the minorities. Not content with that it went further. It assumed that even when a Governor censured a Ministry by declaring that its action or inaction had endangered, for example, public

peace, the ministers would be shame-faced enough after that certificate of good (?) conduct to cling to their office.

Thus the Governor was the pivot on which the Provincial Government was to turn. The Government of India Act, 1935, was not intended to confer 'responsible government' on the provinces. When the Governor took action either in his discretion or exercising his individual judgment, he acted under the instructions of the Governor-General who in his own turn had to look to the Secretary of State for guidance.

But April 1, is an All Fools' Day. Though the Governors succeeded in persuading the majority parties (or rather the coalitions) in the Panjab, Bengal, Sind, Assam and the North-Western Frontier Provinces to accept office under the limitations set down by the Act, the Congress majorities in the United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, the Central Provinces, Bombay, and Madras refused to take office under those circumstances. Obliging friends, however, jumped into the fray and rushed in where Congress angels feared to tread. The Interim Ministries of the 'King's Friends' or were they the Governor's Friends? were formed in the hope of bringing about demoralization in the ranks of the elected members. Followed the 'Assurances Controversy' which ended in an amendment of the Government of India Act by conventions which the Governors undertook to set up in the provinces where the Congress accepted office.

What did the 'Assurances Controversy' do? It set up in India two types of Provincial Governments. The coalition ministries had taken office with their eyes open, they had accepted office under the limitations which the framers of the Act and actual constitutional documents had placed on them. They had by a miracle, which probably the theory of relativity even cannot explain, accepted Rules of Business and Rules for the submission of cases to the Governors,—printed in March, even before they had been appointed Ministers,—as binding on themselves, even though the Act had laid down that these rules were to be made by the Governors after consultation with their Ministers. Not only that, in one Province (Panjab) the Provincial Premier proclaimed to the entire world that he and his colleagues found it very useful to them to have the Governor preside at the Cabinet meetings, because they knew far less about some matters on the agenda than did the Governor! Further, most of these ministries were coalition minis-

tries. They had started on the assumption that the communal interests could only be safeguarded by the inclusion in the Cabinets of members drawn from the minority communities, whatever their politics. Thus in the Panjab, Bengal and Sind, Hindu Ministers had been appointed, drawn from parties which had hitherto opposed the Muslim parties that had majorities in these provinces. They had thus slightly invaded the principle of Joint Responsibility of Ministers. The Hindu Ministers of these Cabinets were supposed to represent the Hindus; as was the case in the Panjab, the Sikh Minister represented a group of Sikh M.L.A's. It is doubtful whether the assurance which the several Governors gave in the Congress provinces affected very much the relations of the Governors and Cabinets in the Non-Congress Provinces. Thus two types of provincial Governments came to be established in India.

We can understand it better if we were to cite and attempt to understand certain things that happened last year in the non-Congress provinces. Take Assam for example. There the Governor used his special powers the other day for certifying as essential expenditure salaries of the establishments of Commissioners, money for which had been refused by the Provincial Legislature. When the trouble over the release of the Political prisoners in the United Provinces and Bihar precipitated a crisis in the two provinces, the Governor-General declared that he refused to allow the Ministers in the Congress provinces to do this because it would have a serious effect on the peace of Bengal and the Panjab. The Panjab Premier on being heckled in the Panjab Assembly admitted that the Provincial Cabinet had never been consulted as to what effect the release of these prisoners would have on the situation in the Panjab. The Premier, however, forgot to add that a grave menace to the peace of the province is a special responsibility of the Governor and that therefore it is possible that the Governor of the Panjab and the Governor-General may have corresponded on the matter. Here are then two sides of the Government functioning: the Governor communicating to the Governor-General that the release of Political prisoners in U. P. and Bihar would be dangerous to the peace of the Panjab and the Premier declaring to the Assembly that he did not believe so. Such a thing could not have happened in the Congress provinces.

Or, take a recent case in the Panjab. A Muslim M.L.A. gave notice of a bill by which certain properties now in the possession of the

Sikhs would have passed into the hands of the Muslims without any compensation. This required the previous consent of the Governor acting in his own discretion. Refusal of the assent was an interference with the sovereign(?) rights of the Panjab Assembly to deal with problems relegated to its care. The Governor refused to give its assent to the introduction of the measure after formally consulting the Ministry. Now the Ministry could have achieved the same end by requesting the Governor to give his assent to the introduction of the measure so that this restriction on the authority of the legislature should not remain operative, and then used its majority to refuse permission to introduce the measure. Instead of that the Panjab Ministry advised the Governor to refuse his assent—or was it the Governor who advised the Ministry to advise him to that effect?

On the other side, there are the Congress provinces now seven in number. There the Councils of Ministers have taken the sensible view that if the Governors ever feel called upon to exercise their special responsibilities, they should better inform the Ministers who would tender their resignations thereon. This was exactly what Sir Samuel Hoare had said would not be allowed to happen. The two sides of the Government were to be free to function within their respective spheres. Further, the Congress started on the assumption that in order to safeguard the interest of minorities, it was not necessary to have their representatives in the Ministry. Their ministers are political in complexion. The Congress is in power and not coalitions. There are Muslim ministers in most of the Congress ministries just as there are Hindu ministers. The religion of the various members has less to do with their being there than their political principles. When no Congressite Muslim minister could be found for Orissa, the Governor assured a Muslim deputation that he was sure that the interest of all minorities were safe in the hands of the Congress ministers. There are no two sides of the administration in these provinces.

Much has been made, sometimes, of the fact that under the existing Rules of Business even in the Congress Provinces, Governors preside over the meetings of the Cabinets. Such criticism loses sight of the very important fact that the Congress policy in the provinces is settled not in these cabinet meetings but in the meetings of the Congress Working Committee now at Wardha, now in Calcutta and now elsewhere. Still further, these meetings of



the Cabinet are more in the nature of formal ratification of the decisions, almost always, already arrived at. The Secretary of State had this in his mind when in his correspondence with the Local Governments on the subject of draft Rules of Business for the Provincial Governments, he suggested that the provision that the Governor must always preside at the meeting of the Provincial Cabinets would render those meetings unreal.

It is not only in their attitude towards the Governors that the Congress conception of Provincial Autonomy differs from the non-Congress one. The difference is also visible in their attitude towards fundamental assumption of democratic government. The Congress ministries have realized that democratic government presumes freedom of speech and the liberty of the press. The Government of the North-Western Frontier Province has repealed Section 124-A, thus making the bringing of the government established by law into contempt and hatred legal. The other Governments have almost everywhere refused to prosecute for sedition. In a recent Bombay case, though the Government prosecuted a speaker under this section because he was alleged to have advocated violence, they released him after his appeal in the High Court had failed. The Government of Bombay has repealed the Emergency Power Act of 1932 which is one of the instruments, invented at the time, for fighting the Congress. With regard to the press, the different attitude of the two types of governments can be well illustrated by a recent case. Security was demanded from a Socialist paper in the Panjab, the other day. Rather than pay, it shifted its place of publication to the neighbouring province of the U. P. No security was demanded from its publishers there. No action has been taken against it so far in that province. The Panjab Police, however, seized upon the copies of the paper meant for the Panjab, first of all as unauthorised news-sheets and later on as containing objectionable matter. As the matters stand at present, the U. P. Government is either of opinion that it contains no objectionable matter, even according to the emergency laws that were passed several years ago, or that, even if it does offend against those emergency laws, they should not use the powers conferred upon them under those undemocratic and arbitrary laws. The Panjab Government, however, holds otherwise. It is using to the full its armoury of emergency powers conferred on the irresponsible government of the province in the old days.

It is not a question of party politics. Liberty of the press and of individuals is too important a matter to form a question of party warfare. As the dissenting judgment of Hon'ble Mr. Justice Tek Chand of the Lahore High Court held the other day, and as even the majority judgment seemed to suggest, the new constitution cannot be worked unless the section 124-A is radically altered, if not altogether repealed. The non-Congress provinces are carrying on in the traditions of the pre-Provincial Autonomy governments in their attitude towards popular liberties.

Assam has furnished an example of the difficulties which, it was suggested variously, Provincial Governments might have to face. In order to escape the fundamental postulates of responsible government in the provinces, it had been suggested that the Provincial ministries need not take their defeat on every question as indicating loss of confidence by the legislature. In Assam, the Government has been defeated several times on many important questions. The only visible result has been formal resignation of the Ministry and its re-emergence with a slightly modified personnel. One need not go to the length of saying that every defeat of a ministry should lead to resignation. But in India there is the danger of the ministers clinging to office at all costs for the sake of drawing the fat salaries that have been provided for in the non-Congress provinces. There is the further danger that the flouting of the vote of the legislature by a ministry might lead to dictatorial tendencies making the working of democratic institutions difficult. When a ministry seems to be clinging to authority despite repeated defeats in the legislature, it lowers the power and the prestige of the legislature thereby. That this has happened in Assam one need not deny. The lower salaries—I was going to say the ridiculously low salaries—of the Congress Ministers make it impossible, ordinarily, for ministers to cling to power after it becomes impossible for them to remain in office with honour.

The Joint Committee had refused to include the principle of joint responsibility in the Statute because it asserted wrongly, that it was too subtle a thing to figure in a written constitution. The Governors were instructed to promote it, but they were also instructed to see that there were representatives of the Minorities as well in the Cabinet. The non-Congress ministries started a little handicapped in the matter. But the insistence of the Congress party to include only Congressmen in the

spirit which trembles to straighten out in a single thread the tangled skein of human events.

There have been many conquests in human history and there is hardly a race which has not some time been the conquered and at another time the conqueror. The reasons of a successful conquest have lain in the military organization, the civilization and, infrequently, the culture of the conquerors on the one hand and in the disunity and softer life of the conquered on the other. At the time of the British conquest, India was politically disunited and her civilization was based on the comparatively self-sufficient economy of the village. England, on the contrary, was realising national unity through the industrial revolution and her military machine carried with it the advantages of a capitalist civilization. The British conquest of India was thus the victory of a better-organised civilization over a looser and softer life. I might also be prepared to admit that, around the time of the British conquest, Indian culture and character were temporarily eclipsed and, so, inferior to Britain's, but there will be qualifying clauses and a lot of cautious hesitation. That is however beside the point. The English succeeded in conquering India because their muskets were loaded with a better-organized gun-powder. Besides being untrue, it is incoherent and unhistorical to say that the cause of their success lay in the peace and freedom that they brought to India. Only an incoherent mind or one gifted to receive divine revelations can describe the effect of an event as its cause. That might be the triumph of theology or of irrelevance but, hardly, that of historic art.

Did British conquest and administration bring into India peace and freedom or intellectual and political unity? A punch on the jaw of a weakly boy some times results in a sturdy manhood, but, even in that sense, India has received far too many punches to profit from the British conquest. Fisher, however, is clear in his own mind that the British administration of India has directly worked for freedom, peace and unity. The mind of a historian is commonly supposed to feed on events, but Fisher has obviously cultivated a preference for fancies and wishful thinking. No amount of fanciful thinking can, however, blot out the memory of unceasing wars, famines, pestilence and the entire disorganization of the nation's economy which the British conquest and rule has meant to

India. The hundred years between the first successful battle of the British and their final conquest of India were a state of permanent wars; disorganization of systems of land tenure, destruction of industries and famines went alongside. The eighty years since have known such political evils and economic poverty and famines that the balance of the results of British administration in India is frankly not in its favour.

It is said that the greatest good that could be done to India was the benefit of unity, peace and security and that is exactly what the British have done. They have given India the peace of a Central Government. Almost at once two questions arise: what was the cost of achieving this peace and what is its exact nature. No historian dare forget that it cost India a whole hundred years of continuing wars and destruction to achieve the peace of the last eighty years. At any rate, the background of war against the present state of peace is so far of a longer duration that history must make a clear record of it. Moreover, the peace of the last eighty years that has fallen upon India is the forced apathy of foreign rule and not the peace of creative effort. It has not activated India's population to an increasing sense of its human dignity; it has not generated that noble sensitiveness which is the prelude to great national achievements. If the Indian peasant and worker and intellectual are at last awakening, it is very much in spite of the British rule. The other much trumpeted achievements of Britain in India, the railways, irrigation canals, hospitals and the like must similarly be studied in the background of the general political and social conditions in the country and of the growth and development during the same period in the free countries of the world. India has continued to be a prey to under-nourishment, preventable diseases, premature death, widespread ignorance and political evils, while the free nations have sped very much ahead of her. There can be no doubt that, had she been free, India would have been a far happier nation today. If contemporary historians must needs draw the balance of British rule in India and credit it with the achieving of peace and security, they must at the same time declare the cost of this achievement and its exact nature.

Fisher has singled out the achievements of the English educational system and the public services for specific praise. "The fruit of Macaulay's famous minute on Indian



Education is the development in India not only of an excellent official class some 2 million in number but of a body of educated politicians who have been taught out of English books to admire liberty," is Fisher's verdict on British Indian education. The Oxford Warden does not seem to be conversant with the newer trends and beliefs of the British ruling classes themselves, for even they would regard his opinion as rather antiquated, one-sided and demonstrably rhetorical. British education has sought to denationalise India and, though happily it failed to achieve its purpose finally, it has made of learning a very rare and special privilege. Fisher has tried to explain away the widespread illiteracy in India as a necessary consequence of the Indian social conditions. Extraordinary diversity of creeds and languages, prevalence of child marriage and non-use of unmarried women teachers in elementary schools are the three reasons which he ascribes to India's illiteracy. The British administration's utter disregard of primary and secondary education, its insistence on English as the medium of instruction, the poverty of the vast masses and the entire detachment of the educational system from the country's economic and social life have with Fisher faded away into nothingness. The Congress provincial administrations, despite their many shackles, are bringing them back into our memories and Free India will most surely prove that, more than anything else, the fact of British rule was responsible for the country's widespread illiteracy.

"The British members of the Indian Public Services have perhaps more nearly than any other ruling class realised the ideal of disinterested government which Plato thought could be secured only if the Guardians of the State were shielded from the temptations of ownership and family."

It must gladden every student of history to come across even an inadequate approximation to the Platonic ideal in human flesh and I do not grudge Fisher his joy in the discovery. He further describes his Platonic statesmen as being actuated with "a certain contemptuous indifference natural to the agents of a benevolent power which has long usurped the role of Providence" in their relations to "the effervescent nationalism of the young." Prejudiced pamphleteering alone can so definitely decide as to which is effervescent, the nationalism of the young or the contempt of the public servant. In any case, the gods of Fisher are, in his own language, a modern edition of the unicorn, one-half of whose face bears the gentle suffering of Platonic statesman-

ship and the other the disfiguring contempt of an effervescent tingod. That the gentle suffering of the British public servant is not in every case quite so disinterested has recently been disclosed by an Indian who had self-respect enough to change over from the clerkship of the civil service to the Indian National Congress.

"I know of a European officer who about 3 years ago removed some silverware which was being disposed of as unclaimed property. My knowledge of law is not profound but I am not sure that ordinarily such conduct would not have amounted to misappropriation or theft.... Even when the matter was reported to a superior officer, unfortunately an European, he ordered that the property should be struck off the register."

This charge of vile theft against two of Fisher's British tingods has been made by a former insider so late as April, 1938. It is of course not my intention to suggest that petty larceny is a universal practice with the British public servant in India; disinterested service to imperial Britain is perhaps quite as frequent. History may not shut its eyes to the petty and gross misdeeds and glorify the petty and big services of the British public servant in India, but that is exactly what Fisher has attempted to do. The British civil servant has at the same time been both good and evil. History can give only one estimate of his role. He was the agent of British rule in India; as such, he was, to Indians themselves, a balance of disadvantages.

Britain's government in India is theoretically based on a series of Acts and Charters and Royal Proclamations. On the basis of a study of these, Fisher concludes that an essentially liberal faith has guided Britain's task in India; Britain has not interfered with the liberties, firstly, of Princes and, secondly, of Religion and, thirdly, has granted equality to all without distinction of colour and creed in respect of public services.\* How far a historian is justified in relying on professions and proclamations for the discovery of practices and actual conditions is another matter. In effect, the liberty of the Indian Princes is the pomp of a most dutiful feudal vassal. The ecclesiastical department of the government favours Christianity at the expense of the other Indian religions. The competitive examinations to the civil service had once favoured the English and, now that Indian competitors are beating the English students in their own language, the plan to retain the British civil servant through nomination is being put through.\* Still, it is no

\*Is it "equality to all" to lay down the percentage of appointments which must be bestowed on various non-

doubt true that, in respect of freedom of religious faith and, partly, of public appointments, Britain has followed a comparatively liberal policy. Incidentally it has paid Britain to do so. Moreover, the absence of freedom of religious faith and equality in respect of public appointments may, no doubt, prove galling, but their presence, in itself, is no mark of good government. Should they be the chief pillars on which a government rest, it is sure to be dull, inert and insipid. In respect of freedom of the more active political and social thought and of the cultural and material achievements of the State, the Indian Government has no doubt been thoroughly insipid and reactionary. But Fisher is slightly unjust to his countrymen's work in India; the Indian Government has not been so colourless in other spheres. It has rested predominantly on the pillar of making India profitable for British trade and capital. With that hangs the colourful tale of the unification of the Indian market, the commercialisation of agriculture, the investment of British capital and the like. As the story unrolls, there is a lot of interesting detail and, even while it frequently resulted in great injury to the Indian masses, it is at least not insipid.

The final stage of British rule in India is now completing and Fisher has also attempted to describe it. According to him there are two dominant patterns in Indian nationalism; the one is western and constitutional and the other eastern and revolutionary. Incidentally, Fisher has, through this description, given expression to his social philosophy; it is unhistorical, jejune and philistine. That a historian of modern Europe can forget the Cromwellian Revolution, the French Revolution, the Central European Revolts, the Italian War of Independence and a host of other rebellions and call the West constitutional and the East revolutionary is not so much the result of his ignorance as of his distorted social vision. He is so much embedded in the security and comfort of the present that he would prefer to deny his parentage and blot out the memory of his revolutionary ancestors. This unhistorical social philosophy of Fisher has inevitably resulted in his complete misunderstanding of the aims of British rule in India and of the character of those who oppose it.

"So far and so fast has Britain been prepared to advance along this perilous road guided by the two load-stars of the Anglo-Saxon race, of which the first is that all government must rest upon consent and second that it is the office of statesmanship to avert revolution by reform."

Hindu communities, irrespective of merit, at the expense of the Hindus?—Ed., *M. R.*

Fisher has thus summed up the various measures of self-government granted to the Indian people. I will first take up the element of popular consent on which the Indian Government is supposed to rest. The verification of this popular consent lies in two directions. How else would an army of 60,000 Englishmen rule a 350 million people? How else do we explain that India did not seize Britain's peril in the last world war as her opportunity? The answer is simple enough. Between the two extremes of government based on popular consent and of revolution, there is a vast middle field stretching from apathy and indifference to hostility. During the eighty years of British rule, the Indian people had first been brought into a state of submissive apathy and have then slowly awakened into that of definite hostility. At the time of the last world war, they were not yet actively hostile. It is the last seventeen years of the non-violent revolt that have given the Indian people the adequate consciousness and organisation to seize Britain's peril as India's opportunity. History is always in the making; it is never a final product. From the day a people is conquered starts a whole process of consent and apathy and hostility to the conquerer's rule and the various trends of the process are of different duration. To Fisher, however, there is just one long and unending period of popular consent up to the point that a government is actually overthrown. This attitude results in much misunderstanding and bitterness in the relations between a government and its people and among the different peoples of the world. A naive belief that all is right up to the point when all is wrong does not produce the atmosphere in which the aspirations of a people unsupported by acts of violence may be understood. It is also an unhistorical belief.

India has developed a new way of the struggle for freedom. It is the way of non-violence. How far the non-violent way was the result of India's weakness and how far it was a resolute effort to introduce a new era of human relationships will not be an easy discovery even in the distant future, much less so is it today. In its immediate consequences, the non-violent struggle of the Indian people has not yet effectively challenged the British military machine, but it has already demanded deaths by the thousand and imprisonings by the hundred-thousand. It may yet succeed in crippling and destroying the British military power in India. This valiant struggle of the Indian people has not even been mentioned and, in the absence of an armed rebellion, Fisher has concluded that

the Indian government rests upon popular consent. That this is no objective history is plain enough, but it might as well be a clumsy attempt to mislead the British people and other peoples of the world into supporting a government that has no basis in justice or reason.

The statement that the British in India have tried to avert revolution by reform is both untrue and likely to awaken false notions about their generosity and broad-mindedness. Respectable historians often forget the Chartist revolutionaries when they describe the first measure of parliamentary reform in England or the Tolpuddle martyrs when they dwell upon the generous concession to the working-class to form trade unions. Naturally enough, Fisher forgets the brave sufferings of the Indian people which precede every measure of reform. British rule over India, like any other foreign rule, will not voluntarily cease but will be overthrown by the organised power of the Indian people; its striking proof is the divergent history of British promises and practice. British imperialist technique, however, has known how to avoid friction within a narrow range. It has tolerated criticism upto a limit and kept up the comparative independence of the judiciary. How far is this the outcome of a genuine democratic impulse and how far that of a cool calculation as to long-run results is difficult to decide. In any case, the capacity of British imperialism to work for justice and the avoidance of friction is very greatly limited; it snaps as soon as an attack starts on its fundamentals. Self-interest kills the democratic impulse.

In his anxiety to prove that the British rule is both democratic and progressive, Fisher does not hesitate to resort to gross untruths to prove Indian nationalism as reactionary. Mahatma Gandhi is in Fisher's words "an indubitable saint, yet as a member of the money-lending caste a friend to usury, an ardent patriot yet as a politician the beneficiary of the worst slum properties in India" I have tried to interpret this description literally and as a figure of speech; it has made no sense to me which I can square up with facts. Unless usury stands for interest and worst slum properties for capitalist ownership and unless all notion that the Mahatma himself benefits from the institution of capitalist interest is ruled out, Fisher's des-

cription is not only merely an error of interpretation but is a lie in point of fact. Fisher has perhaps lied with the calculated intent to glorify British imperialism at the expense of Indian nationalism. We may not forget that he is an Oxford Warden and, as such, engaged in training up colonial administrators to adopt "contemptuous indifference" in their relations with "effervescent nationalism". He must invent Mahatma Gandhi's friendship to usury and the worst slum properties. Fisher is no historian; he is a low pamphleteer of the British Empire.

Fisher's book is huge; I have read only a single small chapter. I cannot help feeling that the rest of the book must be as poorly unhistorical, its chief interest being the elevation of British character and the singing of British glories. In different measures, it must have done injustice to the history of France, Russia, Germany, Spain, Italy and other European countries. It must be altogether a distorted picture of European humanity.

How a book such as this could ever have been recommended for use in Indian colleges and universities is difficult to understand except on the basis of the opinions on its dust-cover. We may not however forget that imperialism is a fraternity and mutual adoration is its chief cultural weapon. The exclusion of this book from the curriculum of our Universities is the least that we can do in the interests of truthful history. We may also expect our historians and research students to undertake a thorough enquiry into the vicious imperialist propaganda of the history books now in use in our schools and universities and make known the results of their labour to the country. It is time they began writing histories of the world and its various areas.

Beyond our shores our voice of protest may come back to us as an empty echo. Still, the mass of the peoples all over the world is fundamentally honest and there are large sections who believe that the study of history should result not in bitterness and conflicts but in international reconciliation and co-operation. May we hope that they will associate with us in the condemnation of low imperialist pamphleteering that passes as the triumph of historic art?

Allahabad.  
May 9, 1938.

# A YEAR OF PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

BY PROFESSOR SRI RAM SHARMA

ON March 31, 1938, the Provincial Autonomy completed the first year of its eventful life. It is yet a babe in arms, but it has already proved a changeling. It is possible, however, to discern clearly much that was dim at its birth. Let us try to take stock of the situation and see in what variegated hues it presents itself today.

We have to start with the Provincial Autonomy as it was conceived by its authors and as they presented it to the Indian world on April 1, 1937. For that the Government of India Act alone is not our guide, nor does the Instrument of Instruction to the Governors complete the picture. The most authoritative picture of the Provincial Autonomy as it was intended to work is to be found in the evidence of the Secretary of State before the Joint Parliamentary Committee and a briefer outline thereof is to be discovered in the correspondence (kept confidential so far) that was carried on between the Governors-in-Council, the Government of India, and the Secretary of State on the subject of the Rules of Business of the Provincial Cabinets and the Rules governing the submission of papers by the Provincial Cabinets and the Secretariat to the Governors.

Taking all these four sources together, we can draw up a tolerably clear picture of what Provincial Autonomy meant to its friends and foes alike on April 1, 1937. Here we first notice that between the first session of the Round Table Conference and the Report of the Joint Committee the definition of the Provincial Autonomy had undergone a change. To understand the fact clearly, it is necessary to quote both the definitions. The Prime Minister speaking at the end of the First Round Table Conference thus outlined the policy of His Majesty's Government:

"Responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon *Legislatures*, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary. . . . 'The Governors' Provinces will be constituted on a basis of full responsibility. Their ministers will be taken from the Legislature and will be jointly responsible to it. . . . .

'There will be reserved to the Governors that minimum of special powers which is required in order to secure, in *exceptional circumstances*, the preservation of tranquillity, and to guarantee the maintenance of rights provided by *statute* for the Public Services and minorities.'"

Place this beside the definition of Provincial Autonomy given by the Joint Committee.

"Each of Governors' Provinces will possess an Executive and a Legislature having exclusive authority within the Province in a precisely defined sphere."

Now while in the Prime Minister's statement emphasis was placed on the fact that the Provincial Government will be responsible to the Provincial Legislature, with some reservation of powers to the Governors in *exceptional circumstances*, the Joint Committee cut the matter short by investing the Provincial Legislature and the Executive with exclusive authority within the province. Unlike the scheme visualized by the Prime Minister, which recognized the reservation of powers to the Governors as an inroad upon Provincial Autonomy, the Joint Committee by extending the authority in the provinces to the Executive as well made of exceptional circumstances a normal feature. The Provincial Executives and Legislatures were to be independent, not Provincial Legislatures holding the Executive responsible to themselves.

The position on April 1, 1937, then, was that the Government in the provinces was to be carried on jointly by the Governor and the Provincial Legislature. The Governor was, under the Rules of Business, the President of the Council of Ministers, settling its agenda, fixing its time and place of meeting and otherwise performing other functions ancillary to his position as the presiding officer. He was not a Minister without portfolio, but a Minister Extraordinary. In this capacity he administered the Excluded Areas, settled all questions concerning the organization and discipline of police, took action when crimes of violence intended to overthrow the government threatened the province, and could make rules to secure that police officers were not obliged to disclose the sources of their information to persons other than those authorised by him. He was also in charge of all questions concerning the posting, transfers, promotions of officers of the All-India Service. In his third capacity he acted as an examiner of ministerial conduct, and prevented them from doing wrong in certain spheres by stepping into the administrative arena himself.

when their action or inaction threatened communal interests, statutory rights and legitimate interests of the services, and produced grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of the province or a part thereof. In what was left to the ministers as their sphere of action after all these deductions had been made, he was to work as a constitutional head of his Government, offering advice, but leaving the decision to the Council of Ministers, of course, meeting under his presidency and amenable to his influence therein as well.

The Ministers who accepted office on April 1, 1937 knew these limitations and agreed to abide by them. The Secretary of State had spoken of the 'two sides of the administration' in the provinces in his evidence before the Joint Committee. He had been driven to admit that the ministers would be allowed to work during the pleasure of the Governor and only so long as he was convinced that the ministers were neither endangering the peace of the province, treating the minorities unfairly, or jeopardizing the good government of the province by threatening the peace and tranquillity of the province.

The essence of the scheme as outlined in the Act was that the Ministers were not to be really responsible either for their actions politically or held responsible for the entire administration of the province while in office. If the action or inaction of a Ministry, for example, created a grave menace to the tranquillity or the peace of the province, it could go on functioning merrily in other departments of the administration, the Governor taking upon himself the task of doing all that was necessary for removing such a danger. He could make laws for the purpose, he could spend money for the furtherance of his ideas on the subject, and he could issue orders, if necessary, over the heads of the Ministry to permanent civil servants. All that was done by the Governors in the discharge of their special responsibilities, or in their individual judgment or discretion, was beyond effective criticism by the Legislature.

Or to put it in another way, the Act started with the suspicion that the Provincial Ministers would know their business so little as to act in ways that might endanger public peace, attack the statutory rights and legitimate interests of the services and be unfair to the minorities. Not content with that it went further. It assumed that even when a Governor censured a Ministry by declaring that its action or inaction had endangered, for example, public

peace, the ministers would be shame-faced enough after that certificate of good (?) conduct to cling to their office.

Thus the Governor was the pivot on which the Provincial Government was to turn. The Government of India Act, 1935, was not intended to confer 'responsible government' on the provinces. When the Governor took action either in his discretion or exercising his individual judgment, he acted under the instructions of the Governor-General who in his own turn had to look to the Secretary of State for guidance.

But April 1, is an All Fools' Day. Though the Governors succeeded in persuading the majority parties (or rather the coalitions) in the Panjab, Bengal, Sind, Assam and the North-Western Frontier Provinces to accept office under the limitations set down by the Act, the Congress majorities in the United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, the Central Provinces, Bombay, and Madras refused to take office under those circumstances. Obliging friends, however, jumped into the fray and rushed in where Congress angels feared to tread. The Interim Ministries of the 'King's Friends' or were they the Governor's Friends? were formed in the hope of bringing about democratization in the ranks of the elected members. Followed the 'Assurances Controversy' which ended in an amendment of the Government of India Act by conventions which the Governors undertook to set up in the provinces where the Congress accepted office.

What did the 'Assurance Controversy' do? It set up in India two types of Provincial Governments. The coalition ministries had taken office with their eyes open, they had accepted office under the limitations which the framers of the Act and actual constitutional documents had placed on them. They had by a miracle, which probably the theory of relativity even cannot explain, accepted Rules of Business and Rules for the submission of cases to the Governors,—printed in March, even before they had been appointed Ministers,—as binding on themselves, even though the Act had laid down that these rules were to be made by the Governors after consultation with their Ministers. Not only that, in one Province (Panjab) the Provincial Premier proclaimed to the entire world that he and his colleagues found it very useful to them to have the Governor preside at the Cabinet meetings, because they knew far less about some matters on the agenda than did the Governor! Further, most of these ministries were coalition minis-



tries. They had started on the assumption that the communal interests could only be safeguarded by the inclusion in the Cabinets of members drawn from the minority communities, whatever their politics. Thus in the Panjab, Bengal and Sind, Hindu Ministers had been appointed, drawn from parties which had hitherto opposed the Muslim parties that had majorities in these provinces. They had thus slightly invaded the principle of Joint Responsibility of Ministers. The Hindu Ministers of these Cabinets were supposed to represent the Hindus; as was the case in the Panjab, the Sikh Minister represented a group of Sikh M.L.A's. It is doubtful whether the assurance which the several Governors gave in the Congress provinces affected very much the relations of the Governors and Cabinets in the Non-Congress Provinces. Thus two types of provincial Governments came to be established in India.

We can understand it better if we were to cite and attempt to understand certain things that happened last year in the non-Congress provinces. Take Assam for example. There the Governor used his special powers the other day for certifying as essential expenditure salaries of the establishments of Commissioners, money for which had been refused by the Provincial Legislature. When the trouble over the release of the Political prisoners in the United Provinces and Bihar precipitated a crisis in the two provinces, the Governor-General declared that he refused to allow the Ministers in the Congress provinces to do this because it would have a serious effect on the peace of Bengal and the Panjab. The Panjab Premier on being heckled in the Panjab Assembly admitted that the Provincial Cabinet had never been consulted as to what effect the release of these prisoners would have on the situation in the Panjab. The Premier, however, forgot to add that a grave menace to the peace of the province is a special responsibility of the Governor and that therefore it is possible that the Governor of the Panjab and the Governor-General may have corresponded on the matter. Here are then two sides of the Government functioning: the Governor communicating to the Governor-General that the release of Political prisoners in U. P. and Bihar would be dangerous to the peace of the Panjab and the Premier declaring to the Assembly that he did not believe so. Such a thing could not have happened in the Congress provinces.

Or, take a recent case in the Panjab. A Muslim M.L.A. gave notice of a bill by which certain properties now in the possession of the

Sikhs would have passed into the hands of the Muslims without any compensation. This required the previous consent of the Governor acting in his own discretion. Refusal of the assent was an interference with the sovereign (?) rights of the Panjab Assembly to deal with problems relegated to its care. The Governor refused to give its assent to the introduction of the measure after formally consulting the Ministry. Now the Ministry could have achieved the same end by requesting the Governor to give his assent to the introduction of the measure so that this restriction on the authority of the legislature should not remain operative, and then used its majority to refuse permission to introduce the measure. Instead of that the Panjab Ministry advised the Governor to refuse his assent—or was it the Governor who advised the Ministry to advise him to that effect?

On the other side, there are the Congress provinces now seven in number. There the Councils of Ministers have taken the sensible view that if the Governors ever feel called upon to exercise their special responsibilities, they should better inform the Ministers who would tender their resignations thereon. This was exactly what Sir Samuel Hoare had said would not be allowed to happen. The two sides of the Government were to be free to function within their respective spheres. Further, the Congress started on the assumption that in order to safeguard the interest of minorities, it was not necessary to have their representatives in the Ministry. Their ministers are political in complexion. The Congress is in power and not coalitions. There are Muslim ministers in most of the Congress ministries just as there are Hindu ministers. The religion of the various members has less to do with their being there than their political principles. When no Congressite Muslim minister could be found for Orissa, the Governor assured a Muslim deputation that he was sure that the interest of all minorities were safe in the hands of the Congress ministers. There are no two sides of the administration in these provinces.

Much has been made, sometimes, of the fact that under the existing Rules of Business even in the Congress Provinces, Governors preside over the meetings of the Cabinets. Such criticism loses sight of the very important fact that the Congress policy in the provinces is settled not in these cabinet meetings but in the meetings of the Congress Working Committee now at Wardha, now in Calcutta and now elsewhere. Still further, these meetings of

the Cabinet are more in the nature of formal ratification of the decisions, almost always, already arrived at. The Secretary of State had this in his mind when in his correspondence with the Local Governments on the subject of draft Rules of Business for the Provincial Governments, he suggested that the provision that the Governor must always preside at the meeting of the Provincial Cabinets would render those meetings unreal.

It is not only in their attitude towards the Governors that the Congress conception of Provincial Autonomy differs from the non-Congress one. The difference is also visible in their attitude towards fundamental assumption of democratic government. The Congress ministries have realized that democratic government presumes freedom of speech and the liberty of the press. The Government of the North-Western Frontier Province has repealed Section 124-A, thus making the bringing of the government established by law into contempt and hatred legal. The other Governments have almost everywhere refused to prosecute for sedition. In a recent Bombay case, though the Government prosecuted a speaker under this section because he was alleged to have advocated violence, they released him after his appeal in the High Court had failed. The Government of Bombay has repealed the Emergency Power Act of 1932 which is one of the instruments, invented at the time, for fighting the Congress. With regard to the press, the different attitude of the two types of governments can be well illustrated by a recent case. Security was demanded from a Socialist paper in the Panjab, the other day. Rather than pay, it shifted its place of publication to the neighbouring province of the U. P. No security was demanded from its publishers there. No action has been taken against it so far in that province. The Panjab Police, however, seized upon the copies of the paper meant for the Panjab, first of all as unauthorised news-sheets and later on as containing objectionable matter. As the matters stand at present, the U. P. Government is either of opinion that it contains no objectionable matter, even according to the emergency laws that were passed several years ago, or that, even if it does offend against those emergency laws, they should not use the powers conferred upon them under those undemocratic and arbitrary laws. The Panjab Government, however, holds otherwise. It is using to the full its armoury of emergency powers conferred on the irresponsible government of the province in the old days.

It is not a question of party politics. Liberty of the press and of individuals is too important a matter to form a question of party warfare. As the dissenting judgment of Hon'ble Mr. Justice Tek Chand of the Lahore High Court held the other day, and as even the majority judgment seemed to suggest, the new constitution cannot be worked unless the section 124-A is radically altered, if not altogether repealed. The non-Congress provinces are carrying on in the traditions of the pre-Provincial Autonomy governments in their attitude towards popular liberties.

Assam has furnished an example of the difficulties which, it was suggested variously, Provincial Governments might have to face. In order to escape the fundamental postulates of responsible government in the provinces, it had been suggested that the Provincial ministries need not take their defeat on every question as indicating loss of confidence by the legislature. In Assam, the Government has been defeated several times on many important questions. The only visible result has been formal resignation of the Ministry and its re-emergence with a slightly modified personnel. One need not go to the length of saying that every defeat of a ministry should lead to resignation. But in India there is the danger of the ministers clinging to office at all costs for the sake of drawing the fat salaries that have been provided for in the non-Congress provinces. There is the further danger that the flouting of the vote of the legislature by a ministry might lead to dictatorial tendencies making the working of democratic institutions difficult. When a ministry seems to be clinging to authority despite repeated defeats in the legislature, it lowers the power and the prestige of the legislature thereby. That this has happened in Assam one need not deny. The lower salaries—I was going to say the ridiculously low salaries—of the Congress Ministers make it impossible, ordinarily, for ministers to cling to power after it becomes impossible for them to remain in office with honour.

The Joint Committee had refused to include the principle of joint responsibility in the Statute because it asserted wrongly, that it was too subtle a thing to figure in a written constitution. The Governors were instructed to promote it, but they were also instructed to see that there were representatives of the Minorities as well in the Cabinet. The non-Congress ministries started a little handicapped in the matter. But the insistence of the Congress party to include only Congressmen in the





The *Mahavat*  
As the elephant drinks water, the  
*Mahavat* starts singing.



Awaiting the season of the  
*Chat Parab* song



A Peasant Family

Copyright, Mrs. O. M. Auner, Jagdalpur.



A Family

The old members of the family must pass away leaving  
aside the younger ones to keep the institution of Halbi  
songs alive.



Mother and Son

You can hear them singing in chorus  
Copyright, Author.



Dignity of Labour  
With his sunburnt face the Halba peasant looks  
proud of his vocation in life. *Copyright, Author.*



Father and Daughter  
*Copyright, Author.*



Daughter of the Soil  
She is fond of *Rilo* song that forms an important  
chapter of Halbi folk-songs. *Copyright, Author.*



A Halba Woman  
She sits remembering the past days of youth when  
the inspiration of the *Chait Parab* song was much at  
home with her. *Copyright, Author.*

come to know of the arrival of a guest in the village, they assemble before him at night with a challenge to fight a contest. Even a State official, on his visit to a village, at once becomes an object of attraction to the *Mundi Mangto* girls of the village.

Opening a chapter of *Raso Rang Git*, the songs of love and beauty, the *Chait-Parab* singer comes forward :

The coloured earth is of various hues.  
Lo! The black crow has taken wing.  
Now, no more salutes to the Goddess,  
Come on with your songs of love and beauty.

The village youth admires the beauty of his sweetheart:

Come on, dearest,  
My heart swells with delight.  
Every night, my fan-faced singer,  
I have been seeing you in my dreams.

She gets annoyed at this invitation:

You have sung your song  
And it has gone astray,  
You cannot compose a song serene!  
Yours is like picking up  
The remains of other's meals.

However, the village youth sticks to his theme :

Dark like a cloud  
Your fanciful *sari*  
You have thrown over your shoulders!  
It is by the grace of God, my love,  
That we meet today.

Then she surrenders, so to speak, and sings of the *Champa* flower as the symbol of love :

At a full day's distance on foot  
Is the village of Maidapur from here,  
O buy me some molasses, my love,  
Offer me also a home-pun kerchief,  
A *champa* flower  
That will remain fresh throughout the year.

This brings a further note of joy in the boy's song:

Breakable is the dry *Sal* leaf,  
Not so the *Bodal* leaf.  
Bath your cheeks, my love,  
Are beautifully tattooed.  
O sing me dear, dear songs.

And she sings symbolically, comparing herself to a doe:

The weekly *Hat* market  
Got late by one week.  
And our meeting is late  
By full one month.  
Lo! the running doe is caught  
Even in a snare  
Of weak paddy straw rope.

The boy sings more lovingly:

I love you, sweet darling,  
Be my life companion,  
In the *Madhuban*, the forest of love,  
I have long been searching for you.

Readily she returns:

Heavily it rained this year,  
And a boisterous flood followed  
Come away with me, you say,  
But I cannot, my youthful boy,  
My home is far away!

Now the boy assures her of a new home:

Unploughed for long eighty years  
Lies yon field, my love,  
The shade is sweet  
Under the plantain grove.  
Like a hard worker  
I'll labour and feed you,  
But you won't yield, my love!

She too reveals her innermost heart:

I digged deep and made a tank,  
I also planted a garden.  
Sweet and clear and dear  
The water of my tank here!  
But away from me my darling  
Who should drink this water?

Then the boy's song describes his desire for marriage:

The Cobra crept along the *Salpi* tree!  
With a jar of liquor on my head  
I approached your father,  
Alas! he refused to give me your hand.

This long contest ends with the girl's song that wins the day:

Heavily blows the wind,  
Everywhere the sky seems cloudy.  
Here is a Cobra, my love,  
From the grip of a she-Cobra like me,  
How will he come out victorious?

Often the *Chait-Parab* song makes direct references to everyday village life, and it at once becomes of great picture-value. You can actually see the workers in the fields:

We, the labourers, have come—  
And in a row we stand.  
Come on, singer dear,  
Say "yes" and sing your song.

The song of the widow has a great sadness about it:

Alas! there is nothing to be cooked  
In the widow's house.  
Like a servant, she works hard  
To fill her belly which is of a hand's breadth.  
Whatever she gets, be it half-cooked or rotten  
She jumps to eat and starves!

Another song shows the contrast between the life of the Bhatra peasants and the Mahras:

Poor Bhatras live upon  
The fruits of *Sal* and *Siume*—  
The Mahras are happier.  
As long as the *Kawri*\* is on your shoulders  
You cannot die of hunger, my love.

\* *Kawri* is a bamboo pole from which baskets hang on both sides. It is carried on the shoulders.

Having studied the *Rulo* and *Chart-Parao*, I came to the *Leja* song. In Kokhapal, Bilchur, and Dharampur—the surrounding villages of Jagdalpur—I found out many specimens of the *Leja* song. It had more than two varieties and enjoyed the goodwill of the Mirgans, the Mahras, and the Ghasis.

"Why do they call it *Leja*," I enquired from Pooran Singh with a depth of feeling. "It is not very easy to trace the significance of the name," he remarked, "but *Leja* is the same as the Hindi *le ja* (lit. take it)." Perhaps this song was originally sung by the village folks giving a send-off to some dear one, I thought. Everyone who joined in the chorus said to the departing person, "Take these good wishes and love of ours along with you." And as time passed, there remained only *Leja* (take it) as a relic of the original wish. And to my joy, Pooran Singh came half-way and approved of my idea.

The Mahras repeat *Leja* thrice or more at the beginning of every song, while the Mirgans prefer to close with *Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja*! In the village of Kokhapal, a young Mahra boy sang to me a *Leja* of unusual length. It was composed of a long fragment, meant for a rhythmic recital in the beginning, and the usual short piece in the end. And it described love for Koeli, some bright-eyed village girl:

"Hurredly come to me, my Koeli,  
Give me a sweet embrace.  
The *Mandia* corn I have is good  
And smoothly runs the millstone.  
My name is Haria.  
O how I wish to live with Koeli,  
You look like a sugarcane!  
Search for you I must.  
*Leja, Leja, Leja,*  
It is not merely a *Leja* song,  
It brings the actual news from Benta Bheja village.

There was a note of advice from the *Leja* singer to the village flirt:

*Leja, Leja, Leja,*  
The road is full of sharp bends;  
Don't you walk  
Over the clods, my girl,  
You'll fall down.

And a bashful girl's lover had his own *Leja*:

*Leja, Leja, Leja,*  
Behold the *Amarbel* creeper.  
O what makes you hide and be busy inside?  
Just come out and play with me.

Another *Leja* compared the sweetheart's face to the slender new moon:

*Leja, Leja, Leja,*  
The new moon has risen.  
Even if you are as big as a mountain  
I cannot be satisfied  
If I look at you for a short while.

Here Pooran Singh disagreed with me. "Don't you connect the new moon of the first line with the later portion," he said, "in the *Leja* song there is very seldom an affinity between the first line and the later portion, its significance is only limited to its last word, for, according to the original verse scheme, it rhymes with the ending word of the song. The moon in the present song appears only by accident. Don't you think that the face of the beloved is compared to it. At the most you may make the first line a simple description taking into consideration that in the later portion the singer shows his urge for a full and long view of his beloved's face. So my full vote cannot go for your interpretation." But to me the first line of the *Leja* song appeared to be like the meditative brow of a person, suggestive and serene. "If the *Leja* song is a snapshot," I argued, "the first line must be taken as a close background, enhancing the form and texture of the song." And it was after a long discussion with Pooran Singh and some other scholars of Halbi that I won their votes of confidence for my view.

Coming a step nearer the *Leja* song, I got a considerable number of specimens. The words of a summer song ran rapidly:

*Leja, Leja, Leja,*  
Behold the *Anvari* and *Jam* trees  
That stand together.  
Wear your shady hat  
Made of bamboo and leaf, my prince,  
The sun burns your face!

Then followed a rain song.

*Leja, Leja, Leja,*  
It rained in showers.  
My song went along with it  
And it ended not all night long.

Even a harvest song was near at hand.

*Leja, Leja, Leja,*  
Behold the leaves of the *Anvari* and the plantain  
Behold also the plants of the *Goidi Lakro* paddy  
Bent down with grain in the sloping field.

The grievance of a village dandy had its own note:

The house with its roof supported  
By nine pillars and eight beams  
Belongs to your father, my dear girl,  
And I have been a servant with him  
Since my tender days.  
Alas! no sign of success so far  
In winning your hand.  
*Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja.*

And the wife of a morose husband appeared with her deep grief:

On yon berry tree  
Speaks the bird *Gundlu*.  
With a thorny stick

He beats me, sister.  
My leg below the knee is badly swollen.  
*Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja.*

Then there came satires. The false show  
of a marriage in the village found a good  
spokesman in the *Leja* singer:

*Turbud, turbud*, beats the *tudbudi*  
And the *Nisan* drum, too, beats apace  
But look at the marriage-feast,  
Everyone is served on leaves  
With the poor curry made of *pipal* sprouts,  
And that, too, in small quantity.  
But big leaf-cups full of rice gruel  
Are served all right,  
For it does not cost much.  
*Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja.*

The next hit was on a loose woman:

A *Koel* here and the other one  
Cooing on the yonder side of the river.  
For God's sake leave me now.  
Disaster you have brought on all sides,  
You husband-eater widow!  
*Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja.*

The *Leja* singer caught sight of the old  
flirt, too:

Bamboos I brought  
And made a bundle.  
O mother of five children,  
You are getting your second youth.  
*Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja.*

And he denounced her poverty:

Your face is like a *Sal* leaf!  
Combing and braiding your hair  
You have coiled your pigtail at the back,  
But your ears are unadorned.  
*Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja.*

The peasant under debt had his own satire  
on life:

*Leja, Leja, Leja,*  
Dying of labour I raise the harvest.  
How terrible to pay the *Dedha* coin!  
To the Sankar, the village money-lender.

In the end I got a contemporary satire on  
the police.

*Leja, Leja, Leja,*  
I will prepare a pickle  
And if it goes wrong  
I'll report it to the police.

Apart from the *Rilo*, the *Chaut-Parab*, and  
the *Leja*, some minor types of Halbi songs may  
be mentioned as well. The *Chherta* is the song  
of the boys' festival of the same name.  
Celebrated every year in *Pus*, it goes on for  
three days ending as a rule on full-moon day.  
The leader of the party, playing the role of  
*Nakta*, a noseless fellow, and making a  
peculiar hollow sound from a hollow gourd, goes

about with his friends from door to door, singing,  
dancing, and collecting paddy or money for a  
dinner. Run separately by the girls the *Tara*  
song is the Left-Wing of the *Chherta*; the role  
of *Nakta* has long been censured by them and  
when they go from door to door at night they  
carry an earthen lamp in a basket. Addressing  
the housewife at every door, they join in chorus:

Behold yon star in the sky!  
O we'll make a move  
Towards our huts  
If you are miserly  
Even about a handful of rice  
Behold the broken axe!  
Welcome us with your door, wide open,  
No matter, if you give us rice or not.  
Behold the four-cornered leaf-cup!  
The girls so fond of parched rice  
Go about from street to street.  
Behold the weak straw rope!  
In this month of *Pus* we meet  
And the next month of *Magh*  
Will find us separated

Another noteworthy type is *Dhankul*. It is  
a religious song and is sung by men and women,  
assembled separately, to invoke a goddess.

The Halbi folk-song is, moreover, a living  
institution, giving birth to contemporary songs.  
One of the modern songs I got from Bhikari,  
the sunburnt peasant of Bilchur. It is a remark-  
able specimen, impregnated with symbolical  
poetry:

In a meadow beyond the teak trees,  
My Rosona flower, dear Rosona flower,  
Behold the grazing spotted deer.  
Holding the *Chakmaki* rifle in his hands  
The hunter goes on and on  
To raise the rifle stand.  
The rifle stand, my Rosona flower, dear Rosona flower,  
Whether he aims correctly or misses  
The fearsome sound, the dangerous sound  
Must come out of his *Chakmaki* rifle.  
The fearsome sound, my Rosona flower, dear Rosona  
flower  
Outwardly he is sweet, and good and dear,  
Within he shakes our self-pride!  
Shakes the self-pride, my Rosona flower, dear Rosona  
flower,  
The kingdom of *Firangi* has reached here\*  
And his thorns prick even those  
Who walk with every care.  
The thorns prick, my Rosona flower, dear Rosona  
flower.  
Behold he throws away the small fish  
And catches the bigger one.  
Catches the bigger fish, my Rosona flower.  
Every day he forces us for *Begar*†  
Every day my heart trembles, my life sinks!

Bhikari's song was an indication of growing  
self-consciousness in the voice of the people.  
There must be more songs like this, I thought.

† The corn taken as seed from the shopkeeper is often  
paid back with heavy interest—1½ times—at the harvest.  
It is called *Dedha*.

\*The Britisher.

†Forced labour, taken without pay from the villager.

And there must be many more Bhikaris to sing them. They would not let the Halbi song go into oblivion. They would rather bring new currents to the song of the soil

Once again, on my way, back to Jagdalpur from the Mar'a villages, I visited Kokhapal and Bilchur and collected some more Halbi songs. Then it was high time for me to leave for Raipur. "You mustn't forget me," Pooran Singh said,

remembering the days we spent together. And when I told him that his name would remain fresh in my memory as long as the Halbi songs lasted, he felt delighted.

The home of Halbi songs, Bastar State, is now far away, but in the world of remembrance Halbi songs are ever with me, never at a great distance. And when I look back into my memory, I find them coming nearer and nearer.

## SYSTEM OF WORKING OF THE GHEE SOCIETY

By ABANI NATH SANYAL

*Inspector of Co-operative Societies, Etawah*

GHEE is one of the most important article of food in Indian dietary and it is consumed in large quantities on account of its suitability for cooking. It is generally prepared in U. P. by curdling milk, churning the curd and then heating the butter-fat thus obtained in an earthen or metal vessel on an open fire, and finally cooling and straining it after the removal of water by decantation.

Ghee-making is an important supplementary industry to agriculture and is essentially a cottage vocation. Its organisation on sound lines is bound to improve the economic position of the agriculturists in substantial measure. In the western districts of U. P. ghee-making, as cottage vocation is of such importance that ghee merchants of Calcutta and Rangoon find it necessary to open branches or keep special representatives in some of the important ghee centres to ensure a regular and sufficient supply of the article and we find a "Ghee chain" (if the expression may be used) stretching from Meerut right up to Cawnpore with important centres at Khurja, Chandausi, Hathras, Aligarh, Shikohabad, Sirsaganj, Etawah, Bharthana and Auraiya with offshoots in Gwalior State and adjoining districts. The importance of ghee trade of this tract can be judged from the fact that Etawah alone sends out something like 40,000 mds. of ghee annually from its *manvi* and a substantial portion of this go to Calcutta and Rangoon markets.

The Ghee Society is an attempt to organise this village industry on a co-operative basis, so that the producers may derive the maximum

of profit out of this business. Though in an experimental stage, it is pregnant with immense possibilities for the benefit not only of the producers, but of the consumers as well and would have far-reaching effects in ameliorating the condition of the agriculturists who form the backbone of this country. For the first time organisation of Ghee Society was taken up in 1929 and the first society was registered on 8th October 1929 at Chaubankapura in Tahsil Bah District, Agra. Upto 30th June 1935, the organisation of the Ghee Society was confined to Bah Tahsil where there are 66 societies and occupies the whole of the Tahsil bordering Etawah District. It has now been extended to Etawah District where there are now 45 societies and has tapped the most important ghee producing tract.

### MEMBERSHIP OF SOCIETIES

Years.	No. of societies.	No of members.	Quantity contracted in maunds.
1929-30	1	16	25
1930-31	11	203	216
1931-32	19	310	417
1932-33	23	516	550
1933-34	29	660	800
1934-35	36	977	1182
1935-36	47	1397	1362
1936-37	111	3600	2860

The nature of business of Ghee Societies is such and the conveyances used (bullock carts or horses) are so slow that it is always convenient to have the Societies within a radius of 10 miles of the centre to be created.



## NATURE OF BUSINESS

The nature of business of the societies is collection and joint sale. For this purpose, a *Co-operative Ghee Union* is created to which all the Ghee Societies are affiliated and which works as an agent for the societies for collection and joint sale. The ghee is brought from all the societies to the union office in their canister either in carts (bullock) or pack horses and the ghee from each society is weighed and entered into the account books of the ghee union. If the sale of ghee is to be effected in Etawah ghee *mandi*, then it is graded. If orders from consumers are in hand then the ghee is heated and cleaned by decantation and tested and then tinned which are also sealed. When a large number of tins are ready, they are sent in bullock carts to the Railway station and despatched to the buyers.

## CONSTITUTION, MEMBERSHIP AND COMMITTEE

The society is organised on the basis of "one village, one society." According to the usual rules, more than ten owners of milch cattle (preferably buffaloes) join to form a society which is registered under "Co-operative Societies Act II of 1912". There is no share system, but every person joining the society has to pay an entrance fee of rupee one. The society elects their own panchayets (the Executive Committee) from amongst its members consisting of 3 or 5 members—one of whom is elected the Sarpanch (President or Chairman) and another is elected a Khazanchi (Treasurer). A Secretary is also elected from amongst the members by the Panchayet (Executive Committee) whose duty is to maintain all the accounts of the society. The panchayet manages the internal affairs of the society and are responsible for the maintenance of proper accounts. The committee is removable by the votes of the members in a general meeting and it has also power to fill up vacancies falling within the year. The Committee is elected every year in the Annual general meeting of the society and the retiring members are eligible for re-election.

The membership of the society is confined to one village. Any adult possessing milch cattle and residing in the village and conforming to the rules and regulation of the society can become a member without any restriction for castes and creeds and it would not be out of place to mention that members enlisted from depressed classes (such as Chamars etc.) are the best re-payers of ghee.

## STAFF, PREMISES

The societies have no paid staff. The Sarpanches and Treasurers are honorary workers. The member secretaries are also honorary workers but they may be paid some small honorariums. The members of the panchayet who do the work of weighmen of their societies throughout the year are also given small honorariums and it has been generally found that the sarpanches of the societies take up the work of weighmen of the society. They are also the most active persons to bring round the villagers to enter into contracts with their societies.

The individual ghee society is affiliated to the Co-operative Ghee Union and it is this ghee union that has to employ staff for handling the ghee contracted by the members of the societies. The premises of the ghee union is generally stationed at a central place within easy reach where the ghee is assembled and treated. It has godown for storage of the ghee received from the societies and other stocks of the union. The premises have got stables for keeping the pack horses and the bullocks and a pucca oven for the purpose of heating the ghee. Ghee union gets the services of supervisors of the Co-operative Department. (The Ghee work in this district received Rs. 6,000 from Government of India for pay of staff last year.) But it has to employ several permanent hands throughout the year and a few temporary hands during the busy season from November to March. In order to manage the works of the societies, the Ghee Union maintains pack horses and bullock carts with bullocks. The expenses are met out of contribution from the societies as the union is not a financing agency and it has no funds of its own. The contribution is charged at so much per maund of ghee contracted by the societies (with their members).

All these duties are performed by the Ghee Union, but the preliminary work of entering into ghee contracts with the members is done by the society itself. Ghee is weighed out every fortnight and weighing days have been fixed for each society. On that date the weighman of the Ghee Union goes to the society with his tin containers and pack-horses of the cart. The ghee is weighed out by each member and put into the containers and after the weighing out by each member has been finished, the whole quantity is weighed again, put on the cart or pack horse and taken to the Ghee Union godown. In this way the ghee from each society is assembled. Then comes the



question of treatment of the ghee thus assembled. If the ghee is sent to Etawah mandi for sale, *Kachcha* (that is untreated and raw) ghee is sent to the market for which no other treatment is given except that of mixing up the graded Ghee to make it uniform. It may be mentioned here that grading does not pay in Etawah mandi as no consideration is given to higher grade of ghee. In case the ghee is meant for supply direct to private persons or small merchants, for supply to consumers, the ghee is heated in big open iron pans directly over fire, and then put into the decanter where it is allowed to cool down when the water and other impurities settle down in the bottom. The clean ghee is taken out through the stop cock at the side of the decanter and the impurities through the stop cock at the bottom. The ghee is tinned directly from the decanter which are then weighed and made into uniform weight and then sealed. They are then ready for despatch to the various buyers from different places. The ghee is sent to the railway station in the bullock cart belonging to the Union.

#### MARKETING AND PRICE FIXING ARRANGEMENTS

As has already been said above *kachcha* (raw) ghee is sent to Etawah mandi and the ghee sale there has to conform to the rules of the mandi. The ghee is sent to the *Arahatia* (Commission agent) of the Union in the mandi. The ghee merchants of Etawah or the agents of ghee merchants of other places generally buy up the ghee. They visit all the shops of the *Arahatias* in the mandi and buy the commodity according to their requirements and fix the prices on the basis of Calcutta quotations which are obtained daily. After the ghee has been bought by the merchant, it is sent to his godown and from there the sample from each tin is sent to the Ghee Testing Laboratory where it is thoroughly tested and it is finally purchased if it passes the test. The ghee is then weighed in the godown of the merchant and after making various deductions for expenses, concessions, etc., the price of the ghee is paid to the Ghee Union through the *Arahatia*. The various expenses in Etawah mandi comes to about Rs. 2 per maund of ghee sold.

As for the prices fixed for supplying ghee direct to the consumers, the rates are same as that of Etawah mandi for equal weights plus Re. 1 to meet the cost of heating and classifying it (making free from all impurities, water, etc.) A small cartage is charged for transportation to the Railway station.

#### EXTENT DEALING WITH NON-MEMBERS AND MEMBERS

There is no dealing in the matter of contract with the non-members. As there are no consumers' society, the dealings have to be maintained with non-members for ghee sales.

#### FINANCES AND FINANCIAL RESULTS

The Co-operative Ghee Union is not a financing agency. The societies are financed by the Central Co-operative Bank of the District. The money is advanced to societies on promotes at an interest of 10 to 12 per cent per annum. Sometimes societies have raised small deposits for capital. The societies in their turn finances their own members. With money taken from the Co-operative Bank, the societies enter into contract with their members for a fixed quantity of ghee supply, generally from one to two maunds per buffalo and the rate is fixed at Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per maund of 50 seers less than the Etawah rate. It is instructive to note that the *beoparis* (small ghee merchants) contract at Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 per maund less than the Etawah rates. Again unlike the *beoparis* the contract money is given in lump sum and not in dribbets which is seldom of any real use to the indigent kisan. There is no joint liability and the personal liability is limited to Rs. 50 only for outside debts. Sureties are taken to safeguard the money advanced.

No interest is charged for the advances to the members. The difference of Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per maund between the market rate and the rate at which the societies contract with their members covers the interest charges on the money laid out, the management expenses and the creation of reserve and other funds and if after all this there is any saving, a small amount of "patronage refund" is given to members as an encouragement if they have honoured their contracts in its entirety. The financial results of the working of the societies may be put down in the following chart.

Year.	No. of societies.	Quantity of ghee contracted in maunds.	Amount advanced for contracts.	Profit
1930-31	11	216	14692	172
1931-32	19	417	16524	2213
1932-33	23	550	23460	243
1933-34	29	800	28025	6514
1934-35	36	1182	34656	3970
1935-36	47	1362	49676	
1936-37	111	Figures not yet ready		

## ADVANTAGES TO PRODUCERS

The advantages to the producers on account of which the Ghee Societies are a success in contrast to the ways of the *beoparies* (small ghee merchants) may be summed up as follows :

(1) All the members are accorded square dealing and equal treatment in the matter of Ghee contracts, irrespective of caste or creed as is never done by the *Beoparies*.

(2) Its democratic management. All have got one vote each. The elected panchayets manage the affairs of the societies and every member can have his say in the affairs of his society.

(3) Payment of contract and feed money in lump sums and in cash which enable the kisans to meet their obligations.

(4) "Patronage Refund" for the full delivery of the Ghee contracted. It is one of the most important factors for success.

(5) Reasonable rates of contract and correct weighments.

(6) All transactions are made in the villages itself of the members and none have to go out to other villages.

## ADVANTAGES TO CONSUMERS

1. Heated and clarified ghee (i.e., free from water and other impurities) is supplied to the consumers.

2. Unadulterated and pure ghee of high quality at reasonable rates is supplied in properly soldered tins direct from the Ghee Union office thus eliminating all middlemen profits.

## BUT THE AVOID PROFIT AND LOSS

The result of the working of the Ghee Societies during the last six years has conclusively shown that there cannot be any financial loss if they are worked with a little care and if there is no mismanagement or theft. In the year 1932-33 there had been an abnormal drop in ghee prices and even then the net profit was Rs. 243. With a little more caution in the matter of ghee contracts, it can be made a safe business for the kisan. The advent of the Ghee Societies in Bah and in Etawah has given an invariable profit to the cultivators in the shape of higher contract rates which are now being offered even by the *Beoparies* (ghee merchants) in order to compete with the societies which generally offer better rates for ghee contracts. In 1929 the difference between the rates of ghee contracts offered by the *Beoparies* used to be Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 less than the Etawah mandi rates. Since then the difference has come down to Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 per Bengal maund of ghee contracted.

Then there is the "Patronage Refund" for the members which is an extra income for them

which previously used to go to the pockets of the *Beoparies*. Except for the year 1932-33 the societies had been steadily giving "Patronage refund" to their members at the rate of Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 per md of ghee repayment which works upto 5 to 12 p.c. rebate when the rate of contract was Rs. 40 per md (Bengal)

## OTHER WORKS DONE BY THE GHEE SOCIETIES

The first work that was taken up by the Ghee Union was the supply of feeds to the milch cattle. Besides paying them in cash, cotton seed and oil cake were supplied to the members for the feeds of their milch cattle. Arrangements have also been done in taking a census of milch cattle yielding milk seven seers or more per day with a view to introduce cattle breeding by selection and elimination of poor milk yielders. Introduction of better breeds of buffaloes has also been taken up and some buffaloes of Dholpur Breed have been obtained and given to best members. They have been kept under observation and if they prove suitable for the tract, more would be obtained and given to the members.

The Ghee Union also maintains buffalo bulls of better breed for breeding purpose. It may be mentioned here that a former Murrah buffalo bull did not serve the buffaloes of this tract well and it seems that Murrah-bred bulls are not very suitable for the she-buffaloes of the local breed.

## OTHER WORKS PROPOSED TO BE TAKEN UP BY THE GHEE UNION

It has been proposed that the following works should be taken up by the Ghee Union.

(1) Introduction of silage and (2) arrangements for veterinary assistance. For the latter proper authorities have already been moved. It would not be out of place to mention that establishment of a Veterinary hospital or the services of a Veterinary Assistant cannot be secured without financial aid either from the Government or from the District Board.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE WORKING OF A GHEE SOCIETY

The system of working of the Ghee societies is simple. The society is organised on the system of "one village, one society." According to the usual rules more than 10 members who keep milch cattle (mostly buffaloes here) join to form a society. There is no share system, but any person joining the society has to pay an entrance fee of rupee one. The society elects its own panchayet (the Executive Com-

mittee) from amongst its members which manages the affairs of the society with the help of the Supervisor in charge. As soon as a member's milch cattle calves, the society enters into contract with the member for a fixed quantity of ghee supply, generally from 1 to 2 maunds per buffalo. The rate is fixed at Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per 50 srs. maund less than the Etawah market rate, in contract to Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 per maund less given by the Beoparis (small ghee marchants of the villages). The margin (of Rs. 10 to Rs. 12) covers the interest charges on the money laid out, the management expenses and the creation of Reserve and other funds. A small patronage refund is also given to the members, if there is a saving after meeting all the obligations of the society. The whole of the contract money is paid to the member in a lump sum which is very much appreciated by them as the Beoparis pay them in dribblets or in kind much to the loss of the members. The society is financed by the Central Co-operative Bank of the locality of which the societies purchase one share each to confirm to their rules. The money is borrowed by the societies from the Bank by the execution of the usual co-operative societies pro-note like that of the credit societies and pay an interest of 10 to 12% p.a. Sometimes societies have raised small deposits for capital. The members on their part execute an agreement in favour of the society for payment of ghee after they have received the contract money. In this agreement mention is made of particulars of the contract as to the quantity and rate of ghee and the amount of money paid, and penalty for non-delivery or adulteration of ghee. The milch cattle, the ghee yield of which is contracted, is hypothecated with this society and the agreement gives full description and particulars of the animal in questions. There is no joint liability for the members for outside debts of the society and the personal liability of the individual is limited to Rs. 50 only for such debts. Sureties are taken in these contracts. The members go on weighing out ghee for the whole of the milking period of the milch cattle but the contract period is generally limited to a period of one year. There is no time limit for contracts and it goes on all the year round though the greater portion of the contracts are entered into between the months of August and January. The rate of contract varies with the day-to-day rate in Etawah market. Sometimes the indigent members have not enough to feed their milch cattle and the society accommodates them with small loans for feed money,

limited to Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 per maund of ghee contract. On this interest at the rate of 15 per cent. per annum is charged. At the time of next contract this loan together with the interest is deducted from the contract money and the remainder paid. Contrast this with the method of the Beoparis who pay in kind charging any rate they like for the article supplied. If any member fails to deliver the whole quantity of ghee contracted, Sawai of ghee (i.e., 25 p.c. more) is charged and is added to the demand and remains unaffected by the changes in the market rates whereas the Beoparis sometimes charge Sawai of the price then prevailing and sometimes the actual price of ghee at the cessation of weighing plus 24 per cent. interest whichever suits them best and which vary according to the market rates.

Besides the Central Co-operative Bank, which acts as the financing agency, the societies have federated themselves into a *Central Co-operative Ghee Union* to which they contribute a small amount per maund of ghee contract. The chief functions of this union are to arrange for collection and sale of the ghee of the societies and to consolidate and unify their working. This contribution from societies goes towards defraying the expenses of the staff employed by the union for collecting ghee from the societies and for blending, grading, heating, clarifying and transporting the same.

The actual working of these societies has also the merit of being very simple. The ghee is weighed out every fortnight by a member of the panchayet, usually the Sarpanch, and there are fixed dates for each society. The members gather, bringing their ghee with them, in the chaupal (sitting room) of the Sarpanch of their society with the weighman of the Central Co-operative Union in attendance with his tin containers and pack horse or cart. The weighing is a full-dress affair. One of the members of the Panchayet, usually the Sarpanch, weighs out the ghee of each member and puts it in the tin containers brought from the union, and the ghee account of the members are made up then and there and verified by oral questioning, and entered in his pass book. The weighman and members keep an eye on the balance and the panchayet is not neglectful of its duty of seeing that correct measure is given and that the ghee is of proper standard and is not adulterated. If it is of very low standard or adulterated, it is rejected. If it is not up to the standard it is heated and decanted and clean ghee taken. The co-operative influence coupled with the panchayet's

watchfulness is responsible for the surprising fact that in all these years there had been no instance of adulteration with any foreign matter (such as margarine or lard). There were one or two instances of adulteration with milk or whey but deterrent punishment put a stop to all that. When all the ghee has thus been weighed it is handed over to the weighman of the union who weighs it again and signs the proceeding of the society by way of giving receipt. The weighman then takes it to the godown of the union where it is weighed over again and a receipt given to the society duly signed by the supervisor who is also the honorary secretary of the Ghee Union. All the ghee thus gathered in the union godown is graded as soon as sufficient quantity is collected and despatched to Etawah mandi (as kachcha ghee) in the Union's own bullock carts. If it is to be sold to the consumers direct, or to such small traders as deal directly with the consumers, it is heated, clarified, tinned and sealed before being despatched. This is also transported in Union's bullock cart to Railway station. Hired carts are very seldom used.

At the end of the year, the balance sheet for each society is drawn up. If there is profit, it is divided according to the byelaws:  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the total profits goes to the Reserve Fund,  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the remainder to the Bad Debt Fund and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the remainder to "Patronage refund" and the remaining as honorarium to those members who have worked for the society, to member Secretaries and towards the creation of other funds, such as charity fund, village improvement fund, cattle improvement fund, etc.

The byelaws provide for the creation of the post of member secretaries for each society to maintain its accounts but it has not worked well as the accounts of the ghee societies are fairly complicated and the number of transactions fairly large for a member secretary to manage. Necessity for appointment of separate accountants for the societies was felt more and more and now the Ghee Union appoints the accountants for the societies.

A glance of the profits made by the societies, their membership and the quantity of ghee contracted mentioned under the head, Finances and Financial results, clearly reveals that the societies are quite successful. So far only three societies are unsuccessful, and it was due to the opposition of the more influential

Beoparies of the locality as well as due to indifference of the members who were afterwards found to be small ghee dealers or those who sell their ghee for cash. Success of the ghee societies can also be gauged from the fact that more and more villages are approaching the authorities to open new societies.

#### SUMMARY AND OBSERVATION

The working of the Ghee Societies clearly prove that the production and sale of ghee can be modernised and established as a cottage industry and is a practical scheme. There is enough scope of expansion and the work of the ghee societies should be pursued to obtain tangible results. Though these societies cannot claim to have achieved much, they have paved the way to greater expansion and has already shown that it can add a few more rupees to the meagre income of the kisan.

There is so much yet to be done. Take the example of ghee heating. The present system of heating is unscientific, a little inattention and it spoils the flavour and affects the vitamins and it is time that some research workers were to evolve a system of scientific heating to keep the flavour and the vitamins of the ghee intact.

Another work that has to be done is to evolve a system of working these societies which will enable them to reach the ghee direct to the consumers.

Side by side with the Co-operative Ghee Societies, the work of milk testing combined with cattle breeding to improve not only the milk yield but also the breed of cattle can be taken up. Experiments about tinning require attention.

In order to protect the ghee industry, it is urgently necessary that some law should be passed to prevent adulteration. The verdict of the Legislature of the country is against the stoppage of import of margarine or fish oil, but it can at least pass a law making it incumbent for all imports of fish oil and other adulterants of ghee to be coloured with a different colour from that of ghee.

It may also be mentioned here that the ghee societies should be organised far away from large cities in order to make them a success and this would give the distant village folks an occupation and a source of income.

# INDIAN NAVY

By GAGANVIHARI L. MEHTA

It is surprising that public opinion in India has hitherto not paid adequate attention to an important frontier of the country, namely, the sea frontier and those responsible for the defence policy of the country have been so absorbed in the question of the North-Western Frontier that they have tended to neglect a vital sphere of national defence, namely, naval defence. India has a long coastline of over 4,000 miles and while it is bounded by land frontiers, it is almost entirely dependent on sea-communications for its external trade. India has been and can be invaded from the sea so that the control of maritime power is fundamental in any scheme of national defence. Nevertheless, few persons are perhaps aware of the existence of a Royal Indian Navy which is an annual charge on the Indian Budget and which was converted, or rather reconverted, into a Navy from a Royal Indian Marine only four years ago.

India has had a long and proud record of maritime activities from ancient times. Over two thousand years ago, Emperor Chandra Gupta, for example, had an elaborate organisation of the Naval Department and the Admiralty. During medieval times, the Indian Naval Force was highly developed and well-organised under the Moguls and especially under Akbar, while the growth of the Maharatta power was accompanied by the formation of a formidable Naval Fleet which received a great impetus under Shivaji, in whose time Kanohji Angria became the Admiral of the Fleet, when the Maharatta naval power reached its high watermark.

The sea-fighting service existing in India at present dates back to the earliest days of the East India Company which established a Marine in 1612 for the protection of the Company's trading ships and its factory at Surat. Since then, with different titles and under varying conditions, there has always been a Sea Service under the British Government in India for three hundred and twenty-five years. From 1830 to 1863, it was, in fact, called the "Indian Navy" and from 1892, it enjoyed the description of the "Royal Indian Marine" upto 1934. From 1612 to 1863, i.e., for 250 years of its history, the Service was a combatant force but since 1863, it was a non-combatant Service until

1934. Its main functions have been the defence of Indian seas, coasts and harbours, but it is also liable for service elsewhere as part of the Naval Forces of the British Empire. It is interesting to recall in tracing the history of this Service that many of the ships belonging not only to the Indian Fleet but to the British Navy were built in the dockyard in Bombay. It is recorded that in 1802, the British Admiralty ordered men-of-war for the King's Navy to be constructed at Bombay. They intended to have sent out a European builder but the merits of Jamshedji being made known to their Lordships, they ordered him to continue as the master-builder. Capt. Sir Edward Headlam, the late Director of the R. I. M., stated in an article in the *London Times* in 1931 :

"The success of the shipbuilding was due to the discovery of the value of teak as a substitute for oak and to the skill of the Wadia family as constructors who, for over a century, were in charge of the building of naval and other vessels in the Government Dockyard."

The India-built ships were superior to those built elsewhere not only in point of durability but also of cheapness and Bombay became "the grand naval arsenal" while Calcutta was the centre of merchant shipbuilding. In all, 115 War vessels and 144 Merchant of Government vessels were built in the Government Dockyard at Bombay, one of which, the "Ganges," afterwards served as the flagship of Sir Edward Codrington at the battle of Navarino. A French traveller, Baltazar Solvyns, writing in 1811, paid a warm tribute to Indian shipbuilding:

"In ancient times, the Indians excelled in the art of constructing vessels, and the present Hindus can in this respect still offer models to Europe so much so that the English, attentive to everything which relates to naval architecture, have borrowed from the Hindus many improvements which they have adopted with success to their own shipping. . . . The Indian vessels unite elegance and utility, and are models of patience and fine workmanship."

The question of reorganising the Royal Indian Marine as a combatant force was under the consideration of the British Admiralty ever since the last War. In 1919, the British Government appointed two Committees, one under Lord Esher for the reorganisation of the Army and the other under Lord Jellicoe for the reorganisation of the Navy. The Jellicoe Committee held that the Imperial Navy should be



established only as a unit of the British Navy to whose cost India would make a contribution. But while Lord Esher's Report was placed before the Legislative Assembly which passed a series of Resolutions about it, the Jellicoe Report was never placed before the Assembly. In accordance with the Report of the Rawlinson Committee, however, the Viceroy announced in February, 1926, that the Government had decided with the concurrence of the Secretary of State and the Admiralty that a Royal Indian Navy should be established. Accordingly, in 1927, a Bill was passed in Parliament amending Section 66 of the old Government of India Act, which made provision for the bringing into existence of the Royal Indian Navy. This amending Act provided, among other things, that the Indian Legislature would have power to apply, with necessary modifications, the British Naval Discipline Act to the proposed Indian Navy. Consequential legislation was, therefore, necessary in the Indian Legislature to apply the Naval Discipline Act to the Indian Navy and a Bill was introduced in the Legislative Assembly in February, 1928. It was, however, opposed by the non-official members and was rejected by one vote. But the same Bill was re-introduced in the Assembly in 1934, when it was passed as the Congress had not re-entered the Legislature.

In his last Budget speech, the Finance Member of the Government of India made an important announcement regarding the agreement concluded by the Government of India with the British Government on the subject of Naval Expenditure and Naval Defence of India. Under long-standing arrangements, India pays a direct contribution of £100,000 a year to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom towards the Naval Defence of India and the protection of trade in alien waters and also defrays various miscellaneous charges amounting to Rs. 2 or 3 lakhs a year on behalf of the vessels of the Royal Navy. In view of the conversion of the Indian Navy into a combatant service and the measures proposed to be taken by the Government of India to build up their local Naval Defence, the question of development of the Indian Navy had been under the consideration of the Government of India in conjunction with the Admiralty. The agreement which Sir James Grigg announced and which was subsequently confirmed in a *communiqué* issued by the India Office in London stated that the British Government would forego the annual payment hitherto made on condition that the Government of India maintain a sea-going fleet of not less than six modern escort

vessels which will be free to co-operate with the Royal Navy for the Defence of India and in addition fulfil their responsibility for local Naval Defence of Indian ports. The announcement evoked widespread interest as well as considerable criticism because it was presented as a *fait accompli* to the Legislature and the public and did not disclose what these escort vessels would cost in capital and running expenditure and whether such vessels would be the maximum required for the Defence of India. In other words, the agreement did not make clear the full implications of the arrangement, including the present and future liabilities of the Indian Exchequer in this respect. The public are not aware of the reasons for the termination of the arrangements prevailing until April last nor of the terms and conditions on which the arrangements have been revised. Unless naval expenditure is votable by the Indian Legislature, no revision of the long-standing arrangements with His Majesty's Government involving increased charges on the Indian revenues would be acceptable to the public in this country.

But the emergence of new forces in the oceans which are the principal trade routes of the British Commonwealth has altered the entire balance of sea-power. Imperial naval policy now demands the creation of an ancillary combatant force as an adjunct to the British Navy in Indian waters. When the Bill on this subject came up before Parliament in 1927, Mr. Lansbury suggested that the British Government desired to create an Indian Navy for the purpose of the defence of the Pacific while another Labour member, Mr. Barker, stated that the Government should honestly tell the House that "they are creating this Navy to supplement the Base at Singapore." He added :

"It is an insult to the Indian people to say that we are creating this Navy for the purpose of giving prestige to India. It is sheer humbug and the Government know it very well."

The Indian Navy, as constituted at present, consists of 5 sloops, 1 survey ship, 1 depot ship, 1 patrol vessel as well as a target towing trawler and a number of small vessels, tugs, etc., employed in harbour service. The functions of the Navy in peace time are to train personnel for service at sea in War, to organise the Naval Defence of Indian coasts and harbours for the protection of trade in Indian waters in time of War, to carry on marine survey work in Indian waters and to carry on sea transport work for the Government of India in respect of conveyance of troops, stores, etc. The Indian Navy maintains a Dockyard at Bombay to deal with all work in



connection with the repair, maintenance and refit of vessels. The nett annual expenditure on the Indian Navy amounts to about Rs. 60 lakhs which is increased to about Rs. 73 lakhs in the Budget estimate of 1938-39.

What are the principal tests to be applied to any scheme of an Indian Navy? They are, broadly speaking, three: who will bear the cost of the Navy; who will officer it; and who will control it? To take the question of cost first. It is well-known that the Defence Budget of the Central Government has always been the subject of public criticism on the ground that it is a heavy burden for a poor country like India. On the other hand, there has been a feeling of late, especially in view of the present international situation, that the Defence of India on Land, Sea and Air should be adequate to protect the country in case of an outbreak of war. It has been suggested that the Defence expenditure might be redistributed so as to concentrate more on the development of Sea and Air Defences. Pandit Kunzru suggested in the Council of State last March that

"the Indian Navy should be equipped with cheaper types of vessels like the surface torpedo craft and the submarine, on which increasing reliance is being placed even by first class powers. For, the need of strengthening the Naval Defences of India has been recognised by the Government."

The question of Defence expenditure is, however, closely inter-linked with the question of control and manning of the forces as also with the question of direction of the foreign policy of the country. Once the question of control is solved satisfactorily and the national feelings of the youth of the country elicited for national service, the question of cost, although undoubtedly important, would not be an insuperable difficulty in building up an efficient Indian Navy. The question of control is, therefore, fundamental. This was one of the grounds on which the Indian Navy (Discipline) Bill was opposed by Labour members in the House of Commons in 1927 and was rejected by the Legislative Assembly in 1928. For, it was felt that the supreme control of an Indian Navy should be vested in the Indian Legislature. The Commander-in-Chief stated last year in the Council of State that

"if we do start a regular organisation for local naval defence, it should be placed as far as possible in the hands of Indians themselves."

The Resolutions passed at the Imperial Conferences of 1923 and 1926 explicitly stated that "the naval forces of each Dominion will be used for local purposes" and it

should, therefore, be made clear that the Indian naval forces should not be used for any purpose other than that of the defence of India and if so used, it should be done with the consent of the Indian Legislature. In fact, the recent agreement mentions that these escort vessels will be "free to co-operate with the Royal Navy" and from our experience of the use of Indian troops outside India, we know the significance and implication of this phrase. The Indian Navy is, of course, not on the same basis as the Navies of the Dominions which are under their control, apart from the fact that the Dominions have a maritime status and powers to legislate in regard to shipping which are denied to India.

Not less important is the question of the manning of the Navy. There are 127 officers in the Indian Navy, of whom 13 are Indians. Every year 9 officers are recruited to the Navy, of whom 3 are Indians. Indians not only excelled in seamanship and navigation in the past but have also proved their worth in the Indian Navy and in the mercantile marine at present. Sir Humphrey Walwyn, the late Director of the Royal Indian Marine, stated that "if there is anyone who says Indians cannot make very good seamen, give him my name and address". Lieut.-Col. Lumby declared in the Legislative Assembly when the Navy Bill was being considered that the cadets from the "Dufferin" were excellent and did very well as officers of the Indian Navy. The present Commander-in-Chief has also acknowledged that there will be no difficulty in finding suitable men. It is, therefore, essential that the Indian personnel in the Indian Navy should be speedily increased.

It must, however, be pointed out that the main ground of recruitment for naval officers in other countries is the mercantile marine. For example, the Commander-in-Chief observed in the Council of State last year that

"in setting up an organisation of the kind I refer to (i.e., a Naval Force), most other countries depend largely on their Mercantile Marine and on Volunteer Naval Reserves" and that

"in India at present we have no Naval Reserves and our Mercantile Marine is still, so to speak, in its infancy."

The Indian Mercantile Marine Committee stated that it was almost the unanimous desire of all Indian witnesses who appeared before it that

"the creation of an Indian Navy capable of defending the coasts, harbours and commerce of India should proceed hand in hand with the development of an Indian Mercantile Marine."

In March last, Mr Ogilvie, Army Secretary, replying to an interpellation in the Central Assembly stated that

"the Government of India are very well aware that the existence of an Indian Mercantile Marine would be a great assistance to the Defence Department"

and that

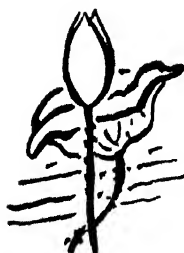
"the Defence Department would very much like to see a flourishing Indian Mercantile Marine."

The merchant fleet is an element in the sea power of a nation and is essential to the security of a maritime country. Admiral Mahan who wrote on the influence of sea-power upon history held that the fundamental need of a maritime country was a merchant navy. It is difficult, indeed, to have a fighting navy without a merchant navy; Mahan, for example, considers that the French Navy in the time of Louis XIV withered away because it had no roots in a healthy merchant marine. What Lord Craigmyle recently described as "the Navy of supply" is as vital as the Navy of defence. The last war showed the preponderant influence of a merchant fleet and of sea power. Sir Arthur Salter, in his *Allied Shipping Control*, shows how during the last war shipping became the very centre of the Allied problem and shipping control the centre of its organisation. He observes:

"Certainly the supplies of the Allied Forces could not have been maintained without the Naval protection of Merchant Ships, particularly without the amazingly successful systems of convoy. It is equally certain that no system of Naval protection would have been sufficient without the continuous and unfailing skill and courage of the officers and men of the Mercantile Marine."

A merchant marine is not only a training ground and feeder of a Navy but a reserve and second line of defence. Even a well-organised Navy with its battleships and cruisers, its destroyers and submarines would be seriously handicapped if it were not adequately supported by the mercantile fleet providing transport for troops, munitions and hospital ships, auxiliary cruisers mine-sweepers, submarine chasers and

other vital necessities of naval warfare. It would serve to protect the flow of commerce, both coastal and overseas, from interruption as well as to prevent a blockade of ports. Nor has the development of air power rendered useless sea power as a means of defence. In several respects, aircraft has tended to modify the conduct of operations at sea but it has not supplanted naval power. As Mr. Shakespeare, the Secretary to the British Admiralty, declared recently, "air power by itself is unlikely to win wars: the main burden falls on the Navy." Even apart from the length of India's coastline as a criterion of the need of naval strength, the flow of India's commerce depends upon the freedom of entry and departure at a few great routes of sea-borne commerce. It is owing to a recognition of this vital importance of the strength and efficiency of a mercantile marine as the complementary agent to a Navy and as a means of national defence that the development of shipping has become an instrument of national policy in every important maritime country of the world since the war. The British budget, for instance, annually provides for special appropriations for naval reserves such as retainers which assist manning of the merchant fleet. The British Admiralty has also paid from time to time subventions to certain lines with a view to utilize their vessels as auxiliary naval cruisers or transports in times of war. If India is to be a strong maritime unit of the Commonwealth contributing its share for the maintenance of sea communications and holding its place in the maritime trade of the world, it is essential that India should build up a system of coastal defence maintained by a Naval Force of its own. But it is not possible to build up a genuine national Navy without the development of national mercantile marine. And for the development of India's national shipping, it is essential for the public to appreciate our dependence on the sea and for the Government to have a positive mercantile marine policy.



# PORTUGAL'S NEW CONSTITUTION

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THE remarkable financial achievements of Portugal under the New State have created world-wide interests in the political and diplomatic life of the nation which for a long time, prior to 1926, was known on both sides of the Atlantic as the 'sick man of Europe.' This interest of the world in Portugal's New State is manifested not only in the frequent articles on Portugal in the European and American Press, but also by a number of books on the corporative state which have appeared in English, in French and even in German.

The strategic importance of Portugal under the new conditions created by developments in the air defences has intensified this interest. The Belgian King will shortly pay an official visit to Portugal's embassy and important problems dealing with the foreign policy and defence and colonies are expected to be discussed in the Belgian metropolis.

Recently Portuguese waters were honoured by visits of naval divisions from England and Germany which remained in Lisbon for a considerable time. Just at present there is an important British military mission in Lisbon in deep consultation with Portuguese High Command. It is expected that at this meeting between naval and military experts of England and of Portugal a large number of moot points relating to the defence programme in the case of a European war will be threshed out in detail. Even America is showing its interest for the purpose of using the Portuguese colony of Azores and Lisbon itself as important stages in her services across the Atlantic between Europe and America.

The Catholic world has also evinced special interest in Portugal's recent political, financial and economic renaissance, since all these have been based on such principles as have the sanction and support of Catholic ethics and religion. The contribution of Portuguese clergy to the country's moral and economic regeneration has not at all been inconsiderable. In fact it has been doubted in many well-informed quarters whether Dr. Salazar could ever have been able to achieve his remarkable national reconstruction if he had not the continuous and

loyal support of the whole Catholic clergy of Portugal.

The new Constitution of Portugal which has recently been amended is, in many respects, a unique document of peculiar political and constitutional interests. It is based on the corporative principle and shows many special features which deserve study and consideration.

The Constitution is neither parliamentary nor presidential, neither unitary nor federal, neither completely democratic nor essentially despotic. It has for its basis the principle that Government are ultimately responsible to the people from whom they derive their power and their sovereignty. At the same time, the principles of parliamentary government and liberal technique have been profoundly modified in their application to the reorganization of the leading organs of the State. The Constitution is a semi-rigid document, fully written, but, its amendment does not require any special constitutional machinery or any kind of excessive formalities. Even recently it was amended with the same ease with which the Portuguese Parliament passes any ordinary legislative enactment.

In the opening part of the Constitution are mentioned the rights of the Portuguese citizens. These rights follow the lines of enunciation of the civic rights as you find them in the constitutions of liberal democracies like France, Switzerland and Belgium. The right of life, to reputation, to liberty, to the free expression of thought, to contract, to property, to public meeting, to associations and worship are points which the Portuguese constitution has in common with every written constitution of democratic countries. What is peculiar in the new corporative constitution of Portugal is the importance which section 4 gives to the family. The Constitution says:

"The state shall ensure the constitution and protection of the family as the source of the maintenance and development of the race, the parliamentary basis of education, discipline and social harmony, and by its association and representation in the parish and the town, the foundation of all political and administrative order."

The rights of the family which have been given a definite and distinct political, juridical,

and even economic status in the new Constitution consist of the rights for marriage and legitimate offspring, equality of the rights and duties of husband and wife between themselves and towards the legitimate children and such protection in the civil and criminal law of the country as is essential for the healthy growth of family life throughout the nation based on the principle of service to the country and nursed by the ideals of Catholic religion.

The Constitution undertakes:

(1) To encourage the establishment of separate homes under healthy conditions, and the institution of the family household;

(2) To protect maternity;

(3) To adjust taxation in accordance with legitimate family obligations and to promote the adoption of the family wage;

(4) To assist parents in the discharge of their duties of instructing and educating their children, and to co-operate with them by means of public institutions for education and correction, or by encouraging private establishments destined for the same purpose;

(5) To take all precautions likely to avert the corruption of morals.

In one of his memorable speeches Dr. Salazar explaining the basis of the new Constitution and its moral and social background, its hinterland, vigorously attacked the myth of the citizen as an obstruction on which political liberalism of the 19th century had been based with such disastrous consequences to the moral and political heritage of the world. 'The citizen,' he said, 'wrested away from his family, from his class, profession and from his life, is an enormous fiction, an unfortunate myth.' On the contrary, the living reality, the eternal verity is the *family* which is not only the cell of the social organization, but also the original nucleus of the parish, of the district and therefore, of the nation itself. 'It is for this reason,' said Salazar, 'that the Constitution must guarantee the effective formation, the full preservation and complete right of all the members of the family as a distinct unit on which the very nation is based.'

The next important unit to which the new Portuguese constitution devotes considerable attention is the corporative organization of the group as a distinct, independent, complete and co-ordinate organ of federal society which is a great human reality as opposed to the abstract general will on which the whole of political Rousseauism has been based. The new Portuguese State revolves round the recognition of the group organizations. The meaning of

the corporative system given by the Catholic Union of Freiburg in 1884, when the corporative system was defined as,

"a regime of social organization having for its basis groups of men and women held together by the natural and common interest, by their social functions and, therefore, having as a natural corollary the right for public representation in the different political and other organs of the State."

Article 16 of the Constitution states that it shall be the duty of the State to authorise corporative organizations for intellectual, social and economic purposes and to promote and assist their formation. Such organizations may have for their object scientific, literary, artistic or physical activities, relief work, charity, technical improvement, trade union spirit or other common interests in which groups of citizens are involved in their legitimate and proper social functions

Several decrees passed either by the Portuguese executive or the legislature have implemented this article of the Constitution by elaborate rules and regulations governing labour organizations, national syndicates, people's houses, importers' and exporters' organizations, fishermen's houses, social insurance and other forms of group-life to which at one time Follett had given significant importance in her philosophical and political criticisms of liberal democracies.

Dr. Salazar in commenting upon this principle of corporative organization of the New State makes it clear that Portugal was exceedingly backward in her group-life and in her trade unions. This was so, because the economic conditions of the country were almost primitive whereas, therefore, in Germany and Italy corporative organization aims at the suppression of trade union feeling and at the removal of unfriendly and hostile relations between capital and labour, the Portuguese constitution seeks to build up what was not at all existing and to base social and economic functions of the State on the creation of a strong, healthy, autonomous groups working harmoniously together for the purpose of common weal. "The thought" stated Salazar, "which should dominate the corporative organization is to co-ordinate the corporations, unions and federations of an economic character both of labour and of capital existing either spontaneously or created by the State so as to remove them from the slippery path of internal competition and struggle and to harness them to the higher and nobler interests and services of the State."

At the same time it is necessary that the

State should protect the moral and material rights of the working classes and should recognise that labour is a great factor in the creation of wealth and therefore, has a right to be associated with all wealth-creating activities. It is on the realization of this principle that progress and social peace will depend. But the State reserves to itself the right to regulate in the way it best thinks fit not only the inter-relations among the different groups but also the relations between capital and labour and these two to society. But it does not interfere with normal economic activities of the citizens unless they are of a dangerous or excessively acquisitive character. 'As long as' says Article 35 of the Constitution, 'property, capital and labour fulfil a social duty in a system of economic co-operation and in accordance with the natural interests, the State will leave them alone' But any exploitation of one by the other will call forth the State's active interference so as to redress a grievance or injustice. Collective labour contracts with a minimum wage have also a place in the Constitution. The system of compensatory economy is the case of the economic policy of the State.

Section 10 of the Constitution determines the relations between the Church and State. After guaranteeing the Catholic religion the right for public and private practice and for its own organization, discipline and association, the Constitution states that the State shall maintain the regime of separation in relations to the Catholic Church and any religion or cult, and practice within Portuguese territory. It also adds that Portugal shall maintain regular diplomatic relations with the Holy See, and grants to the Church the right to acquire, hold, sell or dispose of any type of private property. The old Constitution had withheld these rights from any religious associations. They have now been fully restored.

The second part of the Constitution deals with the political structure and organs of the State. The form of the executive is semi-presidential with a president elected by direct suffrage for a period of seven years. He is directly and exclusively responsible to the nation for actions and policies pursued in the discharge of his duties. The National Assembly has no control over the presidential powers and cannot compel him to resign his mandate by any kind of tactics, legislative or financial, much less by vote of no-confidence. The President selects ministers, dismisses them, opens, adjourns, prorogues and dissolves the National Assembly, orders general elections and

by-elections. In this respect the powers of the President under the New State come very close to the powers of the American President. His privilege to represent the nation, to direct the foreign policy of the country, to conclude international treaties and allowances, commercial treaties, the privilege to grant pardon and commute punishment and to promulgate decree-laws and decrees resemble him to the Viceroy of India, except for the fact that all his acts must be counter-signed by the President of the Council and by the Minister to whose department the particular act has a reference. Since the President himself selects the Prime-Minister as well as the other ministers his executive and even legislative powers are not only extensive, but even effective, provided he is a strong man, capable of guiding, inspiring and supervising the whole Portuguese executive. At present General Carmona, the President of the Portuguese Republic has allowed his ministers complete executive autonomy and has shown no inclination whatever to interfere in any way with the policy, programme and administrative methods of Dr. Salazar.

With a view to enable the President to discharge his responsible duties adequately, he is surrounded by a Council of State which is different from the Cabinet. This Council is made up of the Prime Minister, the President of the National Assembly, President of the Corporative Chamber, President of the Supreme Court of Justice and of the Attorney-General together with five eminent men of outstanding ability appointed for life by the President himself. According to the spirit of the Constitution the head of the Portuguese State has to exercise his more important political, legislative and executive powers in consultation with his Council of State, which must compulsorily be convened before he interferes, in any way, with the National Assembly or shapes his Foreign policy. The legislative organ of the State consists of the National Assembly which is the Upper Chamber together with an expert body called the Corporative Chamber which has important advisory functions of an expert and technical character. The National Assembly consists of 90 deputies elected by the heads of families. It has wide legislative powers like the making and suspension of laws, the passing of the budget, the grant of credit, sanction of laws, approval of treaties and international conventions and other functions like those dealing with currency, exchange, banking, defence, education and other national subjects. It has been the practice under the



new Constitution for Government to introduce most of the legislation after the model of parliamentary democracy and of cabinet government as is found working in France and in England. The legislature has, so far, introduced very few of its own bills but has passed a very large number of those that have been submitted for its approval by the executive. The members of the Assembly all belong to the National Union and in the last elections no candidate from any opposition party, open or secret, was admitted by the polling officers. The Government organised a single list of deputies which was voted upon not only in Portugal but throughout the Portuguese Empire. This is a very novel electoral method. It consists in confining the candidates to the members of a single party and in considering the whole country together with all the colonies as one single electoral college voting for the totality of the members of the legislature. As there was no chance whatsoever for non-members of the National Union to put up their candidates, elections of the Government candidates had a smooth and easy passage and secured a very large, almost universal support.

The National Assembly is assisted in its legislative tasks by the Corporative Chambers composed of representatives of local autonomous bodies and of all social, economic and cultural interests. Members of the Corporative Chambers are themselves elected by different groups, institutions, associations, universities and labour unions. The main function of this Chamber is to report on all motions, bills and other subjects including treaties placed before the National Assembly either by its individual members or by Government. The Chamber is divided into about 16 important Committees, each section specialising itself in one kind of work. The National Assembly does not embark on any of its more important work before it has in its possession the views and reports of the Corporative Chamber on subjects on the anvil of the Assembly.

The President of the Republic in spite of his extensive powers is after all the titular head of the State. His legal powers are generally latent, a kind of a fiction, but they may spring into activity in times of crisis. Ordinarily the executive is under the control of the Cabinet consisting of about 10 ministers responsible to the President and cultivating a system of collective responsibility. The executive not only discharges its ordinary administrative and fiscal right to draw up decree-laws on questions of urgent public interest. It has also large powers for making

rules and regulations which really mean legislation. But any law which affects revenue or expenditure must have the counter-signature of the Minister for Finance. All laws made by the executive have to be submitted to the National Assembly for its ratification. The executive also appoints the judiciary and controls the whole of the defence and diplomatic services of the Empire. Though the Cabinet has very large powers it derives the breath of its life from the President and therefore, it is subject to the dismissal by the President. At the same time every minister is personally responsible for his actions both to the President and the legislature.

It is difficult to compare the Portuguese legislature and executive with those of the presidential or parliamentary forms of Governments. The Constitution seeks to make an ingenious compromise between these two forms of Government by subordinating the legislature to the position of an inferior political and legislative status. The President is given ample powers which at present are exercised on his behalf by the Prime Minister Dr. O. Salazar. The National Union itself is a large one-party organization which is supporting him in all his activities. Such a constitution will work well as long as the element of personal leadership is accepted by the nation and its legislature, but the system does not promise any smooth working the moment a multiple party system springs into existence. The whole Constitution at present revolves round and is dominated by one single, strong, powerful personality. The centrifugal tendencies are decisive and Dr. Salazar has behind him the support of the army. The Portuguese Parliament has, under the new Constitution, played a very insignificant part in shaping National policies.

The judicial organization of the State is a somewhat complex and incoherent one. There are in the first place, ordinary courts of law, the Supreme Court of Justice forming the apex of the pyramid. It interprets, applies and enforces all ordinary laws regulating the relations between citizens and citizens. All disputes between the public servant and public citizens are decided by a special set of laws and courts, called Administrative Courts. These courts enjoy very wide and ample jurisdiction over all institutions, organizations and all activities of the public servants in their relations with the citizens. Neither the ordinary nor the Administrative Courts have any constitutional jurisdiction over laws made by the National Assembly or by the Cabinet. The legality of this can be questioned



only by the Parliament. But all the administrative actions and decisions including those of the Cabinet ministers are subjects which may form the basis of law-suits in the Administrative Courts by private citizens or by corporations. Thus the executive is deprived of arbitrary powers and of the discharge of arbitrary functions. The personal equation, the individual prejudice and political passion are in this way considerably reduced by granting to the Administrative Courts considerable jurisdiction over the legality of the decisions of the executive.

Portugal is the fourth largest colonial power of the world. Three hefty slices of Africa, a colonial population of over 10 millions encompassing an area of about a million square miles form the Portuguese Colonial Empire. She has important colonies in East and West Africa in addition to the smaller ones in India, the Atlantic Ocean, and in China. These colonies have been attached to Portugal for several hundreds of years and have formed part of the Portuguese Empire more or less as equal members, since Portugal, a little over a hundred years ago, liberalised her constitution and introduced parliamentary institutions. The establishment of the Portuguese Republic in 1910 saw the development of semi-parliamentary institutions in the colonies with considerable administrative and financial decentralization. Unfortunately the New Corporative State of Portugal has reversed in a great measure, the traditions of liberal government which had been pursued by Portugal in the last hundred years. There is now a very close financial and administrative control. Previous to the establishment of the Portuguese dictatorship, Portuguese finances in the colonies were in a perilous condition. Financial disruption, administrative inefficiency, the system of spoils, political jobbery and corruption, recurring deficits, inefficient and dishonest financial administration were the features since the end of the last War and the rise of dictatorship. Salazar's administration selected Dr. Armindo Monteiro, the present Portuguese ambassador at St. James, as the first Colonial Minister who even visited the colonies to personally supervise the financial reforms which he decreed and

which were designed to meet the colonial deficits and to purge the administration of its most obvious defects. Unfortunately these measures of financial hygiene and sanitation were followed by colonial legislation of a racial type based on the principle of superiority-complex and of unequal treatment. The Colonial Act tore away the fine tradition of Portuguese liberalism and promised to Portuguese colonies a perpetual tutelage under guidance and control of Portugal. It also invented a number of citizenships, thus creating two broad distinctions between what had always been considered as citizens of the same empire—continental citizenship of Portugal and Colonial citizenship of the Empire. In addition to that the military law and organisation have given a subordinate place to the inhabitants of the colonies whether they are descendants from Portuguese families or are the indigenous inhabitants of the country. In Portugal itself the atmosphere in political and administrative circles has not been quite friendly to such peoples of the colonies who in virtue of their education, industry and activity are able to compete successfully with the Portuguese in their own home-land. The local administration in the colonies is excessively centralised and the Colonial Councils of Government have very few legislative functions. They are advisory bodies that have got restricted legislative powers subject in the first instance to the veto of the Governor and then to the veto of the Colonial Minister.

Such political situation which has for its basis and inferior status even to those colonies which like Portuguese India compare very favourably not only with other colonies of Portugal but with Portugal herself, has created naturally widespread discontent which has manifested itself in slender enthusiasm to the great achievement of the Portuguese dictatorship in the mother-country. Corporative principles of economic organization have not at all been in any way implemented in the Portuguese legislation dealing with the colonies. And thus it happens that though the colonies have achieved financial equilibrium, their economic progress has been insignificant and their colonial status has suffered a decline.

12th March, 1938.

## WHY KARNATAK SHOULD BE SEPARATED

By V. B. KULKARNI

"The creation of Karnatak as a separate province cannot be resisted on merits."—M. K. GANDHI

SINCE I last wrote in *The Modern Review*<sup>1</sup> emphasizing the necessity for creating Karnatak into a separate province, the march of events during the past few months has taken us nearer the goal of realization. Apart from the intrinsic value of unanimous popular demand, as manifested in the resolutions recently passed in the legislatures of Madras and Bombay, the recognition of the claims of Karnatak by the Governments of these Provinces has indubitably elevated our case for separation from the plane of mere desire and demand to one of practical politics. It is true that similar resolutions were adopted in the legislatures of the Southern Presidency on previous occasions, but under the diarchic system of Government, popular demand however decisive, had slender chances of becoming effective. Karnatak's claims for separation were pigeon-holed every time they were urged. The resolutions of March and April last and the *imprimatur* they have received at the hands of the Congress Governments of Madras and Bombay are, therefore, in our view a milestone in the history of our struggle for self-determination.

While the recent happenings have proved remarkably helpful to our demand becoming a *fait accompli*, they have at the same time not failed to cause needless disquiet in quarters opposed to separation. The debates and discussions that followed the resolutions on separation, betrayed a singular lack of understanding of the real import and implications of the demand. Karnatak has made out a strong and unassailable case for reversing the existing order of things and for remoulding her destiny in a manner best suited to her interests and well-being. She is satisfied and is prepared to convince honest doubters that she has with her in plenitude all the material necessary for rearing up a provincial edifice. In short, she advances her claim with a full sense of responsibility and does not seek the authorities to become guilty of any sort of political enormity by conceding her demand.

The sponsors of the unification movement

have drawn up their demand on the basis of certain data which in their view are unchallengeable. They have placed their cards on the table and invite criticism from those who are opposed to a reversal of the *status quo*. It is significant that this challenge remains yet unaccepted, although we have had no dearth of unreasoned criticism reinforced by sentiment, passion and prejudice. Nevertheless, we might assume, if only to make our case the stronger, that there cannot be more formidable objections to the creation of a new province than on the following issues:—

- (i) Is separation financially feasible?
- (ii) What are the disadvantages under the present arrangement and what benefits accrue from a reversal of it? and
- (iii) Does not the creation of a new unit tend to retard the forces of nationalism?

For purposes of convenience, I shall take up the second objection first, namely, "what is our grouse under the present arrangement?" To a casual observer from outside, the spectacle of the Karnatak community remaining under the protective wings of powerful provinces like Madras and Bombay, not to speak of the tutelage of numerous States big as well as petty, is apt to look like a desirable consummation. But, like the toad under the harrow, we alone know where exactly the tooth-point goes. Nothing could be more intolerable and suicidal for a homogenous and culturally and historically conscious people, who in their own time played a significant part in building up the civilization of their country, to be wantonly cut into mincemeat and thrown away only to be grabbed by no less than twenty-two different administrative units.

Without burdening the reader with needless historical detail, I might at once state that Karnatak's history dates back to the 2nd century B.C and its people held their hegemony in the Deccan with more or less continuity until the dissolution of the mighty Vijayanagar Empire in the Battle of Talikot. The dismemberment of Vijayanagar conducted to the setting up of numerous petty principalities all over Karnatak, which, despite its great mutilations, was able to conserve its cultural and linguistic individu-

<sup>1</sup> See my article, IS KARNATAK UNIFICATION FEASIBLE?, in *The Modern Review* of November, 1937.

ality as best as it could till the advent of the East India Company on the scene. With consummate skill the Company Sarkar introduced an era of "divide and rule" and finally succeeded in establishing its unrivalled sway in the Deccan by dislodging Tippu from the throne of Mysore. With the fall of this valiant soldier in the Battle of Serirangapatam, all hopes of reviving Karnatak's glory were shattered. Then followed the heart-rending spectacle of Karnatak being torn limb by limb and annexed by a multiplicity of States as the spoils of war. Thus we see today Karnatak obliged to bow its head to its masters who are more than 20 in number!<sup>2</sup> We are, however, told to take comfort in the knowledge that our dismemberment was undertaken with a view to reconstruct a brighter and better political map of India!

I shall now illustrate what this dissection means to the people of Karnatak. Thrown into the midst of a plethora of States and Provinces, each in differing stages of evolution, from medieval despotism to farcical provincial autonomy, the Kannada population is nowhere in a majority, the exceptions being Mysore and Coorg.<sup>3</sup> The genius of Karnatak has been dealt a severe blow by the dispersal of its population, which, in the absence of a common unifying force, has lost its community of interest and the consciousness of its cultural and historical greatness. Instead of enriching and ennobling her own heritage and transmitting it to posterity, Karnatak has entered into a long spell of stupor, content to play the role of a camp follower and make votive offerings to the greatness of others. Her numerical inferiority and inertia have hushed her voice and nearly strangled her distinctive existence under every administration.

Apart from our cultural conquest, even our own language was until recent years, under a ban.<sup>4</sup> Most of us had our schooling in languages other than our own mother tongue, Kannada. Till about 1923 Bellary, which, even according to that unsatisfactory and unacceptable Kelkar Award, belongs to Karnatak, had no High

Schools where Kannada was taught. The position of Belgaum, the northern border district of Karnatak, was much worse. So overwhelming is the influence of Marathi over the Kannada population here, that even today the trading class of this community maintains its accounts in Modi, a kind of Marathi script, which has much likeness to Kannada, as the Chinese script has to English. Even today non-Karnatak institutions in Karnatak refuse platform to Kannada in their activities. The wholesale "conversion" of hundreds of Karnatak families into Marathi-speaking families is carried on with a vigour which should make the missionary blush. It has been estimated that in one census alone about 2 lakhs of Kannada population was absorbed by others.

Here are some interesting facts, unearthed from old archives. Schools were opened in the Bombay Carnatak early in 1856 and Marathi was taught in them. Not until 1865 could the Bombay Department of Public Instruction come to know that the language of Karnatak was not Marathi but Kannada! Describing the situation Mr. Russel, an Educational Officer in the Southern Division, wrote in 1865 thus:

"The Deputy Inspectors and English Masters in this Division are none of them Kanarese and there are very few Kanarese men even among the vernacular schoolmasters in the District. *The Kanarese language has never been taught or cultivated in this Division as the Gujarathi or Marathi in theirs*. Therefore, the indifference of the Kanarese people in general to schools in which the books and teachers are mostly Marathi can hardly be wondered at."

Nobody took notice of this anomaly till the coming of Mr. Russel. Referring to this Mr. V. R. Katti then wrote thus:

"Before Mr. Russel's appointment, the Division possessed no Kanarese books of its own excepting the first three reading books of questionable utility.....A translation exhibitionership was transferred from Poona to this Division at the time of Major Waddington, and it was held at the time of Mr. Russel's arrival by a Maratha man who was to prepare Kanarese books for Government Schools."

Further on we come across the most interesting statement that a non-Kannada knowing man was deputed to write Kannada books for use in Government Schools!

This is an old story, but even today the position is not much better. Except for a second grade College at Mangalore, Madras Karnatak has no College of its own, while in Bombay Karnatak, with four big Districts, there are only two Colleges. Small wonder therefore, that many of our young men who can afford, emigrate to places outside Karnatak where they could obtain better education. Again, Andhra has her own University and even Travancore will soon

<sup>2</sup> Karnatak of today is divided as follows: Bombay Karnatak, Madras Karnatak, Cantonment Karnatak, Coorg, Hyderabad (Dn.) Karnatak, Karnatak Jagirs in Hyderabad (Dn.), Mysore, Kolhapur, Karnatak Jagirs in Kolhapur, Sangli, some portions of Aundh, Miraj (Senior), Miraj (Jr.), Kurundwad (Sr.), Kurundwad (Jr.), Jamkhandi, Mudhol, Ramdurg, Akalkot, Jath, Savanur and Sandur.

<sup>3</sup> The populations of Mysore and Coorg are 6,557,302 and 1,63,327, respectively, out of a total population of 11,206,380.

<sup>4</sup> Even today in many Southern Mahratta States which are an integral part of Karnatak the medium of instruction is Marathi.

have one. But who is to listen to the cry of Karnatak? Our representation in the Senates of the Bombay and Madras Universities is negligible. Despite all these obvious disadvantages, we are told that our "partnership" with the premier presidencies of Bombay and Madras is of incalculable benefit to us, which we are advised not to lose in a fit of emotional enthusiasm for separation.

Being condemned to a position of permanent minority, Karnatak has scarcely any share in the governance of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, although she makes substantial contributions to the Provincial revenues. Even under the new dispensation her representation in the legislatures of these Provinces is utterly inadequate. It is significant that there is not a single Karnatak Member in the Cabinets of either Madras or Bombay even under the Congress regime.<sup>5</sup> With her dismembered territories tacked on to inland and far-flung regions, Karnatak is denied those advantages which proximity to seats of Governments usually brings.

There are no industries worth the name in Karnatak, although it abounds in raw materials.<sup>6</sup> Even its mineral wealth remains yet unexploited, as local private enterprise is almost non-existent. There are many States in Karnatak but their resources are utilized by their non-Karnatak rulers for purposes in which it is little interested. We are poorly served with rail and road communications, thus seriously hampering our trade and commerce. From 1818 to date Bombay has spent nearly 55 crores on irrigation works, out of which a paltry sum of Rs. 8-10 lakhs has been spent in Karnatak.<sup>7</sup> Famine conditions in the Districts of Bellary and Bijapur are almost chronic. Tinkering with the problem is all that has been done so far.

We are cautioned against the guilt of impeding the forces of nationalism by seeking "needless" divisions. This is a poser which will deceive none. Let us not forget that the creation of the N.-W. F., Sind and Orissa into separate provinces was not considered unnecessary nor as calculated to dry up the fountain of nationalism. We refuse to be singled out for these sanctimonious homilies. Karnatak has always remained a redoubtable champion of the

Congress cause and her eulogy is best recorded in the words of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel. Says the Sardar:

"The brave peasants of Karnatak have vied with you in their sacrifices, in the loss of their lands and property and in their privations and suffering. The tales of their bravery and their sacrifices have filled me with admiration and pride, and the news of their sufferings sometimes unlunged me."

This is the record of a Karnatak chained to a multiplicity of masters. None can doubt that she will play a nobler part when she becomes the mistress of her own house. This is a consummation which both Madras and Bombay should endorse in their own interests, for, a weak divided Karnatak as their partner adds to their heterogeneity and complicates their problems. By ridding themselves of their unwieldiness they can fight their battles more effectively than at present. Let us not miss the significance of recent events in Orissa and the C.P.

"Is the separation of Karnatak feasible financially?" Before I answer in the affirmative I quote here what Mr. Gladstone said about needed reforms, although I shall certainly not take shelter behind his observation. Says Mr. Gladstone:

"Gentlemen, you need not give yourselves any trouble about the revenue. The question of revenue must never stand in the way of needed reforms; besides, with a sober population not wasting their earnings, I shall know where to obtain the revenue."

Our claim for separation is the outcome of unanimous popular demand, and if it is found that until the resources of Karnatak are fully tapped, additional taxation has to be borne, this will be done most cheerfully. But even as matters stand, Karnatak's financial position is sound.

The total revenue of a separately constituted Karnatak from its eight districts and five talukas<sup>8</sup> will be 260 lakhs, and after deducting Rs. 210 lakhs for running a provincial Government we have a clear balance of Rs. 50 lakhs,—a position which compares more favourably than in the Provinces of Assam, N.-W. F., Orissa and Sind. It is worthy of remark that the last-named Provinces cannot balance their Budgets without heavy subventions. Again, but for its share of Rs. 40 lakhs from Income-tax, even Bombay cannot balance its Budget.

The indebtedness of the Bombay Government is advanced as an argument against our separation. We refuse to submit to the sins

<sup>5</sup> The Hon'ble Mr. A. B. Lathe, the Bombay Finance Minister, is claimed by the Maharashtrians as belonging to them although he hails from Belgaum. What exactly is his attitude to this claim is not clear.

<sup>6</sup> See Prof. B. H. Yelburgi's article "Karnatak Occupations" in *Karnatak Darshan*.

<sup>7</sup> Vide *Karnatak Darshan*.

<sup>8</sup> See sketch map showing the area comprising the new Province of Karnatak.



of others being visited upon our heads. The mad scheme of Backbay Reclamation and such others are not of our making. Bombay Karnatak's population is 12% of the Presidency's total population, and it is worth scrutinizing what proportion of the Presidency's revenue has been spent on Karnatak tax-payers. Any future financial adjustment should be on the basis of this scrutiny.

We have no minority problem, as the minority communities are equally enthusiastic

over separation. With such a strong case to support her claim Karnatak is determined to march to her chosen goal. At the 7th Unification Conference held in May 1938 under the presidency of Mr. K. R. Karant, a Parliamentary Secretary of the Madras Government, it was resolved to resort to direct action if such a course was deemed necessary. Karnatak will not stop with mere prayer and petition.

The claim of Andhra is equally just and must be considered along with that of Karnatak.

## NEPOTISM

By M. F. SOONAWALA

THE public of C. P. has of late been scandalised by the prevalence on a large scale of Nepotism on the part of some members of the Ministry, a charge now admitted by them before Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Their action has already been questioned and criticised by the Press in unequivocal terms.

The very word "Nepotism" seems to be in bad odour with all and sundry. But it loses much of its obnoxiousness if it is viewed from a different perspective.

Nepotism when practised with due circumspection and discretion justifying the peculiar circumstances of the cases involved, would rather produce beneficial effects. It is no sin for a person in high position, if convinced of the ability and integrity of some relative of his, to have him appointed to a responsible post. The service concerned also thereby gets the benefit of the personal security of the high personage in case the appointee goes wayward, which is hardly the case if the personage has exercised sound judgment in his selection. Human nature being what it is dictates this policy in every walk of life. Private businesses and enterprises are not devoid of this age-old practice and certain families acquire hoary traditions of founders, promoters and custodians of vast interests with which their names are indissolubly bound up. The goodwill thus attached to firms commands values at times fabulous.

From time immemorial in all lands officials administering State affairs have been exercising their prerogative by conferring favours on their own kith and kin while making responsible appointments. It is true that under democratic

regime public vigilance is too sharp to prevent abuse of such a prerogative. Pitts and Chamberlains and MacDonalDs and Butlers have illuminated the dry pages of history of even democratic countries.

Mussolini has his sons and sons-in-law placed in high command and Hitler is wise enough to connive at such weaknesses displayed by his immediate underlings. But Stalin had the rare courage of peremptorily ordering his son to leave for his home-town forthwith and pursue the calling of a cobbler as he was found incompetent to learn any art of diplomacy or industry. The Japanese Cabinet is dominated by either the Aristocracy or War Lords mostly connected by family ties.

The story goes, though I cannot vouch for its authenticity, that when once the eminent versatile genius, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was taunted for having succumbed to the weakness, *viz.*, Nepotism, his critic was immediately cowed down by the snub administered to him, "Well, my friend, I plead guilty of the offence of putting the right man in the right place. Hang me!"

Far from merely trotting forth an apology for a practice whose obnoxious character could hardly be mitigated or condoned, this is an attempt to show that it does also present an obverse side, the savoury aspect of which it is desirable to uphold in the best interests of society in general.

The tendency to raise the slogan of "Down with Nepotism" indiscriminately is to be deprecated. Let us be frank and stop the parrot-cry.



## INDIA'S SENSE OF HONOUR AND LORD BADEN-POWELL

By V. M. KAIKINI, B.A., F.R.C.S. (Edin.)

"We put a premium on tyranny by submitting meekly to tyranny", says the poet Tagore. According to Webster, tyranny is synonymous with cruelty, or causing hurt to others, without proper justification. Cruelty may be practised as much in word as in deed. Lord Baden-Powell's remark against Indians made from the high pedestal of an exalted position protected by the privileges of a ruling race, is a type of tyranny practised in word. The gallant gentleman makes an attempt to hurt the feelings of a whole nation by making assertions for which there is no justification. He manifests an ignorance of the simple and elementary words in the Hindustani language when he authoritatively says before the world, that Hindustani does not possess a word equivalent to the English word honour. Of course it is difficult to say that these remarks form a part of imperialistic propaganda carried on, on similar lines, by Mr. Archer in his book *Is India Civilised?*, or by our friend, the notorious Miss Mayo in her book *Mother India*. According to the saying of our great poet-philosopher, the ideal procedure for Indians is to treat these tyrannies in word, with the contempt that they deserve, as thereby we desist from putting a premium on them. One wonders how these imperialistic propagandists do not still realise that false propaganda after all does not serve the cause for which it is meant. On the other hand the effect they produce is quite the opposite. Sir John Woodroff's book in reply to the writings of Mr. Archer put before the world the merits of India more elaborately than they would have been, had not Mr. Archer written his book in that manner. Miss Mayo need not be specially reminded that India has now advanced much nearer the goal of Swaraj, than she was when her book was written, notwithstanding her propaganda. One need not be accused of exaggeration if it is asserted that such anti-Indian propaganda has helped to stir up the dormant qualities of Indians and accelerated their pace toward their desired goal. "Always have a calumniator as your neighbour. Calumniator's mouth is like a soap-cake, it helps to cleanse one's mind," says a poet-saint of Maharashtra.

If one looks back over the pages of ancient history, one finds that when nations start a

campaign of blind hatred against other nations, they usually show a tendency towards decline. By looking at the drawbacks only of the other nations, instead of trying to assimilate their good points, these nations isolate themselves from the rest of the world. "The fate of India was sealed when the word 'Mlechcha' was invented," says Swami Vivekananda. The downfall of India began when she started looking down upon other nations and thus isolated herself practically from the rest of the world. The same thing happened to the Chinese, when they started calling the other nations foreign devils and their own country "The Celestial Empire". One wonders if history is repeating itself in the West in this respect. Only a few months back, American tourists visiting Federated Malay States flashed news through Reuter, to the four corners of the globe that they had seen Mickey Mouse being worshipped by the Tamil coolies in a temple at Singapore. Naturally the "Mickey Mouse" was nobody else than the ubiquitous village deity Hanuman, who is worshipped by Hindu villagers in the temple of God Rama. What the American tourists gained by publishing this ludicrous news one fails to imagine. Instead of trying to know that the Tamil coolies worshipped "Mickey Mouse", if they had made an attempt to learn from these heathens that cleaning one's teeth before having a bedside cup of morning tea, and having a regular daily bath are very hygienic, they would have derived some benefit from their visit to the Tamil coolly lines during their tour in the Federated Malay States.

However, Lord Baden-Powell may be reminded that the equivalent for the English word honour, exists in many words in Hindustani out of which "Izzat" is the most commonly known to and used by the man in the street. Edmund Candler, the well known war correspondent, says in his book *The Sepoy*, "The words Izzat and Jiwan, are constantly in the mouths of officer and sepoy. 'Izzat' is best rendered by honour or prestige". As it is difficult to estimate the comparative value of the words, honour and Izzat, it is better to quote examples which will give an idea as to what value is allotted to the word 'Izzat' by the Indians. Lord Baden-Powell being an army man and a Britisher, anecdotes

are quoted here from the Indian army narrated by the gallant soldier's own countrymen

The historian James Grant, in Cassell's *History of India*, quoting Sir John Malcolm says.

"Neither the Hindoo nor the Mahomedan sepoy could be deemed of revengeful nature, though both were prone to deeds of extreme violence, especially in points where they deemed their honour—of which they have a very keen sense—slighted or insulted or their character stained. Of this spirit two or three examples may be given. In 1772, a sepoy of the 10th Native Bengal Infantry, supposing himself injured, quitted the ranks and approaching Capt. Ewens commanding, with 'recovered arms,' as if to make some request, shot him dead, and then quietly awaited the death he merited. Captain Cook of the Madras Cavalry once struck a sentry for allowing a water bullock to enter his tent. The man waited calmly till relieved from his post and then seeking the Captain, shot him dead with his carbine. He made no attempt to escape. He had avenged his honour thus terribly for a blow given."

"A sepoy of the Bengal Native Infantry was accused by one of his comrades of having stolen a rupee and a pair of trousers. The Sergeant-Major before whom the charge was brought was both unable and unwilling to give it credence, as the sepoy had always been remarkably conspicuous for his bravery and upright conduct. But investigations had to be carried out. On examining the knapsack to the utter astonishment and regret of the whole regiment the stolen property was discovered. None however, looked more thunder-struck than the sepoy himself. The Colonel told him that though the circumstances were so fearfully against him he would not yet pronounce him guilty, as it was not impossible he might be the victim of some malignant design. In a few hours, the sepoy was found to leave his little hut and walk with hurried steps to a neighbouring field. Suspecting the purpose of his present visit to so retired a spot, a comrade followed him, but unfortunately too late to arrest the hand of the determined suicide. The poor fellow lay stretched on the ground, with his head hanging back and the blood gushing from open throat. He was taken to the hospital and carefully tended. He lingered on for fifteen days till he died of starvation. Two days before he died, it was discovered that a low class servant had placed the stolen goods in the sepoy's bundle and then urged its owner to accuse him of the theft. The disclosure of this circumstance appeared to give infinite satisfaction to the dying soldier."

Edmund Candler, in his interesting book *The Sepoy*, quotes the following incident which occurred during the last World War in the trenches in France.

"Rajput pride 'Izzat' is at the bottom of the saddest story of a sepoy, I have ever heard. The man was a hillman of Rajput descent. After two days of incessant fighting with minimum of rest at night he fell asleep at his post. On account of his splendid service and his exhaustion at the time which was after all the tax of gallantry, the death penalty was commuted, and the man was sentenced to thirty lashes. He would have much preferred death. However, he took his lashes well. He went about his work as usual and was in two or three more actions in which he acquitted himself well. After a complete year in France and five months in Egypt came the welcome news that they were returning home. On the afternoon, the day he disembarked at Bombay, the

Rajput shot himself. He had chosen to live when there was work to do. And when he was a bare three days from his family and home he chose to die. Was English 'Honour' or Indian 'Izzat' at the bottom of this tragedy?"

Below are given a few incidents which are quoted not from any book on history but which actually took place in some of the military stations in India in recent times. They may give an idea as to what comparative value is allotted to the English word 'honour' and the Hindustani word 'Izzat' by the respective users of the two languages.

The first incident to be quoted happened in Kohat in the summer of 1919. Cholera had suddenly appeared in an epidemic form in Kohat and three I. M. S. officers and a military assistant surgeon had been hurriedly summoned from Peshawar for cholera duty. They were staying in the Kohat traveller's bungalow and it was the second day of their arrival there. A few yards to the north-western side of the bungalow was the post office, and the front courtyard was occupied by the staff of the brigade headquarters. Two of the I. M. S. officers and the Assistant surgeon were occupying the rear portion of the bungalow. It was a hot stuffy night typical of the Frontier summer, and the doctors were sleeping in the courtyard. Just after midnight they were roused from their sleep by loud screams mixed with moans, coming from somewhere near the bungalow. They hurried back to the verandah of the bungalow, to await developments. However the confusion soon ceased and the doctors went to bed, thinking that the disturbance was due to some Pathan thieves having entered the post office. Next day it was found that a Pathan raider had entered the Signal company's tent in the brigade headquarters camp, and snatched the rifles from two British signallers. The two Tommies getting frightened had run out of the tent and in doing so had trodden over the bodies of the servants of a Royal Engineers officer, as they were sleeping in the open. The Pathan next entered the tent of the Gurkha guard, and grabbed at the rifle of a sleeping Gurkha sepoy, who had kept it slung on his arm. The Gurkha felt the jerk and finding that a Pathan robber was trying to snatch away his rifle grappled with the Pathan in his half sleepy condition. Both of them stumbled out of the tent and before the Gurkha could take out his Kukri to hit the Pathan the Pathan stabbed him with his dagger and leaving him badly wounded in the chest bolted with the three rifles. The Indian Gurkha sacrificed his life for the sake of his 'Izzat', as losing a rifle

by a soldier is considered a dishonour in the army.

The second incident happened also in Kohat in the same year, but a couple of months later in the cholera camp. Cholera had taken a terrible toll of the sepoys and camp followers in the regiments stationed at Kohat. The mortality was appalling in the hastily improvised cholera hospital conducted by the three I. M. S. officers assisted by about four military sub-assistant surgeons and about half a dozen military ward orderlies, and some sweepers. Gradually the epidemic subsided and the hospital workers had some respite. The ward orderlies consisted of Sepoy Laxman Pawar, a Deccan Maratha from 128th Pioneers, Sawar Yakub Khan, a Hindustani Mussalman from Skinner's Horse, Sepoy Tiwari, a U. P. Brahmin from the 3rd Brahmin Regiment, and Sepoys Dularam and Narsoo Singh, Rajputana Gujars, from the 43rd Deoli Regiment, all under the command of Havildar Darveza Khan, a Sagri Khatak Pathan from Bannu. In a hastily improvised military unit, especially a hospital with patients dying of a disease where treatment was not of much avail and a lower staff selected at random from different regiments, discipline could not be expected to be perfect. There was reason to believe that the relations between the non-commissioned officer Darveza Khan, and the other five sepoys were far from cordial, and Sawar Yakub Khan, (who was nicknamed Bewakoof Khan by the Havildar), was supposed to be at the root of this internecine trouble. One afternoon the ward orderlies were unloading the Supply and Transport cart containing the provisions for the hospital. Some sort of wordy warfare started between Sepoy Dularam and Havildar Darveza Khan, which culminated in Dularam throwing down the Pathan Havildar on the ground and trying to hit him with the handle of a shovel. Naturally young Dularam was hauled up next day before the officer commanding the hospital, Major B. A court of inquiry was held and he was tried for assaulting his superior officer while on duty. He was found guilty and was sentenced to one month's imprisonment. The poor lad half sob-

bing shouted out, "Nobody listens to what I say. What have I done? I was first assaulted by the Havildar; so I hit him back. Why should I be sent to prison?" He was kept as a prisoner in the guard room, before the armed guard from the headquarters came next day to take him to the prison. As soon as he noticed the sepoy guard of a Punjabi regiment coming to take him away, from a distance, he snatched the rifle from the hands of sepoy Narsoo Singh, and ran out in the open shouting. He was seen by the two I. M. S. officers kneeling down in front of their tent and adjusting the bolt of the rifle. It was later on found that he wanted to shoot the I. M. S. officer who gave the prosecution evidence against him and the Havildar Darveza Khan, who was responsible for his prosecution. Narsoo Singh noticing this ran after Dularam, but before he could snatch the rifle away from him, he turned it toward his own face and pulled the trigger. Luckily it was loaded not with the usual service cartridge, but with game shooting cartridge containing small shot as is usually done on the Frontier where the army sentries guarding camps have to deal with Pathan marauders who crawl into the camp under the cover of darkness. So the shot did not kill him but tore off the skin of his face and shattered his jaw bone. The fair and handsome looking young lad's face mangled and covered with blood presented a hideous and distorted appearance. The poor lad made an attempt to kill himself to save his 'Izzat', which would have been damaged by his being sent to prison.

Finally it may be said that it is high time that Britishers of the type of Lord Baden-Powell realised that they are not enhancing the prestige of Great Britain by running down Indians and their country. Indians have long ago ceased to give any importance to the patronizing opinions about them or their country by foreigners, and have realised that the future of their country depends upon their own achievements, and not on the few favours bestowed on them with a condescending smile by those who have taken on themselves the laborious task of bearing the "White man's burden" for the salvation of the human race.





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

**LIBERALITY AND CIVILIZATION** By Gilbert Murray, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt D. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. 2s. 6d.

This book contains two lectures given by Professor Gilbert Murray at the invitation of the Hibbert Trustees in the Universities of Bristol, Glasgow, and Birmingham in October and November, 1937. They are informative, and also thought-provoking, as the phrase goes. In the first lecture the Professor explains what he means by liberality. It is not Liberalism in the sense in which that word is used in party politics. He goes on to show the interdependence of liberality and civilization. In the second lecture he considers the problem of keeping alive liberal thought and feeling in a world which seems to have turned anti-liberal. "Civilized thinking means liberal thinking. Liberality is the inner content of civilization."

Readers of *The Modern Review* have already got some idea of the contents of the book from the extracts from it given in the Notes in the last June number under the captions, "Liberality and Free Speech", and "The Path of Madness and of War and the Paths of Peace" pp. 703-704.

D.

**HIND SWARAJ OR INDIAN HOME RULE.** By M. K. Gandhi. Printed at the Vithal Mudranalaya, Congress Camp, Vithal Nagar. Paper Cover, Pp. 183, xiv. Price 1s. 4 (1938).

In a short foreword Mr. Mahadev Desai tells us how this little book which was out of print came to be reprinted. Lord Lothian, when on a visit to Gandhiji wanted a copy of it and at the same time Madame Sophia Wadia, the well known Bombay Theosophist did so. It was written in Gujarati in 1908 in South Africa and then proscribed in India. Translated into English for Mr. Kallenbach it has, continued to attract attention. In it lies the germ of all that Gandhiji is preaching now. The booklet is worth reading, re-reading, as it shows the Mahatmaj at his best.

**THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE.** By Richard B. Gregg. Printed at the Navjwan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick card board. Pp. 398 with an index. (1938.) Price Rs. 2.

This is an Indian Edition of Mr. Gregg's work. He writes from South Natick, Massachusetts, U. S. A., and has fitly dedicated the book to Mahatma Gandhi. In sixteen chapters the whole subject of Non-Violence is discussed in detail from an Indian as well as the Western point of view and the author tells us that it is not a history of the Indian struggle for independence only, but

of such struggles elsewhere. The notes to the chapters bear this out as reference is made therein to the works of various world writers. The idea of non-violence is tested with recent findings of psychology, military and political strategy, political theory, economics, physiology, biology, ethics, penology, and education. It has thus embraced a wider scope for the propaganda of Ahimsa than that found in Gandhiji's writings and utterances. The conclusion reached, however, is identical and confirms in soundness of Gandhiji's preachings. It is a scholarly and learned work and deserves to be studied by all, pacifists as well as non-pacifists. Mr. Gregg is a lawyer and has considered the pros as well as the cons of the subject. He is an industrialist also and has stayed in India pretty long. He is thus qualified to speak on Indian conditions too.

X.

**HISTORY OF KANAUJ—TO THE MOSLEM CONQUEST:** By Rama Shankar Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D. Indian Book Shop, Benares City. 1937. Pp XX+420. Price Rs. 7

The history of Kanauj is a worthy subject of study for every student of Indian History. With the single exception of Pataliputra, Kanauj may justly be regarded as the greatest imperial city in ancient India. In point of antiquity and length of life Kanauj beats hollow even its proud rival. It was a royal capital for many centuries while the site of Pataliputra was marked by a petty village, and it continued to flourish as an imperial capital nearly six centuries after the glory of Pataliputra had vanished for ever.

During these six centuries Kanauj saw the rise and fall of five empires, those of the Maukharis, the Pratihars and the Gahadavalas, and of Harshavardhan and Yasovarman. During the same period it was ruthlessly trampled under feet by no less than four powerful hostile armies, viz., the Karnatas, Kashmiras, Ghaznvides and Tursushkas, and its age-long duel with Bengal culminated in the complete triumph of the rival king Dharmapala who had his coronation performed in the eternal city in the presence of all the powerful chiefs of Northern India.

Against this background of political upheavals Kanauj witnessed an outburst of literary activity to which there is hardly any parallel with the exception of the legendary court of Vikramaditya at Ujjain. For few cities can boast of a galaxy of such renowned masters of literary art as Vakpati-raja, Bhababhuti, Banabhatta and Rajasekhara—not to mention lesser names—who have left a permanent mark on Sanskrit and Prakrit literature. As a seat of orthodox Brahmanical culture the fame of Kanauj spread to the furthest corner of Northern India,

and even today all the high class Brahmms and Kayasthas of Bengal look upon Kanauj as their ancestral and spiritual home.

This wonderful story of political and cultural greatness is told by Dr. Tripathi in the book before us. It is a scholarly work, marked by accuracy, precision, and sound judgment. The author has carefully examined all the sources and placed before his readers an interesting but unvarnished account of the memorable events that centred around Kanauj. His style is condensed and elegant and his criticism is always dispassionate and to the point. He has differed from previous writers on many points, but has referred to their views in moderate and temperate language. He has studiously avoided dogmatic expressions and an acrimonious tone which are unfortunately only too common in modern historical writings. On the whole the author is to be congratulated on the fine piece of work which he has produced.

It is inevitable that there should be room for difference of opinion on many points in a work comprising the history of so many dynasties. But it is very seldom that we can regard the author's standpoint as definitely untenable. In a few instances, however, the author seems to have departed from his usual caution in forming an unbiased judgment of available historical material. We shall cite two examples.

The first refers to the coronation ceremony of Dharmapala at Kanauj, referred to in verse 12 of the Khalimpur copper-plate. The meaning of the entire verse is not quite clear. According to Kielhorn's translation, unhesitatingly accepted by the author (p. 216), the main fact referred to in the verse is the installation of the illustrious king of Kanyakubya, presumably Cakrayudha. This is, however, not so clear, and is merely an inference drawn from emended text of the verse. There is, however, no doubt that the verse contains a clear reference to the coronation of Dharmapala himself, a ceremony in which the golden pitcher was held over his head by the elders of Kanauj, and the host of kings—of Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Kira, and Gandhara—had to nod their heads in hearty approval under the frowning looks of Dharmapala. Leaving aside the disputed question whether the ceremony also included the installation of Cakrayudha, a nominee and protege of Dharmapala, on the throne of Kanauj, which is in any case a subsidiary issue, the presence of the kings in the coronation ceremony and their approval of it, under compulsion, leaves no doubt that they recognised Dharmapala as their suzerain. The author seems to have missed the real issue in his discussion of the topic on pp. 216-17 and p. 230. He thinks that the main object of the assembly was a "settlement of the affairs of Kanauj" to which the assembled monarchs gave their approval. He admits that the incidents described in the verse "indicates the power and position of Dharmapala who seems to have attained in his day the rank of the premier king of the North", but he fights shy of the natural conclusion that Dharmapala conquered those states. It is of course quite possible that some of these states submitted without any actual fight, but there can be hardly any doubt, that the main object of the verse is to indicate that Dharmapala's suzerainty was acknowledged by the states named therein. It is difficult, therefore, to agree with the author that "the passage in question only gives us a list of the principal kingdoms that had dealings with Kanauj, and the assumption that they were subject to it seems altogether fantastic and wide of the mark" (p. 217). Of course the subjection was to Dharmapala and not to Kanauj, which was itself a dependency of the Pala empire. Still more open to objection is the author's view that the approval of the ruler of Avanti was a mere "diplomatic gesture" (p. 230).

The second instance refers to the fact, specifically mentioned in an inscription of Lakshmanasena and two inscriptions of his two sons, that he defeated the king of Benares and erected pillars of victories in Benares and Allahabad. The author summarily dismisses this claim with the following remark:

"But in view of the position of Benares in the Cahadavala realm, and Lakshmanasena's (sic) craven flight without offering any resistance to the small force led by Bakhtyar Khilji, we may unhesitatingly say that 'the monuments of his greatness never existed elsewhere than in the poet's imagination'" (p. 325).

It is evident that the author has never cared to read the history of Minhaj on which the tale of 'craven flight' is based. Perhaps it would be interesting to him to know that Minhaj himself has paid the highest tribute to Lakshmanasena and referred to him as the greatest king of Hind, and further that no unbiased reader of Minhaj's narrative would choose to brand Lakshmanasena as a coward. Besides, while the author puts so much stress on the successful raid on Nadia, he conveniently forgets that Lakshmanasena and his successors maintained the independence of the greater part of Bengal by a stubborn resistance to the Muslim invader for nearly half a century after nearly all the other powerful kingdoms of Northern India, including Kanauj, had been conquered by them.

But even granting that Lakshmanasena was disastrously routed by the Muslim in his old age and fled from Nadia, is it reasonable to infer that the stories of his conquest in earlier days were all imaginary? By a similar reasoning one would be inclined to discredit the story of Yasovarman's victories in Bengal because he was so disastrously defeated later by Lalitaditya. Indeed we have no ground to disbelieve the specific references to Lakshmanasena's conquests in contemporary inscriptions, if we accept as true similar reference in contemporary inscriptions in the case of other kings.

I am afraid this long discussion would lead one to suppose that the age-long duel between Gauda and Kanauj is still in progress, only with the exchange of pen for the sword. I therefore conclude with the remark that such embellishes as I have indicated above do not take away from the real merit of the book. We have every right to expect more scholarly works from the young author.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

THE POSITIVE BACKGROUND OF HINDU SOCIOLOGY. BOOK I: INTRODUCTION TO HINDU POSITIVISM. By Benoy Kumar Sarkar. *The Sacred Books of the Hindus Series*, vol. XXVII. Panini Office, Allahabad 1937. Royal 8vo. Pp 711/697. Price Rs. 16.

This stupendous volume of 700 pages was originally written as an introduction to the author's English translation of the *Sukra-niti*, but considering its size and its very wide range of interest, it is, without doubt, a *magnum opus*. The main object of the first volume, as its title indicates, is to consider the manifestation of the "positivist" spirit of ancient India in its various forms, and the author has collected together a great mass of material from multifarious sources; but it is in reality a veritable encyclopaedic *vide-mecum* of hundreds of things connected with India and the world at large, from the pre-historic Mahenjo-daro to the historic Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar himself, to the last (but not the least) of which interesting topic a Preface of 57 pages is devoted! The reader, however, will find very little of the *Sukra-niti* itself, which is professedly the starting point of the work, even within the capacious limits of the present volume, although there is a great deal of infor-



mation of diverse kind on Niti-sastra Kautalya and connected topics, and the name of Positivist India is not taken in vain! The author, to judge from his profuse references to works in various Western and Eastern languages, is a well-read man, and nothing escapes his notice, specially, from China to Peru and, temporally, from the Assyro-Babylonian to the modern "Indo-Euro-American" milieu, whether it be Literature, Culture, Sociology, Politics, History or Philosophy. The Professor has a wonderful facility of diction, and a marvellous gift of coming words, phrases and formulas, such as Vertical Mobilities, Buddha-Kautalya complex, Geometry of Between-Man Relations; but one wonders if it is really necessary to sacrifice lucidity and revel in an imposing array of verbal profundity. In his impatience of scholastic limits our author appears to have a dislike for what he calls "Traditional Indology", but it is doubtful how far this work of facile copiousness, as a specimen of neo-Indology, will really appeal to a critical and scholastic reader. Let us hope that the general reader will have the time and patience (which the poor reviewer must needs have) to benefit from his well-meant, if somewhat diffuse popularisation of a difficult and interesting subject.

S. K. DE

SIKHISM By Professor Teja Singh Published by Longmans Green and Co. Rs. 2.

The problem for strife-torn humanity today is not in finding ideals and visions of the perfect, but in forging the missing links between the outer and inner aspects of behaviour. Spiritual wisdom has enshrined in civilisation, but our conduct follows prehistoric fear and unreason; precipitation of moral law in terms of human relationship has yet to meet the modern demand. We need a technique—call it a technique of good life—not only for individuals, but for organised living: tribal sanctions seeking relief in fratricide can no longer satisfy an age in which wars, holy or unholy, are apt to end in wholesale extermination, and muddling through means sure domination by powerfully planned barbarism. Individuals, in many countries, recognise the world-situation, and would serve the higher conscience which paradoxically enough, is wider awake today than before by closing the dangerous gap that exists between hoarded ideals and instinctual living. Societies spring up, menaced by wide-spread atavism, but determined to supply nation and group with an actional basis of humanity.

Professor Teja Singh's book deals with eternal problems but it is also a timely publication. With rare charm and scrutiny he reveals the dual aspect of Sikhism—"the Ideals and Institutions"—and takes us to the borderland where the spirit and the material organisation of life are recognised together in the evolution of a religious community.

Sikhism as a synthesising order—had to face from its inception the pressure of majority religions, spiritual light had to be given a container which would protect it from the blasts of communal rivalry, and guide followers in the *Panth*, the path of righteous living. Problems of initiation and practice, of attitude towards religious bodies and traditions had to be defined; as a reformist movement, Sikhism had to offer an uncompromising front to harmful social usage, to caste and sectarianism, while accepting the concept of spiritual democracy in which religions meet. The *Guru* gave the Laws, in spheres of conduct and contemplation, and recorded in the *Holy Granth*, the sacred book of the Sikhs, they bear witness to the structural catholicity of Sikhism which made it incorporate truths from diverse religious sources without affecting its original character. Devotion and Service,

in each religion, have gone together: true spiritual freedom must lie in accepting the bondage—not bondage any more to a freed soul—of welfare work, but the peculiar contribution of Sikhism is that it insisted on inter-communal service, amidst difficult and dangerous circumstance, as part of the daily work without promising extra-spiritual felicities as reward. Luring recruits by prospects of careful shelter could hardly be possible in a community which for the greater part of its history has had to struggle for bare existence. Territorial acquisitiveness sanctified by spiritual dispensation could not form the policy of a community schooled by service and sacrifice; this holds true even of the days of Sikh prosperity. At the time of the tenth *Guru*, the *Khalsa* idea was foimed, the idea of a purified soul taking up life's duties, undeterred by suffering or persecution.

How did Sikhism organise service? What was the secret of the unitary existence of the community, even though dispersed over a wide area; how to interpret the ideological entity which lies behind the vows and rituals and signs? Professor Teja Singh's book answers many questions and provides a background to which such questions could be referred; he can be critical and yet his writings are saturated with the imperishable traditions of his faith. He tells us how the Sikh Order has saved itself from sectarianism and while he warns his community against fissiparous tendencies, he has no difficulty in tracing the unshakable loyalty to the *Guru* and the *Granth* which has welded the brotherhood into one and made it assert its principles in face of adversity. When one remembers how in recent times the *Akalis* suffered without retaliation, accepting the highest form of Gandhian non-violence and resisting opponents with untarnished spiritual fortitude, one realises what wealth of sensitiveness and power of discipline this heroic community carries within itself.

Professor Teja Singh gives us history, and with admirable economy, presents the essential features of the Sikh religion, he describes the rites and ceremonies, always noting their significance, takes us on pilgrimage to the *Takhts*, deals with the constitution of the *Sangat*, giving us details of the disciplinary organization. *Gurmattas* are explained,—he has some pertinent things to say on their political bearings—and much light is thrown on the nature of decisions thus made by the Executive on problems affecting the whole community. At the end of the book and running right through its pages occur lucid translations of Sikh prayers and devotional songs.

On problems of war-mindedness, and some vestigial forms of caste in the lower strata of the Sikh community one might need further elucidation, on the nature of the political institutions and of the external signs—the five *K's*—one would welcome examination in the light of modern standards, but the adequacy of the book as a guide to Sikhism evokes admiration. The organisational side of this welfare-working community demands the attention of a generation baffled by the ethics of "Ends and Means"—Huxley's book is the most significant contribution of our times—and Sikhism, as depicted in this monograph, challenges universal interest.

Reading this book one sees the completeness of Guru Nanak's preaching, as expressed by Guru Arjan, "Without pleasing God all actions are worthless." And again, in the same hymn, "I say, Nanak, if you exert yourself in action, you will be saved" (*Gauri Mala*)

AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY

SWAMI RAMA : HIS LIFE & LEGACY By P. Brij-nath Sharga, M.A., LL.B. Published by The Rama Tirtha Publication League, Lucknow.



It is an account of the life and teachings of one who was born in poor circumstances, strove to acquire learning by fighting against odds, completed a University career and became a Professor of Mathematics; but who later renounced the world, became a preacher and teacher and ultimately a recluse and died an accidental death at the early age of 33. The story is told in an attractive, though somewhat diffused, style

**THE STORY OF SWAMI RAMA.** By Mr. Puran Singh. Published by The Rama Tirtha Publication League, Lucknow.

This is another biography of Swami Rama. The difference in authorship has been responsible for a difference in outlook and mode of narration also. Besides, this book has aspired to be a little more critical than ordinary biographies of saints.

**THE PASSING OF THE GODS:** By V. F. Calverton. Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd, Museum Street, London. Pp. 326. Price 10s. 6d. net

This is a remarkable book—remarkable both for the courage with which the author treats his subject and also for the equally bold conclusions that he draws. The author's main theses are: (i) Religion is a "social compulsive" or a social force, and, as such, should be studied sociologically. Hitherto, the approach to the study of religion has been mainly psychological, treating it as an individual reality only. (ii) The influence of religion has depended on the fact that it promised not other-worldly benefits so much as fulfilment of this-worldly interests. (iii) And the classes in society whose interests it served have been the staunchest advocates of it. (iv) In a classless society which appears to be the eventual aim of mankind, religion will have out-lived its usefulness and will be there no more. "Religion is dying today, and the gods are passing, not so much because the human race has no more need of the function they served, but because it has built up superior substitutes for them" (p. 320). The future, therefore, belongs not to religion but to science, not to the gods but to men. Obviously, it is taken as an indisputable fact that the gods are passing.

The writer supports his conclusions with a wealth of information and an array of arguments which are bound to compel attention. All his facts are perhaps not accurately stated. For instance, when he says (p. 58) that "among the Brahmans, the King is considered the Creator of the Gods," or that "in Bengal, they openly spoke of *Tshanda Gosain* as a God who could be approached only by the wealthy" (p. 78), he is treading on uncertain ground. But such small inaccuracies do not materially affect his main interpretation of history.

It is not difficult to imagine that many will not accept his conclusions or his interpretation of history. But all his facts are not open to challenge. His chapter on American Culture is particularly illuminating. It gives a lurid picture of how 'God and Christ had become open allies of wealth and station' (p. 259) and 'how the Prince of Peace had been converted into a War Lord' (p. 260).

The book is a Marxist broad-side on organised religion. Guardians of religion in all lands ought to take note of it; and instead of pretending to condemn it in a superior fashion, ought to see if there is no real force behind the attack. Books of this kind are a special need for India where the old fabrics of religion still refuse to be reshaped and where still the cry of "religion in danger" can easily collect a motley crowd of men.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

**THE ECONOMICS OF CORPORATE SAVING:** By J. Ellwood Amos. The University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois, 1937. Pages 136. Price \$1.50

The importance of 'saving' as an economic category has increased remarkably in recent years. The writings of the recent employment-economists have made expressions like 'positive saving,' 'negative saving,' 'forced saving' greatly significant in different branches of economic study. A book professing to deal with the economics of corporate saving should, therefore, be a welcome addition to the increasing volume of literature on the subject.

In fact, however, Mr. Amos has not discussed so much the purely economic aspects of corporate saving as the statistical difficulties of arriving at a correct measure of the saving practised by business corporations. His analysis of the motives for, and the effects of corporate saving is almost elementary. The chapter on 'some theoretical considerations' will disappoint the reader who will expect a logical discussion after a brilliant exposition of the statistical problems.

The value of the book lies in the descriptive chapters. The author has analysed carefully the policies adopted by different types of business corporations as regards saving, and the devices that very often obscure the real saving or 'de-saving' policy of particular types of business. There is a valuable chapter on the effects of the surtax imposed in the U. S. A. on the undistributed profits of corporations under the Revenue Act of 1936. The readers of Mr. Amos' book will be grateful to him at least for the mass of information he has so carefully brought together.

BHABATOSH DATTA

**MATHEMATICS FOR THE MILLION: A POPULAR SELF-EDUCATOR.** By Laurelot Hogben. Published by George Allen & Unwin, London. Pp. 613. Price 12s. 6d. net.

Many people leave school with an inferiority complex about mathematics, feeling that it is a 'subject' they cannot just grasp. But modern civilisation is based on science, and mathematics is the language of science. No one can become an intelligent citizen unless he can understand the language of experts. Without this understanding he is at their mercy. The author has an amazing gift of clarity; his exposition is not only brilliant but popular; with sound simplifications he has made things which usually bring despair intelligible to the average citizen. In helping the average citizen to become the intelligent one, he has helped the progress of democracy.

The book teaches mathematics as it grew as man's instrument to understand and master his environment; for building, navigation, surveying, mining, manufacturing and exploration. It becomes an extraordinarily vivid history of science as it grew in its social uses. The author has established beyond dispute the existence of a relation qualitative though it may be, between the growth of mathematical facts and the severely practical problems of the society that gave them birth. This is in itself a significant contribution towards the history of science, and a scientific advance in itself. The author makes the hesitant reader at once an actor and spectator in a social pageant, leading him from the Pyramids to polar exploration, from camel caravan to the steamships crossing the oceans.

The best thing we can do to the reader is to recommend this remarkable book to him. This is one of the indispensable works of popularisation we have come across since we left college. For example, the author's treatment of Statistics or the Arithmetic of Human Welfare is so lucid and elegant that it can be readily understood and appreciated by one who has forgotten his college

mathematics. It reminds the Bengali reader of the late venerable Ramendra Sundar Trivedi and of his popular philosophical and mathematical essays. And we make no apologies for our enthusiasm for the entire 648 pages of the book.

J. M. DATTA

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND JAPAN · By C. N. Vakil and D. N. Malasia. Published by Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1937. Price Rs. 5.

Professor C. N. Vakil, University Professor of Economics, Bombay, has inaugurated a very useful series of handbooks on the economic problems of modern India and under his able editorship twelve valuable volumes have already been published. The present study is the 12th in this series entitled "Studies in Indian Economics" and published by Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd.

The volume under review deals with a subject of great practical importance to the economic life and prosperity of India. It describes the transformation of Japan from a poor, feudal, backward, weak nation to a modern, advanced, prosperous, industrialised, strong and great power. It points out the chief factors which are responsible for the amazing progress achieved during the last 70 years and discusses both the elements of strength and weakness in the economic position of Japan. It clearly brings out the significance of foreign trade for Japan and the consequent importance attached to the subject by the government and the steps taken by it to ensure its stability and progress.

The authors then carefully analyse the trade between Japan and India and discuss the problem of Japanese competition in India. They examine the conditions which necessitated the conclusion of the Indo-Japanese Trade Agreement, first in 1934 and again in 1937, and the provisions of the two agreements and they state their criticisms and conclusions. And the whole work is carried out by the two authors in a scientific spirit and judicious manner and the volume is eminently readable and interesting. It should prove very useful to the commercial and industrial community, the members of the central legislature and to the students of Economics and Commerce in the country.

The main defect of this valuable study is its brevity. For instance the whole subject of financing the economic reconstruction and modernisation of Japan has been dealt with in less than two pages of the book. Similarly, the working of the 1934 Trade Agreement has been examined and discussed in less than 4 pages. Both these subjects are of tremendous practical importance to the governments and the people in this country at the present juncture and a comprehensive discussion of them would have greatly added to the value of the book. I feel sure that the provincial governments would have been particularly grateful to the authors, if from their study of reconstruction and modernisation in Japan, they had pointed out ways and means of financing the programmes of economics and educational reconstruction in Indian provinces. In my opinion, the utility of the book would have also been greatly augmented if the authors had given their suggestions in a concluding chapter for meeting the terribly serious competition of Japan to Indian industry and trade. However, the book as it is, is an important and a very useful publication, and will go a long way in promoting the understanding of the problem of Japanese competition and trade relationship with India. It deserves to be read widely.

GURMUKH N. SINGH

HOW SHALL WE DEFINE LUXURY · By C. R. Agaskar, B.A., LL.B. Published by the author at Saraswati Bag, Jogeswari. Pp. 157. Price Rs. 4-4.

The author in this monograph discusses the problem of unemployment. There is a number of suggestions for the removal of the evils of unemployment, but mostly divorced from economic laws and facts. The author's advocacy for free higher education to all, is not a practical one. He remarked that "the cry of the unemployed is nothing but a cry for luxuries" and that a revert to old plain and simple living will end all evils, is denying the hard facts when bare necessities of life for the vast number of the population is wanting. The question of unemployment is baffling the best brains of the world and is certainly not so easy solution. Unemployment and maldistribution of wealth stand at the very root of the economy of a nation and is a subject which needs more sound and serious treatment.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

A TREATISE ON INDIAN INCOME-TAX LAW AND ACCOUNTS · By Mr. B. N. Das-Gupta, B.A., A.S.A.A. (London), R.A., Incorporated Accountant, Head of the Department of Commerce, Lucknow University. Published by The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad, Benares, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5.

In this book the learned author has very thoroughly and carefully discussed the Income-tax Law as it is, analysing the Sections into their essential elements and indicating some of the points where changes in the law seem desirable.

Although in this book exhaustive citations of numerous case laws and Judicial decisions, departmental Rules and Instructions have not been included but still it has included therein all the typical cases. The author has been forced to adopt this method in view of the forthcoming amendment of the Act. The author places before the public an unbiased interpretation of the Income-tax law as it is at present.

It is a neat handy book showing the practical working of the Income-tax Law, useful both for the busy Lawyer, as well as Accountants, Businessmen and Assessors generally.

The book presents several special features, viz., the present law has been discussed by way of elucidating the provisions of law by applying them to concrete cases, complicated points of law have been explained by illustrations, several suggestions have been put forward for consideration of the public as well as the Legislators and all the important provisions of the law have been collected together for ready reference by all the assessors.

Further, many practical problems relating to Insurance Companies, Bank, Share-broker and Partnership have been worked out in this book.

The book contains a Foreword by the Hon'ble Sir N. N. Sircar, K.C.S.I., the Law Member of the Government of India and an exhaustive Index which enhances the value of the book.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

VILLAGE THEATRES · THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL THEATRE : By Tandra Devi. With a Foreword by Nandalal Bose. Tandra Devi Publications. Tandrashram, Srinagar, Kashmir. Price As. 10 Post-paid As. 12.

Srijut Nandalal Bose writes in his foreword :

"There was a time when this art (of puppet or marionette shows) was very popular in our villages, for it is simple, cheap and amusing and makes a ready appeal to the imagination. The author indicates that the Doll

Theatre may reach also to a high level of artistic beauty and educational value. Every province in India had, in olden days, developed an individual style of this art, suited to the genius of the people. Even now, in a lingering form, it is to be found almost all over India. Lack of sympathy of the educated classes, who import their standards of taste from abroad (unfortunately, not the best Western standards either) has undermined the prestige of this art, as it has done of many indigenous culture. . . .

The author (well known to many as Mrs. Maude MacCarthy) deserves our gratitude for her efforts to revive this art and everyone will agree with her when she says that "this (puppet) theatre should be brought back in villages and small towns, not merely by reviving the ancient doll-shows, but by the re-birth of the ancient spirit in modern forms of puppetry." But it is difficult to agree with her when she, in her great enthusiasm, observes, "I believe that the National awakening should bring forth the National Theatre, and I hold that that theatre is the Puppet Theatre." It is hard to believe that the highest dramatic and histrionic aspirations of a nation should be asked to find their fulfilment in puppet shows. She commits the same mistake as some other enthusiasts of our country commit when they claim that the folk-art as practised by the *patuas* of Bengal represents Art of Paintings in its best.

PULINBIHARI SEN

#### PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE EIGHTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE. Mysore, December 1935, Bangalore, 1938.

We have here a big volume consisting of two parts. Part One in 152 pages gives a complete report of the Conference, while in Part Two are published the Presidential Addresses of the different sections and about seventy articles—less than one-third the number submitted before and accepted by the sections. Some of the papers published here are highly interesting and useful though many that are left out appear to have been equally so, if not more. It is to be regretted that no indication has been given as to the principle, if any, that has been followed in selecting the papers for publication. This kind of publication of selected articles to the exclusion of others, however, naturally implies, if nothing else to the contrary is definitely indicated, the inferiority and unfitness of the latter, which, however is not generally the case. As a matter of fact, the practice of making room for only selected articles in a volume like this will be always open to criticism, not necessarily unjustified and unreasonable. Several alternatives may be possible under the circumstances. If funds permit space should be made available for all the articles read or taken as read in the Conference. If this is found to be impossible in consideration of the smallness of the funds, as is generally the case, specially in the case of the volume under review, the summaries of the papers along with the Presidential Addresses may be published as is done by the Indian Science Congress Association. If only the names of the papers read in each section are printed referring, as far as possible, to the journals where some of these may have been published, as was done in the proceedings of the International Congress of Orientalists at Oxford, this will be of considerable use and interest to scholars. Further, this will not only save money but serve to strengthen the various Oriental journals and help to secure wider publicity for the papers as some of these journals reach more people than copies of the proceedings are expected to do.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

#### SANSKRIT

TANDYAMAHABRAHMANA WITH SAYANA'S COMMENTARY. Edited in two volumes by Pandit A. Chinnaswami Sastri, Professor, Benares Hindu University, Pp. 491+46+612+31, Kashi Sanskrit Series, Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Benares.

We had much pleasure in noticing the *Baudhayana Dharma-sutra* edited by Pandit Chinnaswami Sastri, the well-known professor of Mimamsa in the Benares Hindu University. Today we are equally very glad to have from him a new edition of the *Tandyamahabrahmana* 'the great Brahmana taught by one Tandin'. It is also called *Praudhabrahmana* or 'Great Brahmana', and *Pancatimsa-brahmana* as it consists of twenty-five chapters (*adhyaayas*). For the first time and with Savana's commentary it was edited in Calcutta (Bibliotheca Indica in 1870-1874) and translated into English by Caland (1931). It is to be regretted there is not yet any translation in any Indian vernacular.

The present edition is based not only on that of Calcutta, but also on two MSS. in Grantha script and three in Nagari collected from different parts of the country. That this edition is far better than the first is quite clear. Here a large number of quotations in the text and commentary is traced to their sources and various readings are noticed in the footnotes. Yet there is room for further improvement in this respect. For instance, the Calcutta edition reads (XXII. 18.7)

“एतेन वै त्रैम धृन्ना पौगन्दी न शृङ्गा”

The present edition has *Paundarikam* for *Paundarika*. But in fact the reading should be *त्रैमधृन्ना पौगन्दी न शृङ्गा*. Here the base is *Kshemadhritan*, a proper name. (See Caland's tr.) The Calcutta edition seems to have led the authors of the *Vedic Index* to interpret the word *Paundarika* as 'descendent of Pandurika'. But in fact *Pandurika* is here a kind of soma sacrifice lasting eleven days. In his index Pandit Chinnaswami has given its right meaning. His introduction is learned discussing different points regarding the text and showing the relationship between the text and the *Shantiusutras* of Katyana and Apastamba. There are different indexes enhancing the value of the book.

VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

DHARMA-KOSA: Edited by Laksman Shastri Joshi, with an Editorial Board, Vol. I, pt. i. Vyavahara-khanda: Vyavahara-matrika. Published by the Pragna-Pratistha-Mandala, Wai, Satara, 1937.

This ambitious publication, which includes in its scope the comprehensive and critical compilation of the entire material found in Sanskrit texts, with regard to the history of Hindu legal, political and social institutions, from the works comprised in Vedic literature down to late commentaries and treatises composed towards the end of the 18th century. The stupendous mass of material, culled not only from printed literature but also from unpublished manuscripts, is classified and arranged, according to general and special headings, in chronological order as far as possible, and presented as an exposition of the historical conclusions that may be gleaned from it. No important text is omitted or ignored, and the extracts are so digested here in their original words that the reader will find in orderly sequence the evolution of a particular idea or institution relating to Hindu religious and customary law and usage. In the words of the Editor, the work to be completed in several volumes, will include a detailed study "of the family rites and religious usages, of the expiatory rites, of the sacrifices, of the festivities and modes of

worship, of the fasts and the pilgrimages, of the religious faiths and of the Gods, of metaphysical speculations and philosophies, of the rules governing the individual conduct towards the family, the caste, or society, of ethics, law and politics, and of all social institutions of the Hindus." The work is, thus, not a mere laborious compilation of the mechanical kind, but, essentially, a study in cultural evolution, for which the learned Editor and his Board of Assistant- and Advisers appear to be fully competent. The work, when completed, will form a monument of patient and critical learning, indispensable to all who are interested in the social and religious institutions of ancient India. The present volume consists of more than 700 quarto pages but deals only with a part of Vyavahara or legal procedure. It is noteworthy that not only printed texts are utilised and quoted, but sometimes their incorrect and doubtful readings are amended. Also, the very large number of quotations, found in the commentaries and digests, from Smṛiti works which are now lost, is collected together; and in this way, half a dozen or more old works are partially restored from citations. The work was started in 1925 by Narayan Shastri Marathe, but on his retirement from Garhasthya-rama, his worthy disciple, the present editor, is carrying it on with unabated zeal and energy. The first volume augurs well for the volumes to follow, and the enterprise certainly deserves wide sympathy and encouragement, as being at once a popularly useful as well as a strictly scholarly work.

S. K. DE

#### SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

**SVETASVATARA UPANISHAD:** *Translated by Swami Tyajisananda. Published by Sri Ramkrishna Math, Mysore, Madras. Pp. 131. Price Rs. 12.*

Although Svetasvatara Upanishad is not one of the ten Upanishads of which Sankaracharya wrote commentaries, yet it is none the less important as is evident from the references made to it by the commentators in their commentaries of the Brahma-sutras. The book contains the Sanskrit text and its English translation together with explanatory notes. The intrinsic value of the book is further enhanced by the separate rendering of each and every textual word into English. The book, we hope, will be of much use to those who are not well conversant with Sanskrit.

ANANGA MOHAN SAHA

#### BENGALI

**SVARA-BITAN:** *Part 3. By Rabindranath Tagore. First edition. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

This book contains fifty of Rabindranath Tagore's songs, with their musical notations by the late Dinendranath Tagore, the poet's grandnephew, who was a distinguished musician. It has been edited by Sailaja-ranjan Majumdar, a noted musician of Santiniketan. Lovers of Bengali songs will appreciate this publication very much.

**SAMAJ OR SOCIETY:** *By Rabindranath Tagore. Fifth edition. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a collection of fourteen essays or articles by the poet and some imaginary correspondence between an imaginary grandfather and an imaginary grandson.

The fourteen papers are on the following subjects: The course of History in India, Miserliness in Giving, Indian Marriage, Woman's Education, Woman's Humanness, Unity of Hindus, Tyranny of Custom, Sea Voyage, Noose of Luxury, Oriental and Occidental, Reference for

the Undeserving, East and West, What to Call Oneself, Hindu Marriage.

All the essays and the letters are noted for their distinction in style, power of original thinking, and occasional unexpected humour. They should be widely read by both men and women, young and old, all over India.

**KSHANIKA:** *By Rabindranath Tagore. Third edition. Visva-bharati Bookshop. Price Re. 1.*

This is a well-known book of poems by the author. The poems are written in a playful, half-humorous half-serious vein in light measures, but are not on that account devoid of serious import. Their re-issue in a handy volume printed in big type will be much appreciated.

**RABI-RASHMI, OR SUN'S RAYS: Part I.** *By Professor Charu Chandra Bandyopadhyaya, M.A. Published by the Calcutta University. Price not mentioned.*

The meaning of the name of this welcome bulky volume will be easily understood. Rabi, the name of Bengal's poet, means the Sun. His poems are styled his rays by the author.

Professor Bandyopadhyaya's two volumes, of which the present work is the first, are a study of and commentary on the poet's poems and plays. This, the first part, deals with those which were written up to some 40 years ago. The second part will bring the study up to date. It is in the hands of the printer.

The work will be of great help to the general reader in understanding and appreciating the poet's works. In it the author has given the reader not only the fruits of his own devoted labours for years but has laid under contribution other serious students and commentators of Tagore. The Poet himself has occasionally helped to remove the author's doubts and difficulties. What the Poet has written is of peculiar value. Very interesting and helpful are the parallel and illustrative quotations from Sanskrit, Persian, Hindi and English authors by the writer.

Bengali literature has now to be read by candidates for the matriculation and intermediate examinations of some of our universities, and for the B.A. and M.A. degrees, and Calcutta University has now prescribed an honours course in Bengali for the B.A. For all these some works or other by Tagore are sure to be prescribed. As Professor Bandyopadhyaya's book is sure to be of great help to teachers in teaching Tagore in class and to students in mastering his works for examination purposes, he has earned the gratitude not only of the general reader of Tagore but also of our student community.

Our publishers do not usually publish bulky and expensive works of this description. The Calcutta University has earned the thanks of the author and the public by publishing it. We only hope that it will hasten the publication of Part II of the work. The printing and publication of the first part, of some 452 pages royal octavo, took five years. That was rather slow work for a big press.

D.

#### GUJARATI

**VIJNAN-SRISTI:** *By Revashankar O. Somapura, B.A. Bhavnagar. Price Re. 1-11.*

A collection of about twenty articles on topics like rubber, motor car, the art of printing, telephone, radio, the solar system, etc., not specifically for schools but for general readers. The accompanying illustrations are few, and not very well executed either, but more to our interest

is the author's attempt, mostly successful, to render technical terms in pure Indian language.

**KALPA-BRIKSHA :** *Umeshankar Thakur. Published by Gitamanjari Granthavali Karyalay, Anand, Gujrat. Prices Re. 1 and Re. 1-4.*

A children's book, suitable for use as a school text also, but entirely on a novel plan: the letters of the alphabet are treated, by apt alliteration's artful aid, to the exquisite delight of the reader, and woven into a Pauranic story—thus combining story interest, Pauranic grounding, humour and enriched vocabulary in a strange assemblage of words, etc.

The sketches are well done and the printing good.

The novel attempt is well worth examination by educational experts.

**RAGHUVAMSA :** *Nagardas A. Pandya, B.A. Badval. 1937. Price Rs. 2.*

The nineteen cantos of Kalidas's immortal *Kavya* have been rendered into Gujrati verse; the translator has tried to be faithful not only to the spirit and language of the great poet but also to his metrical scheme—different towards the end from the prevailing metre of the particular canto. Word-notes are given in explanatory hints at the foot of each page as occasion arises, and in the introduction Pandit Durgashankar Kevalram Shastri tries to fix up Kalidasa's date—that debatable question in which scholars delight.

P. R. SEN

## MARATHI

**KASHI-RAMESHWAR YATRA :** *Printed and published by Govind Chimnaye Bhate. Pages 200. Price Rs. 1-8. Profusely illustrated.*

This well-printed book is the sixth publications of the Principal Bhate's travel-series. Though originally meant to serve as a rapid reading text for the school-boys, the book does not lack literary merit. In its flowing style, fringed with light touches of humour, the narration all over has skilfully avoided the bore, which is so common with such travel-tales. Immense historical information about this well-known old route from Rameshwar to Benares comprising a variety of descriptions ranging from

the ancient temples at Madura and the nature's bounties on the Nilgiris, to the Buddha at Gomateshwar and marble rocks of Bhedaghat, has been given in a wayman's way. Leaving such defects as the out-of-place quotative repetition of the Queen's Proclamation in the chapter on Allahabad, the book has indeed added to Marathi travel literature and can be safely ranked along with the already famous travel-books of Kale and Kelkar, Tikekar and Kalelkar, etc.

**VIMYACHA SANDESH :** *By Manibhai Gopaljee Desai, Gujrath Vidyapeeth. Published by the Author. Pages 67. Price six annas*

This booklet named 'The Message of Insurance' was originally written in Gujrati, and it was warmly received in Gujerat. And passing through two editions in the original, it has now appeared in a translated form in Marathi. It contains a general information about the economic principles underlying Insurance and the progress of insurance activities in India, as compared with other Nations. Rules guiding insurance agents and persons getting insured. Gandhiji's 'aparigrah' and insurance, insurance and woman's rights are some of the instructive chapters. Surely, the booklet shall be very useful to those non-English knowing hundreds who become insured without surety.

**JAPANCHYA PRAVASHACHEE SHIDORI :** *By V. R. Velankar. Publishers Shree Gajanan Mills, Sangli. Pages 193. With several photographs.*

Being intended to serve as a guide for persons desirous of visiting Japan, the first half of the book is devoted to primary information regarding Japanese language and grammar, with an elaborate Japanese-Marathi Dictionary of words of every-day use. This part of the book is indeed very helpful, though such a book in Marathi was already available named 'Japanese Bhasha' by S. V. Paranjape. The latter half contains all through a businessman's superficial point of view in touring over Japan, giving some interesting details of the customs and formalities of the Japanese people. One chapter wholly unnecessary in such a book like this, sermonizes the Indian youths with the oft-repeated advice that they should take more interest in industries, ignoring all other limitations.

P. B. MACHWE

## KEY TO ILLUSTRATIONS

### The Celestial Hair-dresser

"On the left sits Buddha in the act of removing his three-pronged tiara. In the centre, the Heavenly Hair-dressers advances holding a razor in his hand; while the God Indra stands behind him with hands pressed together in sign of adoration. Chapter XVIII of the *Abhiniskramana Sutra* tells how Buddha, in preparation for the period of his austerities, lopped off his hair with a sword. ....The five little figures who kneel in the foreground must, I suppose, be the five Brahmins whom Buddha afterwards secured as his first five converts. The whole

scene, highly florid and sumptuous in the original versions of the story, is admirably simplified and secularised by the sober hand of the Chinese painter."—Waley, *Chinese Painting*.

### Portrait of Kublai Khan

Kublai Khan (1214-1294 A.D.) was a great patron of the Confucian Temple and he restored the Temple in 1278. The picture is now in the collection of the Confucian Temple at Confucius's birthplace, Chu-fou in Shantung.



## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

### Fusing of Different Linguistic Groups

Dear Sir,

In the April issue of *The Modern Review* in the Notes columns, on page 483, you write, "Gujaratis dwelling in Maharashtra have not become fused with the Maharashtrians, nor the latter living in Gujarat with the former".

But in reality the case is not so. In Karachi there are hundreds of Gujarati-speaking families, but the names of castes of a part of them is Bhopatkar, Kirtikar, etc. They are not few in number, there are thousands of such people. Such names of castes are not found in *real* Gujaratis. When you ask these people about their history, they tell that their forefathers belonged to Maharashtra. But now they do not speak Marathi. To them Marathi language is as foreign as it is to me or to you. They marry their sons and daughters with the Gujaratis, and are completely mixed with Gujaratis. One of them, Dr. Popat Lal Bhopatkar, was elected to Sind Legislative Assembly on Congress ticket in the last general election.

Similarly there are about 800 families in Sind, who speak Sindhi and live like Sindhi Hindus. But their castes are like Punjabis. They also marry their sons and daughters with Sindhis. They can't speak Punjabi at all. Many of them have much reputation in Sindhi society. One of them also was elected to Sind Legislative Assembly on Congress ticket from Sukkur.

There are thousands of Punjabis living in U. P. from last hundreds of years. They also can't speak Punjabi, and speak and live like United Provincians. They have completely mixed themselves with the people living in that province.

The examples are not finished yet. There are two to three hundred Sindhi families living in Multan and adjoining districts from unknown period. They speak Multani, and have relations with Multanis.

Last of all I come to myself. I am told by my Kulpurohit (family priest) that about five hundred years before our forefathers were residing in the Multan district and districts adjoining Multan. Today I can speak and understand English, Hindi and Gujarati. Punjabi we have adopted as our mother-tongue. But we can't even understand Multani.

Many more such examples can also be found if research be made.

I am not of the idea that Bengalis should also mix with Biharis or Assamese, and speak Maithili or Assamese, or any other such thing. What I want to say only is that the lines above quoted and possibly written by you, are not correct. Because generally whenever people speaking one language went to other places and settled there permanently, they cut all their connections, or, say, were forced to cut the connections, with their former language and society, and adopted the language and culture of the people among whom or the places where they settled.

An admirer of yours

I am Sir,

Sadu Jiwan Lal Bhardwaj,  
Prop., Punjabi Chandu Halwai,  
Karachi.

### Editor's Note

The observation quoted from our Notes by our correspondent was made with reference to recent times, when

travelling is comparatively cheap, easy and rapid, but *not* with reference to days past when travelling and migration were difficult.

We do not know whether the facts and figures given by our correspondent are quite correct. But there is nothing improbable about them. We know there are Brahman families in Jaipur (Rajputana) whose ancestors migrated from Bengal centuries ago. But at present they do not speak Bengali or dress or live like Bengalis or intermarry with Bengali Brahmans of Bengal. We do not know whether they intermarry with any indigenous Brahman families of Jaipur. Similarly the Kashmiri pandits of U. P. speak Hindusthani, not Kashmiri, but they do not generally intermarry with other U. P. Brahmans. There are numerous Bengalis in Bihar proper whose ancestors migrated from Bengal some centuries ago. They bear Bengali names. We have read, many of them do not speak Bengali, but personally we do not know. Perhaps they do not intermarry with Biharis of their own castes. In Bengal there are numerous Kanaujia and Bhumiwar Brahmans, and Rajputs, whose ancestors settled in Bengal long ago. They all speak Bengali as their mother-tongue and dress like Bengalis, but they do not intermarry with indigenous Bengalis. In Orissa there are Bengalis who cannot speak ordinary correct Bengali. They are known as 'Kera' Bengalis. Their ancestors settled in Orissa long ago. Some Maharastrian families—e.g., that of the late distinguished Bengali journalist Sakhambari Ganesh Deuskar, came to Bengal long ago and adopted Bengali as their mother-tongue.

We do not know any considerable number of recent emigrant families in any province who have given up their mother-tongue and adopted that of the region where they have settled and who intermarry with the local indigenous population.

### Mr. J. B. Kripalani on Two Indian Movements

My attention has been drawn to the comments made in the Notes of *The Modern Review* of May last, on two passages occurring in my book *The Gandhian Way*. The passages in question are quoted from *Navavidhan*, which paper seems to have criticised them. The Editor of *The Modern Review* writes, he has not seen my book. He has, therefore, not seen the passages in their context. Evidently he did not think this necessary before indulging in adverse criticism.

In the first passage my sin has been to style the third rate copy of western civilization produced in India among a section of the educated after the advent of British rule as 'bastard'. I have further said that this civilization "like the mule it looked strong and serviceable but not creative". *The Modern Review* writes, "we are not inclined to comment on this coarse, if not vulgar, passage". I am sorry that even after being pointed out by the Editor I am unable to see the coarseness if not vulgarity of calling an unassimilated caricature copy of a foreign culture as bastard and mulish and uncreative. Evidently the learned Editor considers the use of these words in any context as vulgar. He will perhaps find their mention in a dictionary equally objectionable. The Editors of *The Modern Review* and *Navavidhan* are shockingly surprised that "Mahatma Gandhi has done the author (myself) the honour to write a foreword to his book". It has occurred to the editors that perhaps the words 'bastard' and 'mule'



used in that particular context may not have struck Mahatma Gandhi as coarse and vulgar and he saw no objection to writing the foreword.

The passages in question occur in a speech which I delivered in the year 1931 at a Students' Conference at Calcutta. The speech was widely quoted in Calcutta papers then. It was reproduced in the columns of *Young India* from where my publishers have taken it. After seven years the Editor of *The Modern Review* has discovered the vulgarity of the passages. It is a fruitful activity. I am but a poor scribbler but if the Editor runs through history, plenty of material of this sort will be found for his facile pen. He will find enough material of this sort in the religious books of the east and the west. He will find it in the literature of the world, ancient and modern; in Kalidas and Shakespeare and in such modern masters as H. G. Wells and Bernard Shaw, not to speak of others. "Vulgarity and Coarseness" in language seems to be common enough if the standard is set by the editors of *The Modern Review* and *Navavidhan*.

Further it is stated in *The Modern Review* that *Navavidhan* feels that the above passage has reference to the Brahmo Samaj. Some Sectarrians so work themselves up that they think that their particular denomination is being ever run down. They then become supersensitive and take offence where none is meant. In the passage quoted above as is clear I have not alluded to the Brahmo Samaj but to the type of culture that was introduced in India among a section of the educated after the advent of the British. I may here say that I am not even original in my criticism. Similar criticism will be found in Bengali authors of note, Shri Rabindra Nath Tagore, D. L. Roy and Bankim Chatterjee and others.

I have talked of the Brahmo Samaj in a different context and fortunately the passage in which I have done so is also quoted by the two journals. My thesis was that only such movements that kept to the Indian genius have been powerful and creative. Talking of the modern religious movements I have taken the examples of the Brahmo Samaj and the Ramkrishna movement. The latter I consider more clearly indigenous than the former. Every religious movement is of course influenced by what goes on, the world over, at the time. But some movements are more purely of native origin than others. About the Brahmo Samaj I have said: "It could not create a movement India-wide or permeate the masses or draw the busy world's attention to itself". "This", I have said, "was done by purely Indian movement, I mean the movement drawing its inspiration from Shri Ramkrishna and unfolded by the genius of Vivekananda". What I have given is a critical study of the two movements. I have meant no disrespect to the Brahmo Samaj. I count many Brahmos as my dear friends. I have great regard for the Brahmo Samaj, its founders and its achievements. It is quite possible that my Brahmo friends and other members of the Samaj may not agree with me in the critical estimate that I have made of the two religious movements, the product of the genius of modern Bengal. I am at the same time certain that the followers of Ramkrishna will find mine a true estimate. However that may be, I fail to understand how my estimate is falsified by quoting to me the high esteem in which Vivekananda held Rammohun Roy and his debt of gratitude to the latter. Vivekananda has recognized his obligation to western science and literature. Does it, therefore, follow that Vivekananda's movement was inspired by the west or that western thought was superior to his? Anyway, I have no quarrel with those who hold that the Brahmo Samaj was a more purely Indian movement than the Ramkrishna-Vivekananda movement, or that the former penetrated more into the masses. My criticism is objective

and I leave it to the students of modern religious history to judge between me and the learned editors of *The Modern Review* and the *Navavidhan*.

Again I am reminded that the Congress took up the work of untouchability at the suggestion of Mr. V. R. Shinde. As if I am concerned to prove the priority of conception of Gandhiji or the Congress in any field. In the same speech if the editor of *The Modern Review* will care to consult my book, which by the way may be in his collection of books for review, he will find that I have not credited Gandhiji with any such priority. I have said, "some will doubtless say that these ideas were there even before Gandhiji. Some items were in the old programme of the Bengal and Poona nationalists. I am not here concerned to establish the priority of Gandhiji in the field of discovery. My point is proved if I can show that he has brought them more forcibly before the public and has in every case seen to it that some organised constructive work is done".

I am sorry that objective critical estimates have been given a sectarian tinge and passages have been torn out of their context and meanings put into them which I never imagined. I am sure no unbiased reader of the speech "The Two Revolutions" will put on it the interpretation put by the two learned editors.

J. B. KRIPALANI

#### Editor's Note

In criticizing a sentence or a passage, extracted from a book, the ideal to be followed is certainly to do so with reference to the context. But this is not always practicable. In the case of Mr. J. B. Kripalani's *The Gandhian Way*, I got to know that it had come to my office for review, only after my note on the two passages extracted from it had been printed. It has been given to one of our reviewers for review.

It is to be understood that in what follows I write only for myself. The editor of *Navavidhan* is not responsible for my comments. Nor was he responsible for what I wrote in the May number.

I am sorry, what Mr. Kripalani has written has not convinced me that the passage relating to the "bastard", the "mule", etc., is not coarse or, possibly, vulgar.

Mr. Kripalani observes: "Evidently the learned editor (of *The Modern Review*) considers the use of these words in any context as vulgar." I am not learned. What is "evident" to him is not evident to me even after his attempt to open my eyes. Mr. Kripalani is wrong here. I am not so foolish as to consider the use of these words vulgar in any context.

Mr. Kripalani continues: "He will perhaps find their mention in a dictionary equally objectionable". No, Mr. Kripalani is wrong here, too. I have sense enough not to "find their mention in a dictionary" "objectionable" in the least.

There are many words in dictionaries which may be and are used quite properly in legal and medical or other scientific works, but which may not be used with similar propriety in many other kinds of writing. One may be sure, Acharya Kripalani knows this.

"Bastard", when applied to men, or often when used with reference to things human, is an opprobrious epithet. It is calculated or likely to give offence to those with reference to whom or whose notions, talk or doings it is used.

I do not like to repeat Mr. Kripalani's unsavoury sentences containing the word, but I must say the creative process described by him with such objectivity is unknown and incomprehensible to me.

I was not at all shocked that Mahatma Gandhi had written the foreword to Mr. Kripalani's book. My view

is that, as Mahatma Gandhi, being an apostle of *ahimsa*, does not and will not use offensive material weapons and verbal weapons (i.e., offensive and abusive words)—that is my idea of the Mahatma, so his disciples, too, are expected to refrain from using such material and verbal weapons. As Mr. Kripalani is such a person, he is expected to be 'non-violent' in the use of words. I was not and am not concerned to speculate what might or might not have struck Gandhiji as coarse or vulgar.

Is there no word in the English language to mean the product of the mixture of different cultures, breeds, etc., without any implication of moral reproach? One may be sure, the Acharya knows there is. He could have used some such word instead of 'bastard.'

Mr. Kripalani says the passage occurs in a speech delivered seven years ago in Calcutta, which was widely quoted, and that "After seven years the Editor of *The Modern Review* has discovered the vulgarity of the passage. It is a fruitful activity". As I have not yet had the advantage of reading a single speech of Mr. Kripalani's through or more than a few sentences of some speech or other, if any, it comes as a great revelation to me that I had been perhaps engaged during the last seven years in the fruitful activity of discovering the vulgarity of a single passage in a single speech of his.

Any amount of coarseness and vulgarity in the ancient and modern religious and secular literatures of the East and the West will not make them desirable literary commodities used indiscriminately in other contexts.

Mr. Kripalani says that in the passage quoted he did not refer to the Brahmo Samaj. So far as I am concerned, in this matter, I accept his word as final. But it was not I who said that he had referred to the Brahmo Samaj. If the Editor of *Navavidhan*, who did so, thinks he ought to say something on the subject, perhaps he will do so.

Mr. Kripalani says, "In the passage quoted above", he has alluded to "the type of culture that was introduced in India among a section of the educated after the advent of the British." This is rather vague. Unless the section is definitely named and described, there cannot be any fruitful discussion of Mr. Kripalani's observations. Some may think this section was meant, some that. But as the section or its culture has been thought worthy of castigation by him, it is perhaps not nondescript; it ought to be possible to name it and some of its noted representatives.

Says Mr. Kripalani:

"My thesis was, that only such movements that kept to the Indian genius have been powerful and creative. Talking of the modern religious movements I have taken the examples of the Brahmo Samaj and the Ramakrishna movement. The latter I consider more clearly indigenous than the former." "About the Brahmo Samaj I have said: 'It could not create a movement India-wide, or permeate the masses, or draw the busy world's attention to itself. This', I have said, 'was done by purely Indian movement, I mean the movement drawing its inspiration from Shri Ramakrishna and unfolded by the genius of Vivekananda'."

I have no desire to minimise the achievement of the Ramakrishna Mission or to criticize it in any adverse spirit, or to institute a comparison between the Brahmo Samaj movement and the Ramakrishna Mission.

Mr. Kripalani's thesis is that "only such movements that kept to the Indian genius have been powerful and creative". In two different sentences he describes the Ramakrishna Mission as "more clearly indigenous", and as "purely Indian movement", and implies that, therefore, it has created "a movement India-wide", "permeated the masses", and "drawn the busy world's attention to it". Of course, no movement in India is *literally* India-wide or

has *literally* permeated the masses. In spite of their entirely non-indigenous origin the Christian missions are perhaps more 'India-wide,' in a relative sense, than any Indian movement. So the extent and spread of a movement may not be due solely or mainly to its Indian or non-Indian origin and character.

From what Mr. Kripalani says, it seems he thinks the Brahmo movement has not been powerful and creative. That it is not powerful now is plain. *But in the spheres of literature, science, philosophy, art, industries, education, and spiritual productions such as hymns, men and women who are known as Brahmos have been creative—some of them among the most creative among Indians.* Is Mr. Kripalani ignorant of their names? It would be considered officious on my part to try to ascertain the position of the Ramakrishna movement in these fields of creative activity. Mr. Kripalani may do so, if he likes.

In the thoroughly anglicized Indian Christian community of earlier years, Michael Madhusudan Dutt was Bengal's greatest epic poet and one of the greatest of Bengali lyric poets, and Miss Toru Dutt, Bengal's greatest Bengali poetess in English.

Even among Eurasians there has been at least one man of genius, Derozio, if not more.

I do not know which other *section* or *sections* of people Mr. Kripalani had in view when he used the words "mulish" and "uncreative."

I quoted Vivekananda's tribute to Rammohun only to show that the former, whom Mr. Kripalani considers the unfolders of a "purely Indian movement", "claimed himself to have taken up the task that the breadth and foresight of Rammohun Roy had mapped out". That is to say, the unfolders of the "purely Indian movement", took up the task mapped out by the originator of what Mr. Kripalani thinks the *not* purely, or *not so* purely, Indian movement.

I have never said that western thought was superior to Vivekananda's or that Vivekananda's movement was inspired by the West. Nor do I hold or have said that "the Brahmo Samaj was a more purely Indian movement than the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement, or that the former penetrated more into the masses." Why does Mr. Kripalani attribute to me by implication opinions which I have not expressed and do not hold? There are controversialists who ascribe to their opponents easily refutable views which the latter do not really hold, in order to have the satisfaction of smashing them. Acharya Kripalani is not expected to be one of such persons.

I hold that the Brahmo Samaj has worked and still works for the masses and is in contact with them—though it may be to a very small extent. Any comparison with other religious bodies was remote from my thought.

I mentioned what Mr. V. R. Shinde has done, not to establish the priority of conception of the Brahmo Samaj in any field of work, nor to minimise Mahatma Gandhi's very great work for the depressed classes. I wanted simply to point out that the Brahmo Samaj has thought for the masses, worked for the masses and continues to do so, though its achievement has not been imposing. It is beside my present purpose to inquire why the Brahmo Samaj has not achieved greater success.

Mr. Kripalani complains that I have put wrong interpretations on some passages in his speech. In this rather long note I have tried to explain what exactly I meant and mean.

A few words more in conclusion. Mr. Kripalani has used expressions like "purely Indian movement", etc. And he has cited the names of Rabindranath Tagore, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, etc., in connection with his own adverse remarks on a certain unnamed movement of a certain nameless section of Indians, which he has given a bad name, with reference to whom those great intellectuals

in the technique of the organisation of the vast and complex modern bodies of war and war equipments, the problem becomes almost baffling. Yet, China has hopes. Chungkian, the temporary capital of China, is about a thousand miles from the war front, and, however quick and sweeping may be the Japanese victories, it is bound to take a long time for the army to traverse this vast and undeveloped land. "It is this immensity in territory, this immensity in human power, fortified, so to speak, with a united determination to resist conquest, that justify at least a cautious optimism in China's ultimate victory."

#### CHINA TO BE DOPED AND DESTROYED?

Still one has to remember the warning of Mr. Vernon Bertlett, recently returned from a tour in the Far East, that 'China may lose the war, even if Japan does not win it'. War has destroyed much of Chinese wealth and prosperity; Canton has seen the mad orgy which it will not be easy for it to forget; but a more malignant and more fiendish measure is already being devised by Japan to work the doom of the Chinese. This has taken two forms: first the legalisation of the opium traffic in North China as in Manchukuo; and second, the ousting of Chinese-owned and foreign-owned cotton mills in the areas Japan controls by military-backed enterprises of Japanese adventurers, as recently described in the *Manchester Guardian*. This last is but sops from Japanese militarists for the Japanese business interests, which are not very enthusiastic on this military adventures of the over-bearing soldiers. This also signifies an attack on the foreign interests. But it is the natural fate of the foreign enterprises, the governments of which, though they never put any faith in the Japanese promises of maintaining their interests untouched, suffered China to be beaten rather than face Japan to resist in a joint encounter. The plight of the Manchurian foreign interests was there for them to read. The 'Open Door' in North China was banged before their very eyes. Whatever promise or understanding the British diplomats might have secured on the status of the Shanghai Maritime Customs, they knew that Shanghai's

"open-door was being closed tighter by the widespread smuggling activities of the Japanese, the admittance of Nipponese goods duty free in occupied areas, and the host of nonsensical restrictions on trade imposed on shippers and consignees in Hangkow and Yangtzpoo districts.

So, 'Japan removes', as *The China Weekly Review* called, 'the open door's welcome Mat'.

Opium, it was noted by *The China Weekly Review* in April last, was appearing in Shanghai market in considerable quantities after the city fell. It is not legalised there as in North China, but enters the area from various sources. The Japanese army in Nanking was found selling opium to the public through its 'special service departments', somewhat resembling army canteens. The Imperial Japanese Army was thus proved to be in the narcotic business. "The objectives are two-fold: Revenue and the doping of population—Japanese military method of pacifying subject peoples."

For China, freed or enslaved, legalisation or revival by Japanese encouragement of smuggling of the opium traffic in the occupied territories is bound to spell a disaster. It is nothing short of condemnation of a people to a moral death by a process of moral slow poisoning.

#### JAPANESE POSITION

While in the front line Japan is winning, she is behind time too. The time-lag is not without effect, moral and economic. The Japanese Finance Ministry has just announced the budget for the year 1938-39. It provides for a revenue of £372 millions and expenditure of £358 millions—a decrease of £20 millions in revenue and an increase of £17 millions in expenditure compared with 1937-38. The figures of course do not include the extraordinary military budget of £283 millions. War is a costly affair. The "China incident", not a 'war' although according to the Japanese, is proving so to them even as an 'incident'. The former Japanese Foreign Minister, Koki Hirota, had admitted this on May 7 last:

"In the present circumstances, Japan must be ready to make enormous sacrifices in human lives as well as in financial resources. It is not possible to envisage the future with optimism if we consider the turn international situation is taking in respect to Sino-Japanese conflict."

Already the economic pressure had been severe on his people. The "Agence Telegraphique", R. U. P. reports thus that, as regards U. S. A., December arrivals from Japan were down by 28 p.c. compared with 12 months previously; January arrivals down 35 p.c.; February arrivals down 52 p.c. This is, the *Nichi Nichi* reports, due "to an intense business depression there and to America's feeling against Japan in connexion with China incident".

Japanese trade, as disclosed, has sunk slowly. According to *The Times* Tokio correspondent it records a setback to the level of four years ago. "Exports for the first three months of 1938 amounted to only 569,700,000 yen,

against 701,000,000 in the corresponding period of 1937. . . imports for the same periods are down, from 1,007,000,000 yen (1937) to 624,100,000 (1938)." "Japan's weakness in War is that she cannot tighten her belt much", . . . so opines the correspondent—which, incidentally, may prove an untrue prognosis. But to quote on . . . "almost the whole of her normal overseas expenditure is for raw materials for manufacture and when these are reduced her income shrinks, and the heavy demands of munition factories, coming when her earning power is reduced, cause a lack of balance which is more dangerous than actual recession."

That Japan is worried to some extent is evident from the reshuffling of its Cabinet last month. General Ugaki's (the new Foreign Minister's) talk of traditional friendship with Britain is not without significance from this point of view. But there is always a weakness on the part of China's friends exaggerating these tendencies in Japan. It will not do to forget the temper and peculiarity of the Japanese people. They can stand many privations; they are fired into a more brutal fury as their time-table fails; their pride and ambition are inordinate. *The Times* Tokio correspondent for once, we believe, is right when he reminds the readers on the moral and economic effect of the War on the Japanese. "Both are cumulative. Neither is really important."

#### JAPANESE SOCIAL RIFT

Yet undoubtedly there is a danger lurking behind the apparent calm of the Socio-economic life of Japan. We need not repeat that this highly industrialised country has still enthroned an old and traditional autocracy, or rather a militarist oligarchy embodying the ideals of Bushido and Samurai chivalry with modern imperialistic expansionism. In the plan and pattern of political life the big capitalist plays today a minor role; the militarist has on his side the teeming population, the peasantry, which supplies the soldiers and has no love for the bourgeoisie and its profiteering politics on the parliamentary chess-board of Japan. War as an adventure is welcome to the militarist, and opens a promise to this populace hungering for lands to settle and cultivate and live and toil; but the adventure has to be paid for by the industrialists who has little share of the political power. Hence,

"the more we deplete the profits of Big Business by the boycott, and the clearer it becomes to them that there is no hope of British or American loans or credits the more inclined they will become to call a halt to aggression. If they waver, if the ruling class is divided

in its policy, the mass of the Japanese people who are without political rights or means to express their desire for peace, will be able to assert themselves and stop the war."

thus hopes the *News Chronicle* in completing its survey of the position and in analysing the conflict that rages beneath the surface between the Japanese militarist expansionists marching on to Fascism and the Japanese, big capital, afraid of the State control of their giant enterprises and taxation of their enormous gains that such Fascism is bound to enforce. The gulf is widening no doubt between the militarists with the peasantry behind them, and the industrialists with the vast modern enterprises of their own utilized to further the militarist objective now. The War drags on, the economic conditions deteriorate, the exports fall off, and a boycott abroad slowly makes its influence felt on Japanese business. Yet, the rulers are not blind to its implications. Is not their enterprise meant to assure the limitless expansion of the Japanese capital in China and clear the Chinese market of all opposition? Already, the foreign economic interests are being suppressed and weeded out and the field thrown open to Japanese interests. If they only look to it there, Japan can finance her War in China from the territories already under her occupation. That would mean a War without economic strain on Japan. If the Japanese plan to pay from their new Chinese investment for this War on the Chinese succeed, the Chinese hopes, built on a prolonged struggle, of course, will be shattered. But altogether investments take a long time to pay their way, longer still to pay a dividend adequate for a military adventure. What returns from Manchukuo or North China, Japanese capital is getting are still doubtful. Japanese big business cannot be, therefore, reconciled easily to a long War. As regards the Japanese proletariat, which might be expected to break away first from this anomalous social order, nothing is certain. Thousands are behind the prison bars, we are told; but the feudal structure of the Japanese Society is still strong. So, China should not count from that quarters in near future. It is a revolt of the bourgeoisie that may be expected.

#### CHINA AND THE U. S. A.

From India, China can in the very nature of things expect nothing more than sympathy. But nations in more fortunate position have also offered China no better help. America after the *Panay* incident went into silence with the compensation in the pocket, though the *Current History* (June) admits that "the Sino-Japanese

situations reveals the futile, impractical side of our latest adventure in prescribed neutrality." The 'Alternative American Policies' in this connection are examined in the *Foreign Affairs* (April-June) by Mr. Tyler Dennett, who thought that the U. S. A. had now before it in the Far East a broad choice between non-resistance and coercion—protestations, appeals, etc., and action, independent or associated. Secretary Cordell Hull—now busy in evolving a plan to stop bombing of the non-combatants in Spain and China—had in his mind the example of Manchukuo and other such chapters of international faithlessness when he wrote to Vice-President Garner in January last: "There is a broader and much more fundamental interest—which is the orderly process in international relationships to be maintained." For the present, we find, this fundamental interest is served by the protestations, by occasional expressions of broad liberal and democratic revulsion against aggression and terror, in devising plans for the Jewish exiles, or for stopping the air bombings. But the writer in the *Foreign Affairs* is of opinion that though the American people are not now prepared to support a War against Japan.

"Japan would make a mistake to count too heavily on the situation. Nearly three years were required to bring the United States into the World War. All that can be said for the moment is that both Japan and the United States are living dangerously, the one by a policy of ruthlessness, the other by indecision."

In a Naval War, weighing the possibilities it is thought, Japan would be immediately cut off from the use of all-American ports and from the Panama Canal, and if Britain joins the U. S. A., as she would most likely do, Singapore would bar the Japanese door to Europe. Besides, Japan even now is dependent on the U. S. A. for the supplies and later would do so for capital.

"In view of this, the present policy of the Japanese is to be explained only on the grounds that without warrant they have assumed that under no circumstances will the Americans fight. In this the Japanese are mistaken."

May be, but Japan is not mistaken in assuming that *under the present circumstances*, the U. S. A. or any western power will not fight in the East.

#### CHINA AND THE EUROPEAN POWERS

The U.S.A. have failed to put their economic house in order, and are facing moreover a "trade recession." European peoples are too much entangled in the web of the Spanish War and the Czechoslovakian crisis to think of any effective policy to help China. Britain, it may be presumed, would rather have a China, weak and

disorganised, than see Japan swallow it, and rise like a giant shadowing Australia and the Indian Empire. But, Britain cannot for the present make any move in the East, Soviet Russia alone has been taking a growing, though guarded, interest in the Chinese affairs. The recall of the valued German experts of the Chinese Army by Hitler threw probably Chiang Kai-shek more in the arms of the Soviet. A pact is said to have been concluded, and Chiang, the sworn enemy of the Communists, is to accept help again from the hands which he had bitten hard after the break with the Communists in 1927. It may be expected that Chiang will have the benefit of service now of the Soviet experts and technicians and propagandists who are masters in the art of organising resistance. Japan, of course, is too busy to go in direct for the Soviet enemy, and, it is really necessary for the Soviet too to knock out the eastern enemy at the Chinese gates before its ally, the Fuehrer, appears at Ukraine or right through Poland or Lithuania to the very door of Russia herself. Once Czechoslovakia is actually attacked Russia will have to fight for her own threatened life on the west; and, if Japan remains her old self at the moment, of course, with the Chinese opposition fully crushed, the Siberian Red Army may not prove equal to the task in the east. The Soviet will then be fighting on both fronts, east and west, and probably on some more, for, except for the international complications and jealousies, no power would desire to see the Soviet regime last and flourish even in Russia.

#### EUROPEAN CONFLICTS

Czecho-slovakia however has just secured the breathing space, thanks to the tact and vigour of her own statesmen, M. Benes and Hodza, and to the British diplomatic *demarche* on the situation in Berlin. The municipal elections passed off peacefully; the general elections are over as well. Father Hlalinka's separatist Slovak movement is eclipsed, but a thumping majority for Henlein has been secured in Sudeten Germany. M. Hodza and Henlein's representatives are now discussing the terms of a permanent solution of the Sudeten Germany minority question. The situation is not so dark now as on May 20. It is to be seen how the two points of view are met and reconciled. The acceptance in toto of Henlein's conditions would, as we indicated, reduce Czecho-Slovakia into a weak and loose federation of minorities in which the German element, and, through them, the Nazis of Berlin, would predominate until such time as



the State of Masaryk goes into voluntary liquidation or is ordered to do so by the Führer. For the present the Führer is watching, but not idle, as we know. "Hitler will not need to go to war," Benes is said to have told a correspondent, (*Current History*, June, 1938), "if he can win without fighting." It is to be seen if Benes can prevent Hitler winning and maintain the existence of Czecho-Slovakia. It may fall fighting or go into pieces slowly. British diplomacy is having a role of 'pacification' to play here, with French diplomacy to give friendly advice to the Czechs.

Both Britain and France however are equally anxious over the fate of Spain too. Franco has won Castellon, but the Republicans have been strengthened in their fight by a new supply of men and munitions, and hence complete victory is eluding the grasp of the Spanish knight still. Meanwhile, to fulfil their pact with Mussolini, Britain in the League Council secured a permission of the recognition of the Abyssinian conquests of Italy. In the League Council *realpolitik* counted for more. Thus, Britain has anticipated Mussolini's promised withdrawal of troops from Spain. But, contrary to Mussolini's expectations, Franco is not yet the master there, and, Mussolini, it is said, is really anxious to find out a way to honour his Anglo-Italian Pact. The Non-intervention Commission is now earnestly coming to his rescue with a more acceptable and effective (?) proposal for withdrawal of all aliens. This will leave Franco to complete his victories, and, so Mussolini can agree to this, and save his 'honour' and his diplomatic secret investments too.

Britain is engaged at the same time in arranging for a truce between the two Spanish parties while Non-intervention is about to be put into practice, according to Mr. Butler. The peace 'feelers' are certainly not welcome to Italy; but in this matter it is Britain's primary interest not to see Spain fall either into the hands of the Republicans and their Red supporters or pass completely under the sway of Franco, and the Italo-German Fascists who virtually are Franco's masters. She would rather have a

Spain divided between the two, each guarding the other, and the Gibraltar way of Britain menaced by none—that is just what Il Duce cannot allow. The Republicans in desperation are just now thinking of bombing reprisals in Italy, this, Italy quickly warned, would not be met by protestations, but swift and quick gunning and war. Are we then approaching this last act in the last days of June?

The Spanish tragedy any way is drawing to an end. It has let loose, however, horrors which other powers would not fail to repeat when necessary. The Japanese are never reported for fine sentiments; so, in Canton they outstripped the Spanish Insurgents' exploits in Valencia, Catalonia and Madrid. Usual protestations were dismissed by the Japanese in unusual and unceremonious diplomatic language. But 'the better conscience' of the world, we may be assured, has been roused. For, are not the British people stricken with horror at the inhumanity of bombing the non-combatants? Mr. Chamberlain even is of opinion that even as a method of demoralizing the enemy resistance it is ultimately of doubtful value. Of course, Mr. C. F. Andrews had long ago protested against the same method when applied to Indian frontier men. Mr. Chamberlain, however, can defend that still, because Britain always warns the enemy beforehand. The Chinese and Spaniards too, he may be reminded, had such warnings after the first occasion of bombing at any rate. And, the Britisher forgets that in the League it was he who stood against abolition of air bombing. Others simply now follow his Indian example, for long unrivalled in the world.

China and Spain, we hope, remember this British Indian chapter now, and, the Spanish intellectuals affirming their solidarity with the Chinese people, or, for that matter, the Chinese people for whom we observe "the China Day", will realize, as they remember this, that "the struggle is one", to quote the manifesto of the intellectuals, and that "the universal civilization is at stake" in China, in Spain and in India too.

G. H.







# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## The Congress in Office

Founded in 1885, the Indian National Congress has passed through the various stages of infancy, adolescence and a vigorous manhood. Writes Nagendranath Gupta in *The Hindustan Review*:

The Congress spoke fearlessly of freedom, it accepted without hesitation the challenge thrown out by the Government, it submitted without complaint to lathi blows, but it never thought of accepting office under the present regime. And yet the unexpected has come to pass. The Congress is well astride the saddle of office and its seat is becoming firmer every day. The other day when the Ministers of Bihar and the United Provinces resigned it seemed as if the brief reign of the Congress was over and another period of a bitter struggle was about to set in. Happily, however, the united good sense of the Viceroy and the Governors themselves prevented the precipitations of such a catastrophe, and the Congress continues to remain in office.

By one of those ironies which cannot be explained but which upset our calculations there is no Congress Ministry in Bengal. The President of the first Congress was a Bengali and so is the present President, but the Congress is in a minority in that Province. Not only so, but the Cabinet there is a most unsatisfactory one and there is not one Minister who has the confidence of the people. It is quite on the cards that the Congress may come into power in Bengal and Assam may follow. But the Punjab and Sind will stay out though, all things considered, the non-Congress Governments in those Provinces are satisfactory.

There is a little breathing space and we may halt and look around us. For the nonce, at any rate, the weather is set fair. It is not for us to say when the barometer will show signs of a disturbance again. The Congress Governments have done good work and may do better. They have justified popular confidence. They have abated no jot of their independence and their goal remains unchanged. At any moment they will be prepared to exchange office for prison. What more do you want? Prohibition is assured and the people will become sober and wholesome. Let us criticise the Congress by all means but let us not expect the impossible from it. Let us wait and watch certainly, but let us hope also—hope that the path to liberty is clear and in a few decades India will be free—as free as Britain is today.

## Our Heritage

India has bulked large in world thought; its literature, its art, its philosophy, its science, in a word, its culture and civilisation deserve the earnest study of mankind. Writes Hamid Raza in *Triveni*:

Indian civilisation possesses a considerable unity and contains the germs of expansion. It has a peculiar

uniting tendency which is manifest in different channels of life and thought. India had a clear understanding of the central unity in the midst of all diversity, and tried to ignore differences of values in different things, for otherwise life would be impossible. Thus Indian culture has given its heterogeneous elements a certain organic unity. All the foreign races—Aryans, Sakas, Kushans, the Huns—were assimilated by Indian civilisation and became, in a sense, its torch-bearers. All the mighty impulses that entered into India were synthesised on the same plan. All religions India welcomed, since she realised from the cloudy heights of contemplation that the spiritual landscape at the hill-top is the same, though the pathways from the valley are different. To us all she says, "Raise your eyes. Things in the valley separate us. Up yonder, high above us, we are all one. The variety of ways has meaning at the foot of the hill, but if we understand what they signify on the snowy summits, we shall know that all are reaching out for God." What wonder, then, that India, with her assimilative genius, may succeed in unifying the different creeds that have met on her soil! Her soul has always yearned for unity underlying the diversity of phenomena.

In conclusion, he says:

To sum up, India is immortal. Her great civilisation teaches us the lesson of simple living and high thinking. Her sciences, arts, literature, and philosophy have ever fascinated the imagination of mankind. Literature and art express India's visions of beauty and perfection. Philosophy and religion contain her most intimate realizations of inner experience. Indian civilisation is a product of centuries of co-operative effort of all those races which settled in India. It is a complex organism growing in richness and content, and the contribution made to it by the British people is an incalculable one. Every aspect of Indian cultural life and activity is as wide as life itself. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has truly said: "Many nations had contributed to enrich Indian culture and life, and, therefore, they should prove to the world that Indian culture did not merely excel in metaphysical genius and in undying philosophy but that there was a dynamic force in it, namely, the gift of Islam, which had played an important part in their national life as well." We are living today in one of the creative periods of Indian civilisation. As it is active and dynamic, Indian civilisation has endured so long and proved so capable of adaptation to the growing complexity of life. India's living past affords a new vision of her cultural destiny. We should earnestly try to understand and appreciate Indian civilisation, and re-evaluate its traditions in the light of our modern scientific and industrial outlook. Its spiritual heritage has a vital meaning for the modern world. Amidst all her failures and foibles, she has not benumbed her sense of the *divine* in man. But India has to envisage the *Zeitgeist* and to restate her cultural ideals with due regard to her philosophical traditions. Her philosophy *then* will have a new meaning for the modern world.

### Dharma Rajya—Finance

Finance was as important in Ancient India as it is today in the West. Observes H. Krishna Rao in *The Arjan Path*:

Wealth is a necessary appendage of life, individual and public. Wealth and wealth alone, says Kautilya, is important inasmuch as character and desire depend upon wealth for their realisation. "All undertakings depend upon finance." But the acquisition of wealth should not be opposed to Righteousness.

The land tax, fines and forfeiture constitute the chief items of revenue. The other sources of income are taxes on merchants and artisans. The author of *Sukra Nitisara* recommends:

- (1) Duties (Sulka) : 1/32 to 1/16 *ad valorem*.
  - (2) Land Revenue :  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the produce from places irrigated by tanks or rivers and  $\frac{1}{6}$  from rocky soils.
  - (3) Royalty from mines :  $\frac{1}{2}$  of gold,  $\frac{1}{3}$  of silver,  $\frac{1}{4}$  of copper,  $\frac{1}{6}$  of zinc and iron,  $\frac{1}{2}$  of gems, after the expenses have been met.
  - (4) Revenue from the collectors of grasses and woods : 1/20th to 1/3.
  - (5) Revenue from tax on Livestock :  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the increase of goats, sheep, cows, buffaloes and horses.
  - (6) Tax on artisans : one day's work in a fortnight for the State. If the people undertake new industries, cultivate new lands, dig tanks or make canals for their good, the king should not demand anything of them until they have realised a profit equalling twice their expenditure.
  - (7) Tax on usurers : 1/32 of the interest collected.
- The following classification of taxes may interest the modern financier. Kautilya instructs the collector-general to collect revenue from:

- (1) Durga (Fort) : tolls, fines, liquor, prostitutes, gambling, artisans.
- (2) Rashtra (Country parts) : ferries, boats, pasture land and roads.
- (3) Khani (Mines) : all minerals extracted.
- (4) Setu (Bridges and gardens) : flower-, fruit and vegetable gardens and wet lands.
- (5) Vana (Forests) : game and timber forests.
- (6) Vrija (Herds of cattle) : cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, asses, camels, horses.
- (7) Vanikpatha (Public highways) : land and waterways.

### The Problem of Nutrition in India

Dr. K. P. Basu concludes his informative article on the problem of nutrition in India in *Science and Culture* with the following remarks:

Before deciding on the policy of national agriculture, it is highly important that dietary surveys should be undertaken throughout India so that facts about actual consumption of different ingredients like proteins, carbohydrates, fats, etc., per head and the actual defect in nutrition may be definitely known.

Another urgent necessity is the establishment of laboratories in different parts of India for the study of and scientific research in human nutrition. The foodstuffs of India have got to be analysed, their protein, fat, carbohydrate, mineral and vitamin contents and the biological value of the proteins determined, and the effect of methods of preparation and cooking on their nutritive value investigated. The nutritive value of diets as actually consumed has also got to be determined. Basic researches in nutrition should be a prominent feature of these

laboratories. India is a vast country and the dietary habits of people in different parts are different. It is impossible for one central laboratory to deal with the different nutritional problems of the country.

The problem of nutrition in India is one which requires immediate attention. Compulsory primary education with a view to educate the mind of every individual is no doubt greatly to be desired, but the fact remains that millions of children in India are physically and hence mentally incapable of profiting by any education. The fundamental problem is to make them physically and mentally fit by ensuring an adequate nutrition for them. The State has a very great responsibility in this matter. Provincial Nutrition Advisory Boards, and a Central Nutritional Advisory Committee for all India including nutrition, agricultural, animal husbandry, educational, economic, medical and public health experts should be immediately set up. These Boards will direct diet and nutrition surveys, control and co-ordinate the work of the nutrition laboratories, define satisfactory diet standards which would be of practical use in the country, suggest supplements to correct the deficiencies in diet, advise regarding the dietary aspects of maternity and child-welfare work and control and undertake propaganda through trained workers.

The Indian Research Fund Association is doing valuable work in this direction but the scope of its work should be considerably enhanced.

Corporations, Municipalities, District and Union Boards and also Infant and Child Welfare Organizations can do very valuable work specially by organizing the supply of pure and fresh milk and by disseminating knowledge regarding correct nutrition, so that people in India should not only live but also enjoy the joy of living.

### A Survey of Childhood Education in India

In presenting a brief survey of childhood education in India Dr. Satyananda Roy remarks in *The Indian Journal of Education*:

There is a flourishing Montessori School in Calcutta sponsored by Lady Abala Bose. In recent months we have heard of the Nuisery School started by Mrs. Minmoyee Ray. The Lady Hassan Suhrawardy Creche for working class children is an altogether new institution of its kind in Calcutta. The Sishu Sadan or Children Hospital in connection with the Chittaranjan Seva Sadan which is soon going to have a nursery school of its own and the Ramkrishna Sishumangal Pratishthan are institutions which have the interest of both the parents and their children at heart. The Mental Hygiene Association, the Marriage, Birth Control and Social Hygiene Leagues and the activities of the Women's Educational League—all are contributing to the solving of parent education problems in their own ways. I am glad to announce that we have a few new or experimental schools like those conducted by Mr. Animananda (or Mr. Rewachand Gyanchand of Sindh) and one of our colleagues and fellow-workers, Mr. Ajit Kumar Banerji, besides some well-conducted Kindergartens and Montessori Departments under the direct supervision of the Mothers and Sisters of Christian religious orders.

The work of Parent Education is an extremely difficult task in our country and just a slight bit of spade-work is being done on this side of India though work was begun in this direction in other parts of India more than twenty years ago. The vast illiteracy, the grinding poverty and the crushing burden of social injustice have been instrumental in checking the progress of education. The colossal ignorance of the mothers of the race has contributed not a

little to the difficulties experienced in launching any project for parental education.

### Education of Industrial Workers

Satis Chandra Sen, Workers' Delegate to the International Labour Conference, Geneva, 1937, writes in the course of a paper contributed to the Adult Education number of *National Reconstruction* :

Before launching upon any scheme for that purpose the difficulties and the conditions of life of the Indian workers must be fully understood. Generally an Indian worker begins his work in the factory at 8 a.m. and lays down his tools for the day at 7 p.m. Besides, as he has generally to prepare his food himself he has to spend an hour or more both at the beginning and at the end of each working day for the purpose. So after doing hard work in his factory and making his own food an Indian worker neither feels inclined nor has any energy left to take up any mental work—not even reading or writing. This is the reason why institutions such as night schools could neither attract many adult workers nor be effective for educating them. It will be found that night schools are attended more by the children of the working class people than by the workers themselves.

However, night schools cannot be left out in any scheme for imparting education to the adult workers. It can render some valuable service if situated in the locality where the workers generally reside. In some places it is found that the school rooms are used as clubs for the workers who come there just for a chat with the teachers who are generally labour workers and seek their assistance and advice on various matters.

Services of the especially trained labour workers whom the labourers may look upon as their friend, guide and philosopher may be requisitioned both for the removal of illiteracy and spreading of general education amongst the workers. They will visit the workers' quarters in the night and on holidays and collecting them in small groups will teach them to read and to write and create interest in their mind about diverse matters. For the purpose of general education establishment of circulating library, distribution of newspapers and pamphlets amongst the workers, as is being done in Europe, may be undertaken.

But it must be borne in mind that whatever method is adopted it must not put any extra strain on the worker's mind and must not assume the character of a drudgery. After hard and prolonged hours of work no labourer, specially one whose heredity and environment are rather uncongenial for any mental work, will be willing to take lessons unless their interests are specially roused or they find it a pleasure. So education here must combine with recreation. Lantern lectures, radios, cinematograph may prove valuable for this purpose.

So if the work of eradication of illiteracy and spreading of general education amongst the workers is to be seriously undertaken, then opportunity must be created for these workers to learn their lessons during the hours which would be otherwise devoted in the factories. But no wage-earning worker will be willing to come to take any lessons if he is to lose his wage for these hours. So if something like "study leave with pay" is arranged and either the employers or the Government are made to pay their wages to these workers for this period of study leave, then this scheme may be successful. But this, I am afraid, is out of the question now.

### Hindu Astronomy

In the course of his article on Hindu Astronomy in *The Indian Review* Asoka C. Dutt observes:

In the golden age of Sanskrit literature, astronomy shared in the general revival of learning and great strides were made in this science.

This period, according to Mr. Kaye, lasted from 400 A.D. to 700 A.D., and according to Mr. R. C. Dutt, from 500 A.D. to 800 A.D.

Three illustrious names stand out prominently in this age.

I. Aryabhatta. He was born at Pataliputra in 476 A.D. He was no blind follower of tradition but a respecter of truth irrespective of its source. As Mr. Kaye says: "Aryabhatta is chiefly notable as an opposer of certain aspects of the orthodox Hindu teaching of his time. He demonstrates that Mount Meru is not high. He teaches that the Earth is a sphere and that it rotates on its axis."

Aryabhatta maintains that eclipses are not caused by Rahu but by the Moon and the shadow of the Earth.

For his progressive outlook he has been vilified by the orthodox teachers and, perhaps, by none more strongly than by Brahmagupta.

II. Varahamihira. He was born in Avanti probably in 505 A.D. and died in 587 A.D. His *Panchasiddhantika* has been referred to, and he wrote other works on Astrology, the best known being the *Brihat Samhita* (edited by Dr. Kern).

III. Brahmagupta. He was born in 598 A.D. He represented the orthodox view. As quoted by Alberuni, he says: "All heavy things fall down to the earth by a law of nature, for it is the nature of the earth to attract and to keep things." Besides his commentary on Aryabhatta's doctrines, he wrote a book called the *Brahmaphutasiddhanta* comprising 21 chapters. "The first 10 contain an astronomical system, describing the places of the planets, the calculation of lunar and solar eclipses, the position of the moon's cusps, the conjunctions of planets and stars, etc."—(Mr. Dutt).

The last Hindu astronomer of eminence was Bhaskaracharya, born in 1114 A.O. His work the *Siddhantashiromani* along with the *Suryasiddhanta* are regarded as the most authoritative text-books on the subject in this country, although there are reasons to believe that the extant edition of the latter book differs materially from the text of the old work of the same name.

### Two Etchings of Nandalal Bose

In the course of a review of an Exhibition held in Calcutta last month under the auspices of the Santiniketan Asramika Sangha, Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee observes in the *Comrade*:

The refreshing atmosphere of reality and truthfulness is nowhere more palpably perceptible than in the section of Graphic arts. Subjects of these pictures are generally chosen from the most common environment in which the artist spends his daily life, but the newness of the treatment that raises these works from mere reproduction of reality to the category of higher art is the direct result of the artist's original vision.

He is no more a mere delineator, he is a creator in the truest sense of the term. To realise the truth of this statement one need only look at Nandalal Bose's etching, "A Goat."

One can hardly conceive of a more common animal,

but the grace and strength of the curves with which it is drawn and the very peculiar contour of the figure are the product of the magic combination of the artist's keen observation and his bewildering imagination. The real has not been changed into something unreal, it has been re-created into something immensely more real.

The forceful swing of the arms of the girl (in Nandalal Bose's etching, "The Poet and the Dance") seems to awaken a rhythmic swing even in the atmosphere encircling her. The Poet-Philosopher's reposeful attitude in the midst of the whirling surroundings sets an excellent contrast and seems to maintain the central equipoise in a very delicate manner.

### A Few Facts About Poland

Poland ranks fifth in Western Europe with her population of 35 millions, and sixth with her territory of 150,000 square miles. Maurice Frydman, in an article in *The Indian Review*, relates a few facts which may be taken as the outstanding landmarks in the history of Poland.

Between the Carpathian Mountains in the South and the Baltic Sea in the North, on a vast plain watered by the mother river of Poland, Wisla, surrounded by countries known presently as Germany from the West, Czechoslovakia from the South-west, Roumania from the South, Russia from the East, Lithuania from the North and Eastern Prussia from the North-west, dwelt from immemorial times Slavonic tribes, of which Polesians were one.

These tribes were worshipping Nature gods in timber, shrines, growing corn, rye and wheat, spinning and weaving, in breeding horses, cattle, sheep and bees, living in self-governing and self-depending villages. They were a sturdy, simple and peaceful folk, loving music, song, cooking and painting on wood, ready always to defend their own, but rather careless about invading other people's land. The social system was patriarchal, with a high degree of respect for womanhood. Many goddesses in the old Slavonic faith bear testimony to it.

About 800 A.C. they were still devoted to their Nature gods, but the pressure of less peaceful Christian tribes from the West forced them to enter into defensive alliances and finally, when the Polonian tribe elected one of their wheel-wrights, Piast, as their head for his wisdom and statesmanship, he succeeded in bringing into permanent political union several Slavonic tribes who adopted the name of Poles.

Hundred years later (about 900 A.C.), the Poles were converted to Christianity.

About 1000 A.C. Poland was already a powerful and prosperous country and continued to grow till the middle of the 13th century.

Tartars came to Europe at that time, conquered the Russian tribes, but were stopped by Poland's knighthood, who saved Europe from devastation.

In the 13th and 14th centuries, Poland was rapidly developing. Agricultural improvements, building of towns, opening of mines, founding of the Cracow University, the second in Europe, promulgating of a code of laws, the first complete code in Europe, building of state granaries—one followed the other in rapid succession.

Poland was the only country at that time to give refuge to the Jews, driven out from most of the European States. Towards the

end of the 14th century, Poland and Lithuania entered into a permanent political union.

In the 15th century, the Teutonic order of the knights of the Cross, plundering and murdering the peaceful Pagan tribes in the Eastern Prussia for the sake of their souls, was badly defeated by Poland and promised better conduct. In the next century, Eastern Prussia having to choose between the absolute rule of the Prussian king and the democratic Poland, chose the latter and became a part of Poland by voluntary union.

The 16th century was the most brilliant in Polish history.

Already in 1430, i.e., 259 years before the Habeas Corpus Act of England, Poland issued her law that nobody shall be imprisoned unless legally convicted. The Polish Parliament was established in the 15th century, and in the 16th she was a regular republic with kings elected for life but not hereditary.

Poland became a safe refuge of all oppressed people in a most ghastly intolerant and fanatic Europe. All persecuted creeds and opinions found shelter in Poland.

The 17th century was spent in repulsing the invasions of Turks, Swedes and Russians.

At that time there were but two nations—Poland and England who enjoyed Parliamentary government, and in many respects the people in Poland were more free and more safe than in England.

Especially in the 18th century when people began to murmur against the tyranny of the kings, Poland was constantly cited as a country of exemplary freedom.

Internal weakness and mutual understanding of three powerful absolute monarchies, Russia, Germany and Austria, broke down a free and proud nation.

The 19th century witnessed several efforts of Poles to regain their independence, ruthlessly suppressed.

The Great War weakened the oppression. The Poles had prepared their future army about 20 years before the Great War, and when it came, they immediately organised small armed units wherever they could and got their freedom out of the furnace of war. Joseph Pilsudski was the father of Poland's independence.

Freedom was and has remained the key-note of Poland's history.

### Aldous Huxley—Interpreter of the Intellectuals

According to S. L. Kaul, among contemporary writers Aldous Huxley is an intellectual *par excellence*. He writes in *The Twentieth Century* :

In method, Mr. Huxley is independent and personal. As a novelist, he is far removed from the caricaturist of the Dickensian school. He does not care for plots. Indeed he does not mind if he is regarded as a novelist or not. Mr. Galsworthy's *Forsyte Saga*, large as it is, has the classic unity and compactness of structure. But each of Mr. Huxley's novels is an assortment of fragments from high-brow life. Brimful of ideas, he is to the general body of the Edwardians and Georgians what Meredith was to the Victorians. He is an essayist, a thinker, even in fiction. He puts himself bodily into his books. He has not the detachment of Mr. Arnold Bennet. The heroine of the latter's *Sacred and Profane Love* speaks of the double personality of the novelist: writer and censor, as if the combination were a fatal gift. Mr.

Huxley abounds in self-conscious characters. It should, however, be noted that he does not make of them mere registers of immediately changing consciousness like James Joyce, Virginia Woolfe and Dorothy Richardson. He does not specialise in religious psychology like Sheila Kaye Smith. Both in material and psychology, he transcends J. B. Priestly, Hugh Walpole and Joseph Conrad. His *Point Counter Point* has material enough for half a dozen novels of Mr. Bennet or Miss Rebecca West. He does not care to be an artisan of fiction, carefully conserving his observations and ideas, and parcelling them out for a series of popular books.

He goes on to say.

Mr. Huxley writes mostly about the intellectuals of the contemporary age. His characters keep diaries and have read great books and been influenced by them. The chief among them are authors or would-be authors, journalists, artists, philosophers and representative men and women of the age. No writer takes as great pains as Mr. Huxley about the ideas of his creations. He even mentions the books that his men and women have read, and the masters that have influenced them.

Of the present-day writers, it may be confidently asserted that Mr. Huxley is the best interpreter of the intellectuals. His chief characters are intelligent men, the more serious among whom are assailed by doubts as disillusioned men whose work and ideas and amusements are a bore or a mere refuge from boredom, men who cannot resolve the conflict within them and synthesise the ideas that seek to master them.

Huxley is groping for a new integration of values.

What then is going to become of the disillusioned intellectual? Perhaps the only answer to this question for each person can come from the innermost recesses of his own mind. Mr. Huxley has shown in his essays that he is no imitator of St. Francis of Assisi. Of course, his irreverent references to "the Kingdom of God" and to moral values in general are intended only to show up the modern man's loss of faith and cynicism. It is never his ambition to be Mr. Oscar Wilde's Prince Paradox. But to the intelligent reader of his books, it is obvious that the answer to the questions that trouble minds like his cannot be found in books either of religion or science. Each man must find a solution for himself by turning inwards. He has more than hinted at that. This does not mean asceticism. But it is certainly the path of the mystic, of the inquirer within himself, who has shed all the prejudices of his individual mind, prejudices born with him as well as the prejudices that come from book-learning and ratiocination.

### Saint Pattanathar

St. Pattanathu Pillai or as he is familiarly called St. Pattanathar was one of those early Dravidian Saints who had exercised such a

profound spiritual influence on the life of the people in South India by his soul-elevating poems and teachings that to this day, even after a thousand years, his message is as fresh and helpful as when it was first delivered. *Sadhana* gives a brief description of the life and teachings of the Saint:

Our Saint came from a wealthy South Indian merchant family and was born in the sea-port town of Caverypu Pattanam, which was situated somewhere near where the river Cavery flows into the sea.

He flourished towards the latter part of the eighth century or the earlier part of the ninth or at any rate not later than the ninth century.

After completing his secular and spiritual education, he married, at the age of about 22, Shiva Kallammai, a young woman who had also finished her education.

The husband and wife lived happily for about 20 or 25 years and though they had no child of their own, they adopted one from a Shaiva family and named him Marudavanar. But the latter who was fondly brought up with great care and love by both of them died a bachelor at the early age of sixteen and while passing away left a palm-leaf manuscript in a small box to be given to his father after his death, wherein he referred to the endless desire for wealth and said that "the amassed wealth that is not spent for the good of God's children is only as useful to a person as an eyeless needle." This had such a profound influence on the wee-begone father that it brought about his renunciation and conversion from the life a householder to that of a *sannyasi* (ascetic).

He began his *sadhan* of conquering the fleeting pleasures of sense life and continued the same till he had found union with his Parama Shiva, which was the ultimate goal of his existence.

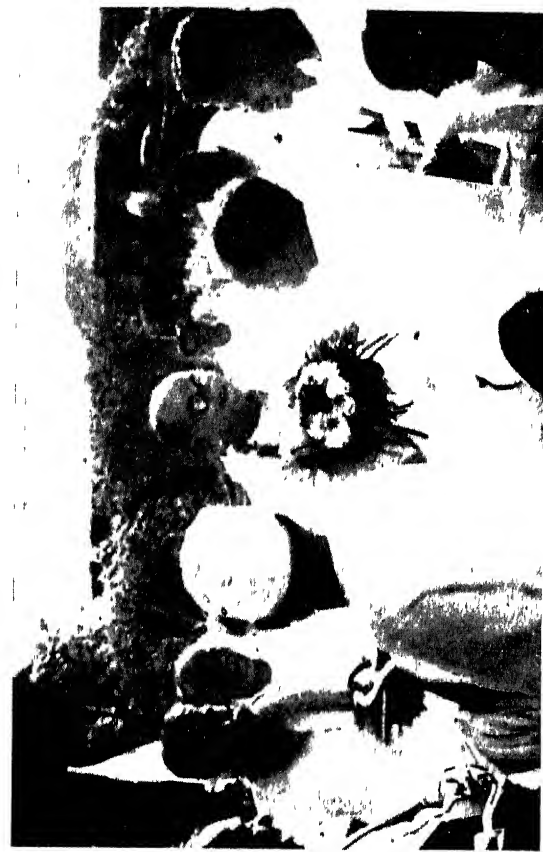
The Parama Shiva of our Saint is the one All-pervading Spirit, with neither form nor earthly frame, whom no temple can hold, no book can exhaust, no priest can reveal, no preacher could explain and no philosophy could expound. "He is the Lord God of all ages of all lands and of all people, who reveals Himself to His *bhaktas* (devotees) in their own hearts" and shines there most and best.

He asked sinners "to cast aside their little self and dedicate themselves to God." No wonder he made many converts, including among whom Sri Bhadrachariyar who was an enlightened king of one of the states in South India.

Our Saint was "a moral and spiritual rebel" who fought against all shams—false priests, books, traditions and cults—which stood between God and man. To him Shiva was *Anbu* (Love) who cannot be purchased or bribed and to behold whom no mediator of any sort is necessary.

He says: "Religious devotion which busies itself merely in humanitarian activities is superficial, unenduring and momentary emotion. Religious devotion which ends in purely passive contemplation is barren, empty and individualistic. True religion is the golden chain that connects God and man"—linking the contemplative aspect of a bhakta's life with the practical aspect.





Reception of President Subhas Chandra Bose at Chittagonj

[Courtesy : S. N. Dutt



## ROYAL MARRIAGE AT ALBANIA



Queen of Albania



The rejoicing crowd near the Tirana Mosque



The Queen of Albania is seen signing the Marriage register; King of Albania and Count Ciano are seen standing behind her.

# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Thanks to Japan

Thanks to Japan, writes Pearl S. Buck in the *Asia*, the great inner provinces of China—the original China in the first place—hitherto almost untouched by modern times and maintaining their medieval civilisation, are suddenly being repopulated by the modern Chinese. As a result of Japanese invasion China is moving into the interior, some may call this retreat, but to do so is to miss the importance of the movement.

As much as two years ago Nankai University began putting up buildings in Chungking and Yunnanfu, in preparation for the very thing which has happened. When the Japanese bombed Nankai University they thought they had destroyed it. They were mistaken. Nankai University was already not there. It was safe, thousands of miles inland. Other great universities have followed its example. And the Ministry of Education itself, in spite of the tremendous military costs to the government for defense, is proceeding steadily with its work. The Central Military Academy is already established in new buildings in Chungking; the provisional schools for students from the war zone, started in Sian, are marching further westward to the country bordering Tibet, carrying on a "moving university" as they go.

Something must come of this return of the young Chinese to their own true country:

They will change the people in old China, and old China will change them. Two distant extremes will meet and mingle. For no foreigner ever has been as remote from the real Chinese people as the modern educated Chinese has been. He has not only not understood his own people, but too often he has been ashamed of them and despised them.

I see a significance which is symbolic in those long lines of the young Chinese marching on foot into their own country. Thanks to Japan, a real Chinese culture may be the result, a culture truly composite of the best of old and new. What no one has been able to do in China, Japan has forced the Chinese to begin to do themselves. While the outer provinces lie a waste of war the rich untouched inner provinces will be developed. And when Japan withdraws, as withdraw she must some day, a new Chinese race will be ready and will come out of those inner provinces to reclaim and to rebuild the whole. What the effect of this may be upon the world of life and art, not to mention politics, can scarcely be calculated. Those who know the Chinese best have long felt the gathering of a new power in her which promised, if it could only come to expression, a real golden age. There was lacking, somehow, the final spark to the tinder. This spark has been given, and it is difficult for the moment to see anything except what seems to be the devastating fire. But when the fire is over, those who survive it will be a stronger race and a better than the one that went in or the one that was there.

No greater benefit could possibly have been given to China than Japan has thus given. I do not say it is worth the war, for nothing is worth the folly of war. But I do say that, granted the war, Japan has opened the whole of China not only to new intellectual forces but to material forces as well. For merchants and bankers are going inland too, and whole factories are moving, with all their machinery. And they are not bottled up in that interior, though for the time they are cut off from old seaports. They are developing new trade routes, opening, as they call them, "back doors" to Europe and the South Seas, which in time may become front doors. Northwest through Sinkiang and southwest through Burma these doors are being opened and enlarged and the Chinese do not feel cut off and isolated from the rest of the world. Thanks to Japan, China may develop a stronger foreign trade than she has ever had, and not with Japan.

## Chinese Art

In the course of an illuminating paper (condensed from the *Magazine of Art* by the *Parade*) on how a difference in technique which appears to be merely mechanical has far-reaching consequences in Chinese Art, Lin Yutang writes:

The whole difference in technique and conceptions of line and form between Chinese and Western painting goes back to a difference in tools and materials. The Chinese use a hair brush and ink, whereas Western painters use a pencil or pen or a brush with oil paint. The consequences are extremely far-reaching. It is an æsthetic and not merely a material difference. The basis is mechanical, but the developments are spiritual.

To-day the entire field of Chinese art is profoundly influenced by this mechanical accident. It is a case of accomplishing a great deal with very little.

The Chinese speak of painting as the "play of ink on paper". This paper is so sensitive to the touch of ink that every trace of the brush across its surface is recorded in a way which almost suggests the effect of light on a photographic plate.

There is an entire technique about the handling of the brush:

Either the point or the body is used, its varying impact, whether pausing or lifting from the paper, achieving strength of stroke or sureness or gracefulness or delicacy. Then there is the control of the comparative liquidity or dryness of the ink, so that when laid on paper it can suggest different tones and qualities of surface.

Chinese painting, therefore, begins with the mastery of the stroke:

Chinese contributions to the notion of line and rhythm are important, because line is emphasised in Chinese art, has a more important development there than in Western art, and reveals a greater richness and variety of rhythm. And here we come to the quality which

is most basic of all—rhythm. The stroke became a means for imitating the irregular lines of nature, for Chinese art is characterised by hatred of the straight line. One of the singular contrasts between Chinese and Western painting is the emphasis on outlines in the former and the emphasis, in the latter, on surface—with consequent obliteration of outlines. In most Western painting the outlines of forms are implied rather than indicated by bold strokes.

The Chinese emphasis on line, then, leads to an appreciation of the linear aspects of nature:

To the Chinese artist, all nature is vibrating with the sensuality of its rhythmic lines, the soothing lines of blue hills and winding rivers, the soft lines of clouds, the rugged lines of rocks, the delicate lines of bamboo, the massive lines of pine trees, the entwining lines of cypress and old giant creepers and the graceful lines of willows. So long as we are not blind to the beauty of lines and rhythm, the beauties of nature can never be exhausted. The secret lies in training ourselves to see these lines, their witchery, their clarity and their grace or strength.

### Japan's Foreign Trade and Industry

The foreign trade outlook in Japan is not encouraging, despite the efforts of the Japanese Government to balance imports and exports by curbing imports of non-urgent and unnecessary goods, says *The China Weekly Review*:

Partly as a result of the Government's measures, partly because of trade depression and partial boycott of Japanese goods in other parts of the world, a heavy shrinkage of exports has taken place since the beginning of the year, which cannot fail to exercise direct pressure of no mean proportions on Japanese industries and therefore on Japanese living conditions.

At the same time, the higher prices now demanded by Japanese exporters to meet increased costs largely due to increased taxation and Government interference with trade generally, tend to impede a recovery of the export movement. That the outlook is serious may be gathered from a recent statement in the *Oriental Economist*, leading Japanese financial monthly, that: "If the world depression drags on, Japanese export industries are liable to be hard hit and thus give rise to a problem perhaps even more grave than the China Incident itself."

Nevertheless, the adverse balance of Japan's foreign merchandise trade for the first quarter of 1938 was only Yen 65,900,000, showing a sharp decline of Yen 257,376,000 or 79.7 per cent in comparison with the corresponding period of 1937. Japanese exports for the first quarter totaled Yen 605,220,000 and imports Yen 670,922,000. Compared with the first quarter of 1937, a decrease of 17.5 per cent was shown in exports and of 36.5 per cent in imports. An examination of Japan's export trade for the period indicates that exports of cotton textiles amounted to Yen 97,000,000, showing a decrease of 10.6 per cent from a year ago.

In view of indications that raw cotton arrivals to Japan will hereafter be curtailed, it is feared that cotton textiles exports will show a further decline during the year. Exports of hosiery goods as well as woollen textiles are being affected in the same way as cotton textiles. Exports of such commodities as rayon textiles, canned and bottled provisions, pottery and porcelain and toys for the first

three months of this year decreased by from 20 to 40 per cent, compared with the first quarter of 1937. Owing largely to the depression in the United States, exports from Japan of raw silk and textiles have suffered a shrinkage ranging from 17 to 20 per cent compared with the first quarter of last year. In the import group, raw cotton decreased by 70 per cent, raw wool by 88 per cent, crude rubber by 55 per cent and lumber by 45 per cent, during the same period.

### Turkey and Religion

The following note appears in the *World Dominion News*:

The Grand National Assembly made certain amendments to the Constitution of the Turkish Republic on the 5th of February last. Article 2 especially was changed and now reads (in part), "The Turkish State is Republican, Nationalistic, Populist, Laic, Etatist, and Revolutionary!" These six principles are the fundamental planks in the platform of the People's Party.

It is of special interest that the State is declared to be Laic. The term implies that the State does not recognize an official religion, nor does it stand to support any particular religion. In the old Constitution an Article stated that "The Religion of the State is Islam"; this is no longer so; no one now interferes with another's religion, each respects that of the other; in religion as in intellectual and political matters fanaticism has given place to mutual tolerance.

The deputy Bey Nejih Ali, writing in *Ulas*, the official organ of Ankara, warns the Turkish people, however, that freedom of conscience is not a limitless freedom. The State may interfere in certain situations. He says that children under eighteen may in foreign schools be subjected to a kind of spiritual compulsion in religion, and this in fact has happened and cannot be tolerated. But after passing the age of eighteen every individual is free to choose his religion, provided this does not disturb the social order. "The State is Laic, and everyone can think and believe as he likes, but the young must not be dragged into Catholicism, and thereby a culture foreign to our thought and feeling be permitted to spring up in the midst of the Turkish people."

### Emil Ludwig on Hitler

Emil Ludwig observes in *The Atlantic Monthly*:

It is a mistake to say that Hitler is not German. In his demagogism, he unites just those incentives which goad the German mind to frenzy. He resembles Wagner in his histrionic instinct. It is from Wagner that Hitler has adopted his endless melodies that is, the wearisome repetition of the same few themes; the splendor of the processions and choruses, the burning thirst for success, the bluster, the brutality and blamelessness, which make Wagner's work so effective can all be observed in the way Hitler works on his audience. He is altogether most effective in his speeches, and he is the first popular orator modern Germany has ever had..... Hitler is like Wilhelm II in so many ways that he might be called Wilhelm III. Even physically drawn in the Kaiser's moustache on Hitler's latest photographs, and there is the Kaiser again: the smartness, the same histrionic energy. The history of modern Germany will one day record that

the people let themselves be gulled twice by the poses of a neurasthenic.

### "Nashevism"

Z. Rowe coins the word "Nashevism", to describe the authoritarian regimes, and comments on the "common front" of Nazism and Bolshevism.

To us the difference between war and peace is a difference in *kind*, whereas to the Nashevist war differs from peace only in degree. Nashevism recognizes no difference between war and peace except that in war all pretense at amicable relations is abandoned, in peace, deference to the pretense of friendship restricts the attack on the enemy to three fronts: propaganda, economic pressure and terrorism. Under these three heads Nashevism conducts various forms of organized lying, fraudulent bankruptcies and violence ranging from murder and abduction to the kidnapping of a nation.

No odium attaches to treaty-breaking because a treaty has only the same significance in 'peace' that the consolidation of newly-won positions has in war. Having scrapped the Versailles Treaty, Herr Hitler extolled the Locarno Treaty and likewise scrapped it a few weeks later.

As long as we remain blind to the Nashevist common front we will be shuttled back and forth between Nazism and Bolshevism according to the momentary delusions of our own public opinion.

### An Irish Seer

"While we strive after happiness, he holds it in his hands" observed George Moore about A. E., the Irish poet and seer. A. E. has already been placed among the great mystics, and it is only as a mystic that he can be understood, writes "Brother John" in *The Inquirer*:

The belief in the Divinity of Man colours all A. E.'s writings. As also does a second great idea, that came to him on the hill of Kilmashogue. Here it was revealed to A. E. that the Earth was a living being—veritable Mother of all living things.

"I heard them in their sadness say,  
The earth rebukes the thought of God;  
We are but embers wrapped in clay  
A little nobler than the sod."

"But I have touched the lips of clay,  
Mother, thy rudest sod to me  
Is thrilled with fire of hidden day,  
And haunted by all mystery."

The Mother of Life was very real to A. E. She has many names—Isis, Ishtar, Aitemus, Hertha, and so on. A. E. called her Dana, for he lived in Ireland and had seen the Paps of Dana.

He was always a student of Comparative Religion, and confessed that he found truth in all the Bibles of the World, and "a singular identity of belief." All the Bibles taught men how they might become as Gods. And this was A. E.'s test of organised religion: "The religion which does not cry out: 'I am today verifiable as the water wets and the fire burns. Test me that ye can become as Gods'—mistrust it. Its messengers are prophets of darkness."

There was a very practical side to this Irish seer. For years he worked for the Agricultural Organisation Society, helping to establish banks and creameries, and talking about pigs and poultry. He edited a farming paper. He also took his part in Irish politics, and represented his country at Conferences. Then he became Editor of *The Irish Statesman*, the leading literary journal of his country.

In Dublin, as he grew older, A. E. was a sort of Sociates. In spite of all the "troubles" he still believed in Ireland, and he inspired men and women to be worthy, not only of Ireland's past, but of Ireland's future.

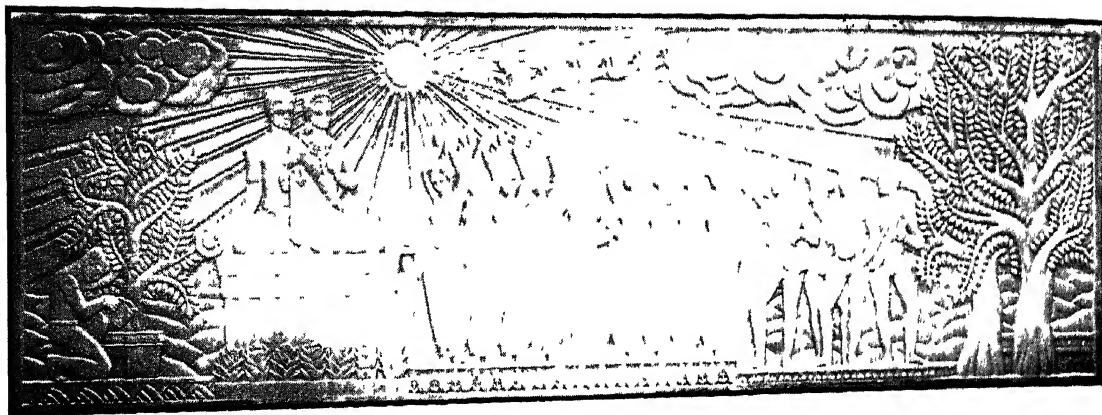
### The Novel of Ideas

Sir Hugh Walpole observes in the *Listener*:

Today the most modern belief of what the novel ought to do is that it should be interesting in the matter of ideas. The modern novelist is out to give you new and arresting ideas. Now why do I think that that is not nearly as good a thing for the novelist to do as to give you characters? Of course, if he gives you characters *and* ideas, all the better, and there is no novelist of any great merit anywhere who does not give you some ideas about which you can think. But I believe that is really his own voice giving utterance to these ideas, and I think he might do that much better in some other form: in written philosophy, or what you please, history even, and, of course, in autobiography. And if he is going to create, he has to create outside himself, he won't have much time for planting his own ideas into his characters, because his characters will become unreal. They won't be naturally the vehicle of his ideas if they are independent people themselves.

For instance, in *Henry Esmond*, by Thackeray, you cannot imagine Beatrice speaking as Thackeray himself, a man of many years later, of a different kind of civilization almost; you cannot imagine her speaking as Thackeray would speak. You cannot imagine, for instance, that Mr. Pickwick was really the young Dickens, almost a boy, sitting and doing his journalism day by day, eager for life, full of vitality, but of a totally different vitality from Mr. Pickwick.





DANCE OF LIFE

The rhythm of life has been depicted in this mural "Dance of Life", a bas relief by Sculptor Jacques Schnier. It will occupy a space 80 feet long and 26 feet high on one of the East Towers. The relief will be covered in gold leaf

## AMERICA'S ORIENTAL-OCIDENTAL EXPOSITION

By CARLTON KENDALL

IN 1939, the United States is to celebrate the achievements of The New Deal with two great international expositions. One of these is to be held on the Atlantic seaboard in New York State. Its exhibits will depict the trade and culture of the European and South American nations and the industrial and scientific advances of that half of North America lying east of the Rocky Mountains. The other exposition is to be on the Pacific seaboard in California and will be participated in by the Oriental and Occidental nations bordering the Pacific Ocean and the eleven Western States, together with Hawaii and Alaska.

On these two expositions America is spending nearly two hundred million dollars erecting two unique magical cities—the one facing Europe and the Occident; the other Asia and the Orient. Symbols of peace and goodwill, they rise as two beacons to the achievements of a modern civilization being built by a free people whose heritage finds its roots in the age-old cultures of the earth. The Pacific exposition especially reaches out to the peoples of India and Asia a friendly hand of welcome. Many of those who read this article will probably visit it. Coming at a most significant moment in the history of western United States, when the Pacific Coast States (with their combined areas as large as that of western Europe) are emerging from a pioneering period into the dawn of a technological era, it aptly celebrates several recent American engineering achievements that will transform western America from a remote

sparsely settled area into one of the future centers of human civilization. These achievements are: the completion of the world's two largest bridges spanning San Francisco Bay, the inauguration of rapid air transportation (including the trans-Pacific clipper service connecting America and Asia) and the erection by the government of three giant water and power projects, the Boulder, Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams which will furnish irrigation to millions of acres of rich agricultural land and cheap electrical power to an area as large as one-half of India.

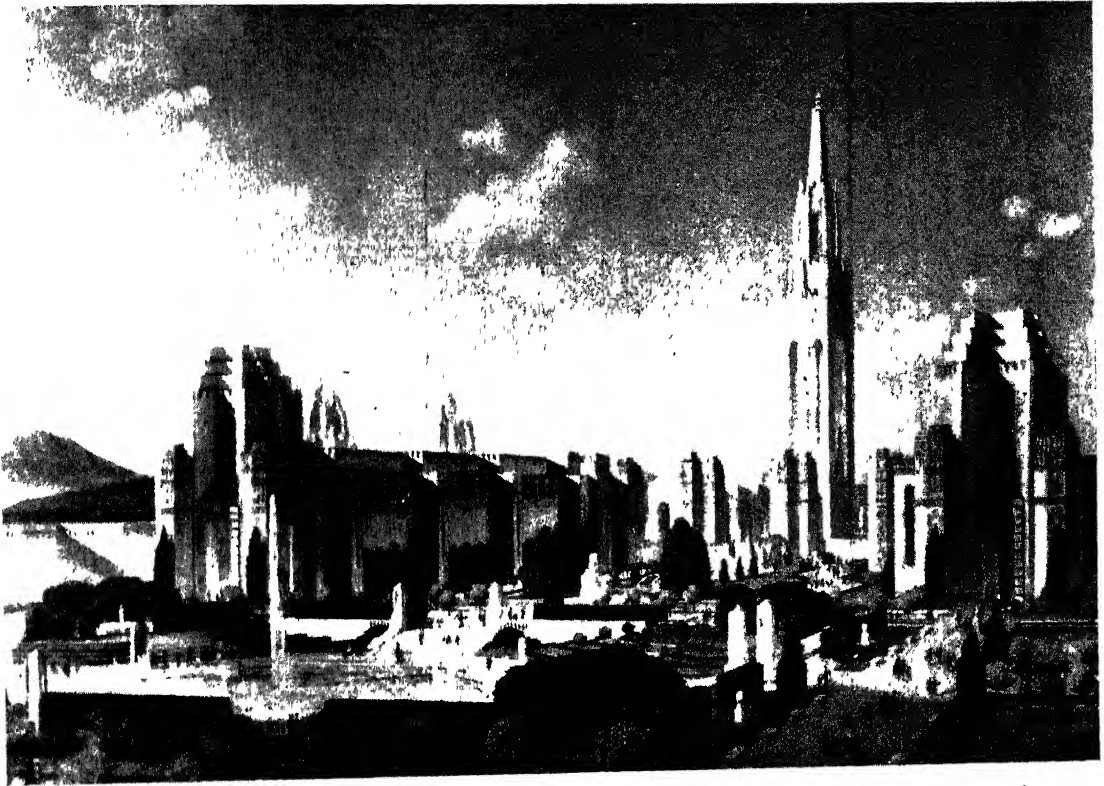
But beyond these local accomplishments, the Golden Gate International Exposition, as it is called, will celebrate the awakening of the nations bordering the Pacific and Indian oceans to a new era of civilization, a new epoch in their individual unfoldment, a new quickening of the life pulse of their social organisms. It is this deeper theme—"The Pageant of the Pacific"—which runs like an overtone throughout the entire exposition, its landscaping, its architecture, its exhibits, even the selection of the site itself.

Where now rise the vast exhibit halls, less than three years ago was nothing but the lapping waves of the Pacific Ocean; for the exposition is erected upon a man-made island built by U. S. Army engineers in San Francisco Bay opposite the Golden Gate. This island is over a mile long and three-fifths of a mile wide and rises thirteen feet above sea-level. Protected from erosion by a three mile rock wall, it has



added 400 acres to the area of the United States, later, after the exposition, to be utilized as a central airport for the two million people inhabiting the cities surrounding San Francisco Bay. Two of the exposition buildings are giant concrete and steel hangars and another is to become the permanent administration and terminal head-

percentage. By barge, 100,000 yards of rich topsoil was brought from the fertile delta regions of the Sacramento valley where many East Indians made fortunes some years ago by raising asparagus and potatoes. On this earth foundation, crews of landscape gardeners have planted over 4,000 trees (some 60 to 70 feet high),



Court of the Moon, an approach to the Central Court of Honor, with its 400-foot Tower of the Sun. It is one of the many landscapes with tree-lined promenades and sunken gardens. On the left is the Hall of the Mineral Empire, on the right the Homes and Gardens buildings.

quarters for the airport. The landscaping surrounding these permanent buildings is to remain, making it ultimately one of the most beautiful air ports in America, a fitting terminal for trans-Pacific passengers and for the fast overnight planes connecting San Francisco and New York City 3,000 miles away.

To transform a salt-soaked black sand island into a semi-tropical garden set with pools, fountains and beautiful courtyards sheltered by dream-like colonnades and pastel-tinted pavilions supplied with all the electrical, gas, water and sewerage facilities of a large city was in itself no small task. Charts were made of the salt tolerance of the plants, trees and shrubs to be used and the land washed with fresh water from a special reservoir constructed for that purpose, until the sand was free from any dangerous saline

40,000 shrubs and literally millions of flowering plants, using every electrical and chemical device known to modern horticulturists for stimulating plant growth to its highest beauty. In this garden, risen from the sea, are set the hundreds of buildings housing the exhibits.

While futuristic structures comprise the outstanding architectural features of the exposition in eastern United States, this western exposition, true to its theme, has combined modernism in architecture with the inspirational forms from the older civilizations around the Pacific Ocean, particularly the Mayan, Cambodian, Incan and Malayan. Its designers avoided that stark architectural realism, almost brutal in its conception, that characterizes many attempts to depict the spirit of the mechanistic, materialism today sweeping metropolitan areas



of western civilization. Instead they tried to achieve an effect that would suggest the romantic lure and charm, the spiritual attainments, the century-old cultural aspirations of the Orient combining with the scientific civilization and



PACIFICA

This is a 70-foot figure by Ralph Stackpole, which will dominate the Court of Pacific Shores. Behind the figure is a curtain of metal bangles that will sway in the breeze to produce harmonious sound and color effects

material modernism of Occidental cities. The approaching visitor nearing the island by ferry is impressed with a massed effect of stepped setbacks surmounted by 400 foot "Tower of the

Sun" bearing at its peak a giant golden Phoenix Bird, symbolical of the reawakening of Pacific civilizations.

The lighting at night embraces several unusual recent electrical developments. Dark light is used to enhance the color effects and no direct lighting is visible so that to an observer on the Bay the exposition appears a luminous, magical, ageless city of mystery risen from the sea and bathed in glowing soft colors against a timeless sky.

The visitor enters through an imposing gateway whose ramparts rise in the heavy masses of two Malayan pyramids converging sharply into Cambodian towers supported by formalized elephants. Passing into a walled city, he is confronted with a series of courtyards some with mirror-like pools reflecting the tinted walls and sculptured details of the buildings, others with splashing fountains and still others a riot of bright-colored flowers. In one such flower courtyard only plants with red blossoms are used. The main feature of the horticultural effects, is a "Persian Prayer Rug" of mesembryanthemum covering 25 acres

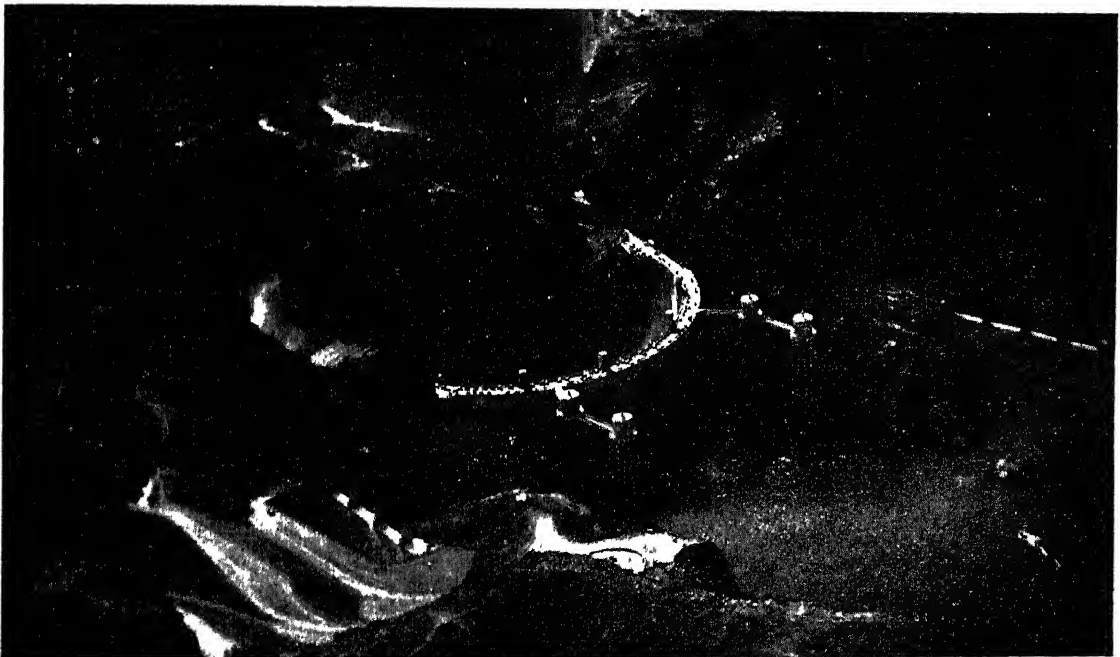
The exhibits, like the buildings housing them, are centered about the one idea of showing in graphic manner the various cultures developed by the nations bordering the Pacific as a background for demonstrations of the newest advances of modern science and engineering, special stress being placed on those discoveries that will aid man in his civilized evolution, in his century-old struggle against the ravages of nature, in the perfecting of himself and his artificial environment to meet the requirements of the strenuous ordeal of living in a changing modern world. Such recent agricultural developments as the newly discovered methods for profitably raising agricultural products without soil in chemically treated tanks where crops attain unbelievable yields secure against insects, independent of seasonal cycles, temperature and weather conditions will be shown. Example of the latest type of "electrical farms" now transforming American rural life, speeding up productive agriculture, freeing the long toiling farmer from back breaking labor and bringing to him all the comforts and advantages of the city dweller are among the many exhibit features on display that will directly influence the future life of the rural individual in the agricultural nations bordering the Pacific.

For the exposition the American government has planned a demonstration of the recent developments brought into American life through The New Deal, of the social changes, of the

construction of planned communities, the programs for clearing city slums, the great nationwide building of public works which is transforming the vast countryside into a network of paved highways, navigable rivers, and modernized farms supplied with cheap electric power. A special community of the new types of American homes has been built. Here visitors can see the latest improvements in house construction and the latest aids to the housewife: mechanical robots that perform much of the housework.

Today in California even many of the laborers' cottages enjoy the newest electrical equipment: automatic washing and ironing

close doors when a person or an automobile approaches or leaves, the new "electric nurse" recently put on to the market in America which watches the baby and informs its mother about its condition at any moment of day or night without her having to go into the nursery or leave tasks elsewhere in the house, the "cold heat" stoves over which meals can be cooked while the top of the stove is as cool to the touch as a dining table—a boon to the housewife or servant of the future who has to prepare meals on hot summer days, or that careless individual inadvertently forgetting that hot stoves burn human fingers that touch their surfaces. These and many other scientific wonders that will



Aerial view of Boulder Dam, which impounds the waters of the Colorado River in the heart of a barren desert region, creating Lake Mead which is 115 miles long and 8 miles in width, thus making it the world's largest artificial lake. The black dots on the top of the dam are automobiles

machines, electric vacuum cleaners for taking up dust, electric refrigerators for manufacturing ice for the family and keeping foodstuffs preserved at cool temperatures, automatic controlled stoves that will begin cooking the dinner an hour or so before the family expects to return home, automatic radios that can be set a day ahead to turn on and off special programs of music or public addresses that the householder does not wish to miss.

In addition to these things, which are already a part of the everyday life of the average family living on the American side of the Pacific, there will also be shown glimpses into the future homes: "electric eyes" that open and

transform the daily lives of all of us in the next score of years, will be shown, together with the best in modern art, music and culture. It is an exhibition of the past, the present and the future.

In all over twenty foreign nations are erecting buildings or arranging special displays, together with the eleven Western States of the United States, Alaska, Hawaii and several British dominions, besides many special scientific and educational displays from American universities, medical laboratories and research institutions. Every important oriental nation, with the exception of India, has already made arrangements to present graphic exhibits depicting its cultural, economic, scientific and spiritual

achievements and to tell the twenty million or more visitors expected about the wonders of their homeland. Those of us who know the wealth of thought and material accomplishments in India today hope that she too will join with her sister nations of the Pacific and Indian oceans to help celebrate this emergence into the new path of human destiny that ties America and Asia with the common bond of mutual interests.

Structures for the other oriental exhibits are already rising from the sands of the man-made island, some representing expenditures of over a million dollars. Most are uniquely typical of the oriental cultures they depict. The Chinese exhibit, for example, is in the form of a Chinese community, surrounded by Chinese gardens landscaped with rockeries, old bronze statues, pavilions, camel-back bridges and winding lagoons, patterned after an old cormandel screen. At one end of the main garden is a temple with a golden statue of the goddess Kuan Yin; in the center a multi-colored pagoda in which, among other displays, is shown early Chinese inventions antedating many modern similar western discoveries. Outside the village proper are Chinese farms operated by rural farmers brought from the interior villages of China, showing the agricultural heritage from Asia that forms the basis from which modern mechanized agriculture has developed.

The Netherlands East Indies Building is set with bas-reliefs copied from the ruins of Borobudur and intricate Javanese scroll-work. The Johore exhibition contains a Malay Hut in charge of native Malays. The Japanese exhibition is the most extensive ever planned by the Japanese people. The building to house it was constructed in Japan and has been sent over to the United States in crates and erected on the exposition site. It is in the form of an ancient Japanese feudal castle surrounded by Japanese gardens supervised by Dr. Murata. In addition, a Samurai's home is also to be constructed in the gardens. The buildings proper are designed by the three most famous Japanese native architects: Dr. Uchida, Dr. Okuma and Dr. Kishida.

Indo-China's exhibit reflects the great ruins of Cambodia and the Latin American countries on the other side of the Pacific have used as a motif for their exhibits the ancient civilizations built by the Incas, the Aztecs and the Mayas. Japanese Nō plays, Javanese puppets, Bali ceremonial dances, Chinese drama and Indian music will be presented as well as exhibits of all forms of oriental art. Nor will many of the

priceless spiritual teachings, so long nourished in the Orient, be forgotten in the array of material displays. Special conferences are planned and special lectures scheduled to bring these treasures of the soul to the exposition visitor for, perhaps of all the Orient has brought to man, no gifts are more precious nor more needed in the world at this time than those written upon generations of human hearts by the great seers of Asia.

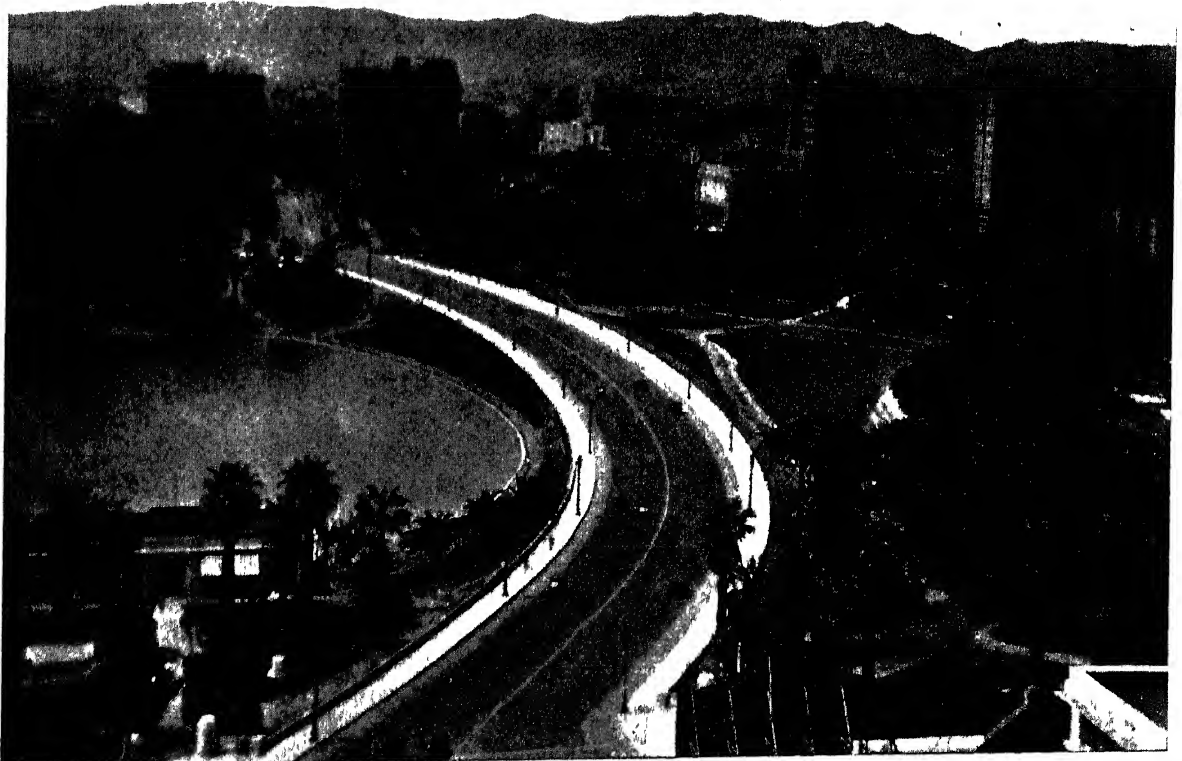
As a setting for this exposition of the Pacific, the selection of California was a happy choice. With its months of rainless summer, it has always been the home for elaborate outdoor pageants and for many outdoor symphonies, operas and plays presented on mountain tops and in the giant redwood forests. Its people have the gaiety of the Italians, the Spanish love for fiestas, the French joy in fêtes and little fairs. Perhaps more than any other part of the United States, California has from the old gold-mining days following 1849, enjoyed a carefree spirit which finds full expression in celebrations. Like India, it is a land of fertile valleys, rich with orchards and teeming farms, with the sea on one side and the snow-crested mountains forming a natural barrier at its back. In Europe it would have been a separate nation. In America it is an integral part of the forty-eight states, though distinct in culture and atmosphere. Facing the Orient, it turns to the Orient as well as to the Occident for its inspiration.

Over a quarter of a million East Indians, Chinese, Japanese and Philipinos live within its borders, each race contributing a measure of its heritage to fuse into the vital new civilization arising there. The Japanese have brought fifty or more Buddhist temples to California, the Chinese their Joss Houses and Confucian societies, the Philipinos Mohammedan churches, the East Indians Sikh and Vedanta temples. Sufi and Hindu retreats are scattered here and there amongst its mountains, while in the cities the influence of oriental architecture, household furnishings and culinary art may be discerned on every hand.

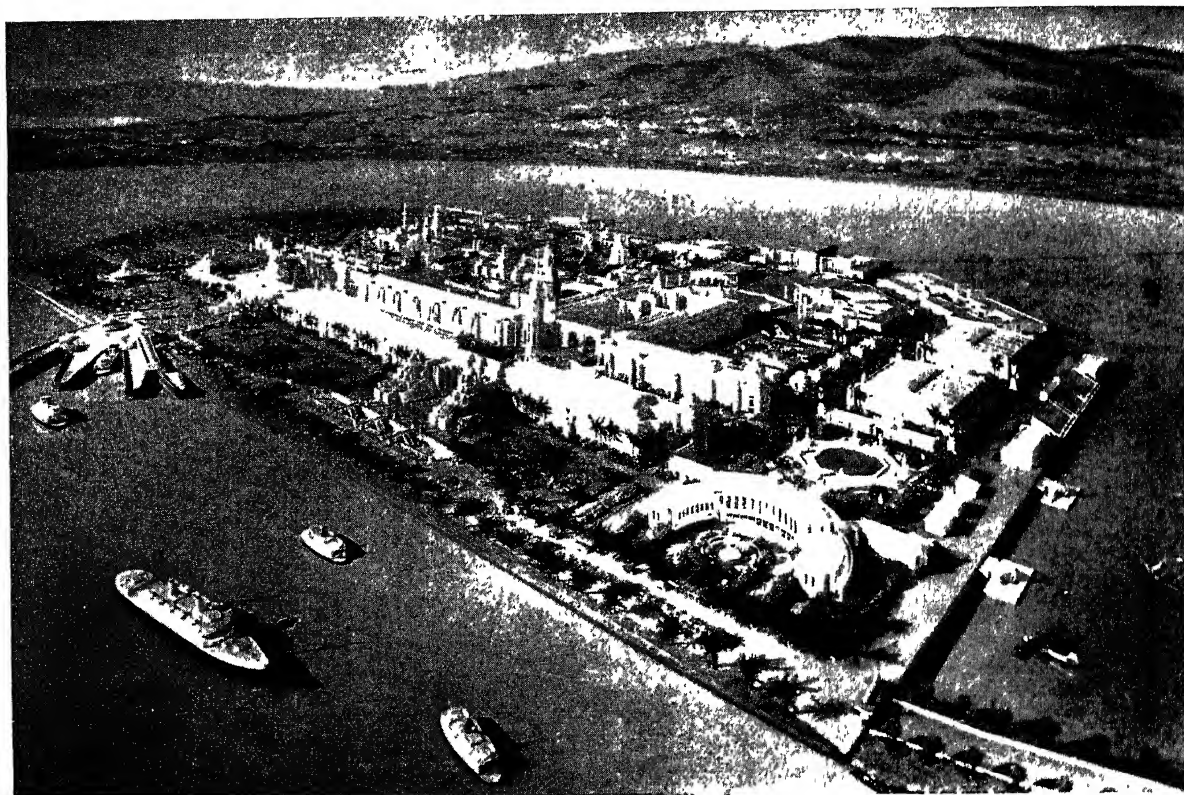
Named "California" for Odronez de Montalvo's romantic novel, *Las Sergas de Esplandian*, published in Madrid in 1510 and which describes an enchanted island "to the right of the Indies, very near the quarter of the terrestrial paradise", this land, with its great central harbor entered through the hill-cleft straits of "the Golden Gate", is in truth the garden joining Asia and western occidental civilization. To the Occident it turns for the development of its bodily comforts; to the



Sunset over San Francisco Bay, recently spanned by the world's longest bridge connecting San Francisco and its adjoining communities. The two main decks of the bridge stretch  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles



Los Angeles is the largest city in Western America



A spectacular preview of Treasure Island, site of the 1939 *Golden Gate International Exposition*, to be held on San Francisco Bay, is afforded by this photograph of an elaborate scale model of the Western World's Fair



The California giant redwoods are some of the oldest living specimens of vegetation upon the earth. The trees grow from 200 to 300 feet high and have a diameter around 20 feet, and a life-span of from one to two thousand years



Orient for the awakening of its spiritual self. Too young to be, as yet, completely crystallized by the pattern of western industrialism, this Pacific Coast of North America still reaches out for that profound spiritual understanding of the function and purpose of human life which for countless centuries has formed the seed-atom of Oriental philosophy.

As the Orient finds herself developed spiritually far beyond her technological attainments, inversely the Occident is beginning to realize that her new scientific discoveries far overshadow her spiritual evolution and threaten to enslave her populations with the ease hardened chains of material power undirected by adequate inner comprehension. She too is fighting for her freedom and, like Asia, searching for that pattern which will bring a peaceful solution of the complex human problems besetting the world

today. Beyond race, beyond nationality, moves the common destiny of man. The contemporary struggle of social evolution which grips the nations surrounding the Pacific and Indian oceans, is a community problem affecting all the peoples inhabiting that geographical arena. The reshaping of their respective civilizations, the emergence into a new cycle, a new freedom of life, the completer conquest of man's collective mastery over physical nature and over his own inner nature—these problems draw the people of Asia and the people of western America into closer ties of mutual interests. So, when the Golden Gate International Exposition opens its gates in February 1939, it will be a fitting celebration for the beginning of a new era in the forward progress of the nations inhabiting the Pacific basin.

## INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Miss Gouri Rani Banerjee, daughter of Dr. H. C. Banerjee L.M.S., Saharanpur, passed the M.A. (Sanskrit) Examination of the Benares-Hindu University this year in the First Division standing First in the University. She appeared in this and all other previous examinations as a private candidate and passed them with credit.



Miss Gauri Rani Banerjee.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The picture of "A Haripura Village Woman" which appeared in *The Modern Review* for March, 1938, p. 353, was reproduced from the cover page of the special annual

number of the *Hindustan Times*. We regret pro acknowledgment was not made in the March issue through oversight.



## INDIANS ABROAD

THE Indian generally goes abroad in search of a living like other people. But the Indian as a rule is only a labourer who, because of the low standard of life he is said to be used to at home, is able to supply cheap labour in the labour-market everywhere. He is thus often accused of underselling his labour and thus becomes the object of hate and derision of his competitors who, whatever be the actual grounds of their defeat, always put it down to the lower Indian standard of life. As soon therefore as the needs of the employers abroad are satisfied, the Indian is sought to be got rid of. The story is true almost wherever the Indian set his foot—in Africa, Malaya, or the Indies. Ceylon of late witnessed a bitter campaign against the South Indian labourer who is said to be squeezing out the very islander himself. The Ceylonese were however neither very scrupulous in their regard for facts nor very wise in forgetting what the reaction or the reprisal from the Indian side may mean to the island's economic life.

Recent informations speak of Ceylon recruiting her own plantations labour from the island itself. It is to be seen if Ceylonese native labour answers to the purpose.

### EMIGRATION TO MALAYA

The Malayan planters and the Department of Labour in Malaya imposed, as is known, a 10 p.c. cut in the wages of the Indian labourer from May 1, last, which has meant 45 cents for men and 36 cents for women per day. Because of a cut in the production of rubber a further reduction of the wages to 40 and 30 cents for men and women respectively from August 1, next has been decided on. The Central Indian Association of Malaya submitted a long Memorandum to the Government of Madras pleading for the prohibition of the assisted emigration to Malaya, and 'advocating the stoppage of unassisted emigrants from Madras districts to the Malayan peninsula.' The Memorandum alleges that "at least a majority of them (the unassisted) do not pay their own passages from their own pockets any more than the assisted emigrants". "An adequate minimum living wage for Indian labour, coupled with permanent family colonization seems to be the only course available for the solution of the serious impasse which has arisen in connexion with the emigration of the unassisted emigrants to Malaya".

### EMIGRATION TO FIJI

The Immigration Committee appointed by the Fijian Government in December last "to report on Indian immigration and the issue of permits and travel documents" has, it is announced, completed its labour and the report will shortly be available. The Indian immigrant, it is known, still suffers from many small disabilities, and, as there is considerable labour shortage in Fiji, if extended immigration of Indians is recommended, Fiji Government should be made to guarantee for them economic security as well as non-communal franchise.

A heartening fact is the progress announced to have been made by Indian education in Fiji. The Fiji Government have promised to establish new schools, one at Suva another at Nadi, and grant £100 for night schools for adults, besides assisting the communities that are prepared to help themselves by giving building grants for schools etc.

### AFGHAN DRY FRUIT TRADE

Indians were sufficiently alarmed at the proposal of the Afghan Government monopolising the Afghan dry fruit trade. It would cause ruin to many Indian traders. An Afghan government order recently abandoned this proposal in response to the appeal from Indians, and the Government have been gratefully thanked by the President of the Indian National Congress for this.

### INDIANS IN MAURITIUS

The story of the riot in the British colony of Mauritius and the wounds inflicted there on the Indians as a result of the firing by troops about two months ago failed to attract sufficient notice outside. The following extracts from the interview of Pandit Satyadeo, reported in the *Bombay Sentinel*, and quoted by the *Indian Opinion* of Durban, speaks of the grievances of the Indian workers in the Sugar factories, their disabilities and their experiences.

He told our representative that three lakhs of Indian residents in Mauritius out of the total population of 4 lakhs had no representation either in the Legislative Body or in any civic bodies. Government jobs were denied them, their children were forced to toil in the factories, their civic liberties trampled over and the Immigration Laws hardly enforced.

Describing in detail the two recent outrages that took place in Mauritius on unarmed Indian workers who were on strike, Pandit Satyadeo said that about 60 workers made for the factory, owned by an Indian who was also the British

nominee to the Legislative Council, with a view to put before him their grievances.

At the time about the month of August, last year, sugar export price in the world market seemed to them to be rising, but the cuts in their wages had not been restored in spite of the attempt of the Labour Party Society recently formed there.

But hardly had their grievances been heard, when, he told our reporter, shots rang in the air and some persons were injured in the premises of the Indian Sugar Factory owner. The Police inspector who raised his hands to ask the party concerned to stop firing got a bullet in his hand.

Then a prolonged, although to a little extent sporadic strike, he added, followed. Fresh troubles began. The meetings of the workers were dispersed and at one of the meetings the Police were stated to have opened fire with the result that three died and several others were wounded.

"But the authorities," P. Satyadeo said, "continued long after the incident to ride roughshod over the feelings of the petty planters and labourers and our appeal for humanitarian consideration went unheeded. Although four months have passed, the report of the Inquiry Committee set up in this connection has not been published."

In the Inquiry Committee, he stated, no Indian was appointed.

#### INDIAN FARMERS IN NATAL

Indians had gone to Natal Coal and Cane fields as labourers under the indenture system. At the termination of the indenture, Indians recruited from India drifted into various walks of life, "but the majority took to farming," says the *Indian Opinion* (May 13th), which editorially refers to the danger that the Indian farmer is now facing in the areas because of the dumping of bananas from the Portuguese East Africa under a treaty.

Indians who, at one time lived quite close to Durban, which they looked upon as the only market for their produce, have now gone further afield, miles away from Durban. Motor transport has made distances disappear. That bananas and other produce arrive practically every day at the Durban market from Port Shepstone—a distance of 75 miles—is an indication of what motor transport has done to the Farming industry. Banana plantations are the mainstay not only to those who farm on the outskirts of the boundaries of Durban, but also to those who farm along the South Coast extending to Port Shepstone. The Mozambique Treaty which enabled bananas from Portuguese East Africa to be dumped into the Union, affected the Banana industry in Natal to such an extent that the Natal Indian farmers began to think whether it was worthwhile farming. The Treaty in guaranteeing labour for the Reef Mines, did so at the expense of the banana industry which directly contributed to the development of the wealth of South Africa.

Once the bananas in Portuguese East Africa are ready to be reaped, the markets of South Africa would be flooded.

The Natal Indian farmers would be well advised to consolidate their forces so that in matters affecting their interests they could speak with one voice. The Mozambique Treaty could have been modified if proper representations had been made to the Government at the time. The case of the Indian farmer went by default.

We believe there are two Associations each claiming to represent the Indian farmers.

A strong Association with a membership of at least fifty per cent of the Indian Farmers would be the only adequate safeguard against such dangerous enactments as the Marketing Act. The Indian Farmers should learn to grow on their own strength.

#### SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTIONS

South African elections which resulted in the return last month of the Party in power, the United Nationalist Party, to which Mr. Hofmeyr, known to India for his fairness on the Indian question, belongs. Mr. Hofmeyr's attitude was the cause of many "upheavals" within the Party; so "South Africa needs many more Hofmeyrs before the Indian community of South Africa can have its much deserved rest." The Indians there have been denied franchise, that elementary right of man. Even the so-called uncivilised natives of the country have some semblance of representations in the Parliament, which the Indians lack. It is time for them to make a united demand for it, as one of them, Mr. P. R. Pather, pleads in the following:

Three parties have been in power since Union, the South African, the Nationalist and the United Nationalist Parties. None of these parties has exhibited any feeling for the Indian. Each party has had its share of anti-Asiatic legislations. And none has spared the Indian. We will continue to occupy the position of inferiority so long as we are denied the franchise. Recently the Natal Indian Congress presented a petition to the Natal Provincial Council urging the restoration of the Municipal franchise. That petition has been thrown out. The petition unfortunately was half-hearted, and did not have the backing of the people. By that, we mean that an appeal for the restoration of the franchise should be made not by way of petition signed by one or two persons, but it should emanate from the Indian community of Natal as a whole.

The occasion demands a united front for the Indian community and that is the only sure way of making a bid for the franchise.

#### RESERVATION OF THE KENYA HIGHLANDS

The motion of Major Cavendish-Bentinck for a 'White Kenya Highlands' has received a fit warning from that tireless friend of the overseas Indians, Mr. C. F. Andrews, in the Indian press. Kenya papers to hand prove how reasonably and spiritedly the Hon'ble Messrs. Shams-ud-deen and J. B. Panday thrashed out every aspect of the question in the Kenya Council to show the hollowness, the insult for the Indians involved, and the disservice to the Imperial issue that is signified by the proposal mooted in the face of all the promises and assurances from the the Secretary for the Colonies which we referred to in our last issue. To bring home the disaster that is impending we recall the opinion of Mr. Andrews:

When asked what disaster would be, Mr. Andrews said that it would be the very first act of deliberate racial discrimination on a vaster scale than the British Parliament itself had sanctioned and determined. Other cases of racial discrimination of a more doubtful character both in Fiji and in Kenya had already taken place but this reservation of Kenya Highlands by an Order-in-Council would be absolutely glaring. It would mean that the British Parliament had completely abandoned its principle of racial equality and justice. Since 1833, the British had stood for no racial discrimination.

"There have been many acts in which that constitutional principle has been broken, but this, if carried out in Kenya, would be the first flagrant breach of the British Constitution," added Mr. Andrews.

"I think it glaringly inconsistent if one and the same Parliament professing to grant Self-Government to the Indian people in their own country at the same time pass an order which virtually denied the same people their most fundamental and elemental rights in another Colony," concluded Mr. Andrews.

### "ALL RIGHT" AT TANGA?

Kenya, it is known, is notorious for its anti-Indian measures. From the smug self-satisfactory talk of the Indians in Tanganyika and Uganda, one might conclude that it is all right over there. The *Tanganyika Opinion* wants our colonists to remember that this is quite contrary to the fact. In the railway and in the English-run and English-patronised hotels the Indian is barred from any equality or social contact with the Europeans.

In civil services this distinction of races goes much deeper and takes the form not of ordinances but of unspoken social rebuffs and persecution. Why did the only African Assistant Secretary of the Dar-es-Salaam Secretariat throw up his privileged job? Why is an Asian not placed even in acting charge of higher posts? Except a stray case or so, will any Government conscientiously say that they do not consider it unusual that Asians should be placed in acting charge of high offices ordinarily scheduled to be filled up by European incumbents?

Both in Uganda and Tanganyika there are such divisions as European and Asian posts, and we want to know what statutory authority the Government of the Mandated Territory have to divide the civil service into Overseas recruited, Intermediate and Local services.

### THE SOLUTION OF THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

South African Indians are generally found to be in favour of keeping aloof from the Anti-European Front, the formation of which was announced about two months ago. They consider their problem to be allied to those of the native people, but still distinct in certain respects, as the Indians form a distinct group in South African life. Seth Govindadas was keen on this idea. He had recommended even a scheme of colonisation, 'starting a limited company on co-operative lines'. We were afraid this was hardly the proper method, and, our doubts have been borne out by South African

'Indian Opinion' as well. It probably makes the best suggestion for the solution of the problem.

If the report in the press is correct, Seth Govind Das proposes that Indians in India and East Africa should start imitating the imperialist powers in their policy of exploiting the backward races. I believe that Indians in Africa have a nobler mission to perform than the adoption of this policy. Nothing should be done by the Indians in East Africa by which their relation with the Africans should be strained at any time in the present or the future.

Helping in the regeneration of the African race is the destiny which awaits the Indians in Africa. Stooping to schemes of exploiting the Africans politically or industrially can never be justified by the Indians here or in Africa and I am sure that if Seth Govind Das had consulted the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress or any prominent Congress leader he would have acted in a different manner. Settlement of Indians in East Africa can be justified only to the extent that it remains harmless to the future progress of the Africans and to the extent that it actively helps such progress.

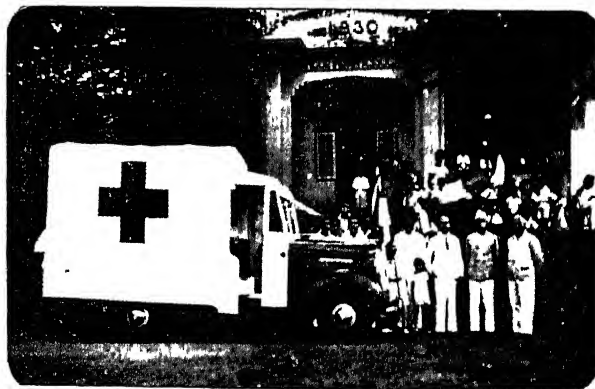
G. H.

### Ambulance For China

Presented by the Central Indian Association  
of Malaya

Dear Sir,

In connection with the Sino-Japanese War, the Indian National Congress had declared that our sympathies should go to China in her present



Ambulance presented to China by the Central Indian Association of Malaya

struggle against Japanese Imperialism. Following the lead of the Congress the Central Indian Association of Malaya, decided to focus local Indian opinion to this aspect of the question, as a result of which I am glad to inform you that my Association was able to raise sufficient funds to present the Chinese Government with an Ambulance for Red Cross Service. The cost of the Ambulance as well as the cost of transport and insurance up to Hongkong is paid by this Association.

In one of the photographs of the

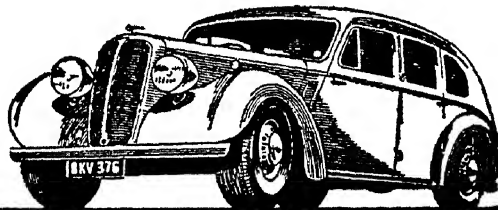
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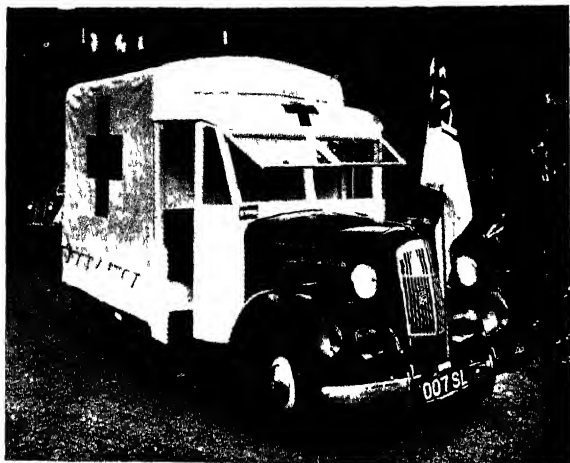
**MORE THAN**  
**1** *in every* **3**  
**TEN HORSE-POWER CARS NOW SOLD**  
*Are*  
**HILLMAN**  
**MINX**

Official registration figures recently issued shows that of all 10 h.p. cars now sold throughout the United Kingdom, the MINX accounts for no less than 33.7% of the total—and this against some sixteen different makes.

Distributors :

WALFORD TRANSPORT LTD., 71-73, Park St., Calcutta.

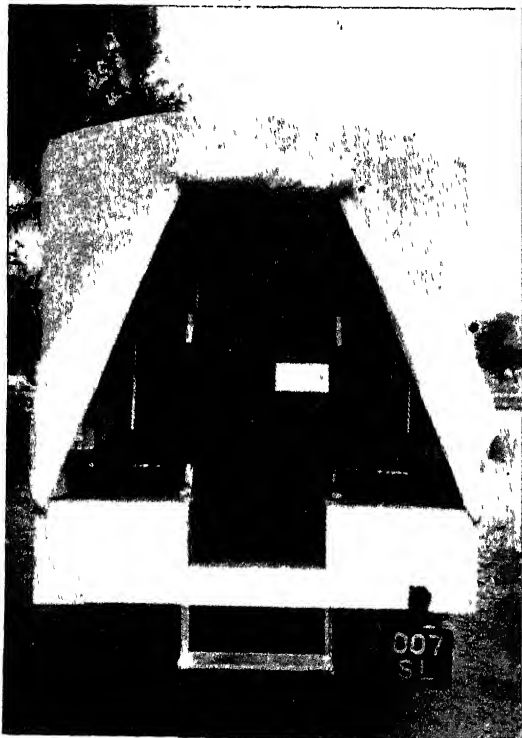




The Indian National Flag is seen fixed in front of the Ambulance

Ambulance you will find the inside view showing the plate with the inscription, "Presented by the Central Indian Association of Malaya on behalf of the Indian Community". In another picture you will find just in front of the driver's seat the Indian National Flag which is fixed in an enamelled plate.

The Ambulance was formerly delivered to the Consul for China, resident in Kuala Lum-



Inside view of the Ambulance showing the inscribed plate

pur and in acknowledging delivery, the Consul has written to this Association as under:—

"I wish to assure you and your community in Malaya that my Government is notified of this valuable contribution and feelings of sympathy towards the unfortunate sufferers in China. I would like to express once more that I am deeply moved by this noble contribution and that is with feelings of the highest appreciation and deepest gratitude that I now acknowledge receipt of the ambulance car from the Indian Community in Malaya."

Yours faithfully,  
K. A. NEELAKANDHA AIYER  
Hon. Secretary,

Central Indian Association of Malaya

### Indians in Mauritius

As I have told you in my previous communication (Vide *The Modern Review* for June, 1938), the Honourable Seeparsad Sheerbookun and the



Mr. S. Sheerbookun,  
Member, Legislative Council, Mauritius



Mr. A. L. Osman,  
Member, Legislative Council, Mauritius.

Honourable Abdul Latiff Osman, the newly nominated members of the Council of Government, have been chosen to represent the interest of the small Indian planters at the Council.

They delivered their maiden speeches on Tuesday last while the bill on the Industrial Association was being discussed and although

not trained for public life their performance was so remarkable that the senior elected member—a European—congratulated them for their masterly handling of a bill in which legal technicalities were involved

K HAZAREE SINGH

G. 5. 38.

### ERRATA

*The Modern Review* for June, 1938, p. 652:  
The author of the article, "Congress Cotton Committee's Report", is Mr. S. A. Palekar and not S. P. Palekar.  
*The Modern Review* for June, 1938, p. 693, lines 12-14:  
For "In the course of his article on the art of

criticism Principal P. Seshadri observes" read "In the course of his article on the art of criticism in the *Journal of the Benares Hindu University* (Vol. II, No. 2), 1938, Principal P. Seshadri observes.

### A CORRECTION

Dear Sir,

An admiring reader of your "Notes" in *The Modern Review*, may I take the liberty of drawing your notice to an unfortunate oversight that occurs on Page 715, second column, in the current number of the Review.

The lines wrongly quoted from "the Irish

poet" really occur in Byron's 'Childe Harold,' Canto 2, ll 720-21:

"Hereditary bondsman? Know ye not  
Who would be free themselves must strike the blow?"

Yours truly,  
D. K. SEN,

Professor of English, Krishnagar College.

## 3,000 YEARS' OLD HINDU FORMULA WORKS FURTHER MIRACLES :—

- (1) European gentleman with baldness over 25 years grows hair in 5 weeks.
- (2) Indian Lady checks awful falling of hair in a fortnight.

Please write full details of your case (age, health, history of baldness, constipation, etc) to:

**Mrs. KUNTALA RAY,**

208, Bowbazar Street, CALCUTTA.



## WORLD'S WOMEN TAKE TO AIR

### "Poor Man's" Wife Earns Two Crores in Business

#### Free Flights for Women

By Mrs CHAMAN LAL

We have a lot to learn from our sisters of the West in their enterprising spirit, talent and commercial ability. One woman in New York has earned nearly two crore rupees (7 million dollars)

Mrs. Max Kramer startled American business men a few days ago by producing a cheque for seven million dollars to purchase the thirty-storey Lincoln Hotel in New York. Her husband, Mr Kramer, went to America from Russia as a poor boy. He started to build small houses, then larger houses, blocks of flats and finally hotels. When he married in 1926, he gave his wife a present of a million dollars. She had organised a hospital in the war, and now runs a successful gown shop in New York.

Neither minds taking a risk. He has the business brains; she has the artistic genius. He owns and runs the five-storey Hotel Edison and from behind the scenes he will superintend the Lincoln.

The purchase price was actually eleven million dollars, but Mrs Kramer paid cash over and above the first mortgage of four million dollars held by an insurance company.

#### WOMEN'S AERO CLUB

Miss Amy Johnson and Miss Pauline Gower are organising an Aero Club for Women, which they hope will be affiliated to the Royal Aero Club. Premises have been offered to them by the Forum Ladies' Club in Belgravia and the two airwomen are now trying to build up a list of all the women who have learnt to fly in Great Britain.

Miss Johnson says:

"We believe there is room for such a club. Many hundreds of women have taken their amateur pilot's licence in the last ten years and, although all have not renewed it, my experience is that, once a woman begins to take an interest in aviation, she never lets it go."

"Pauline and I, two of the handful of women pilots who hold the Air Ministry commercial licence, are anxious to hear from all these hundreds of women, as we have not got a list of their addresses."

The Air Ministry, which has a record of all women who have taken the "A" licence, does not divulge their names and addresses.

#### GORT—REJECTED PLAN

Miss Ursula Waldron's scheme for the training of women pilots to assist the R.A.F. has been rejected by the Air Ministry.

Miss Waldron is a niece of the Marchioness Townshend. She proposed to have women trained to pilot R.A.F. aircraft so that in time of war they could fly on tasks behind the lines.

Lord Sempill approached the Air Ministry on her behalf. He was told, there are not enough aircraft available for her plan.

#### AIR RECORDS BY WOMEN

Three Soviet women aviators, Polina Osipenko, Vera Lomaka and Marina Raskova, claim to have established an international record for a women's long distance flight on a circular course.

The women—Osipenko as chief pilot, Lomaka as second pilot and Raskova as navigator—flew 1,160 miles in a single-engined seaplane over a course Sebastopol, Yevpatoria, Ochakov, Sebastopol.

Osipenko afterwards said that her record flights were a fulfilment of a promise she made to Stalin to fly higher, faster, and farther than any other woman in the world.—*Exchange*.

#### WOMEN'S LEGION

Another plan to enable women to assist the R.A.F. is being prepared by Lady Loch, head of the aviation section of the Women's Legion in London. This section has been given official recognition by the Air Ministry.

#### WOMAN LIEUTENANT

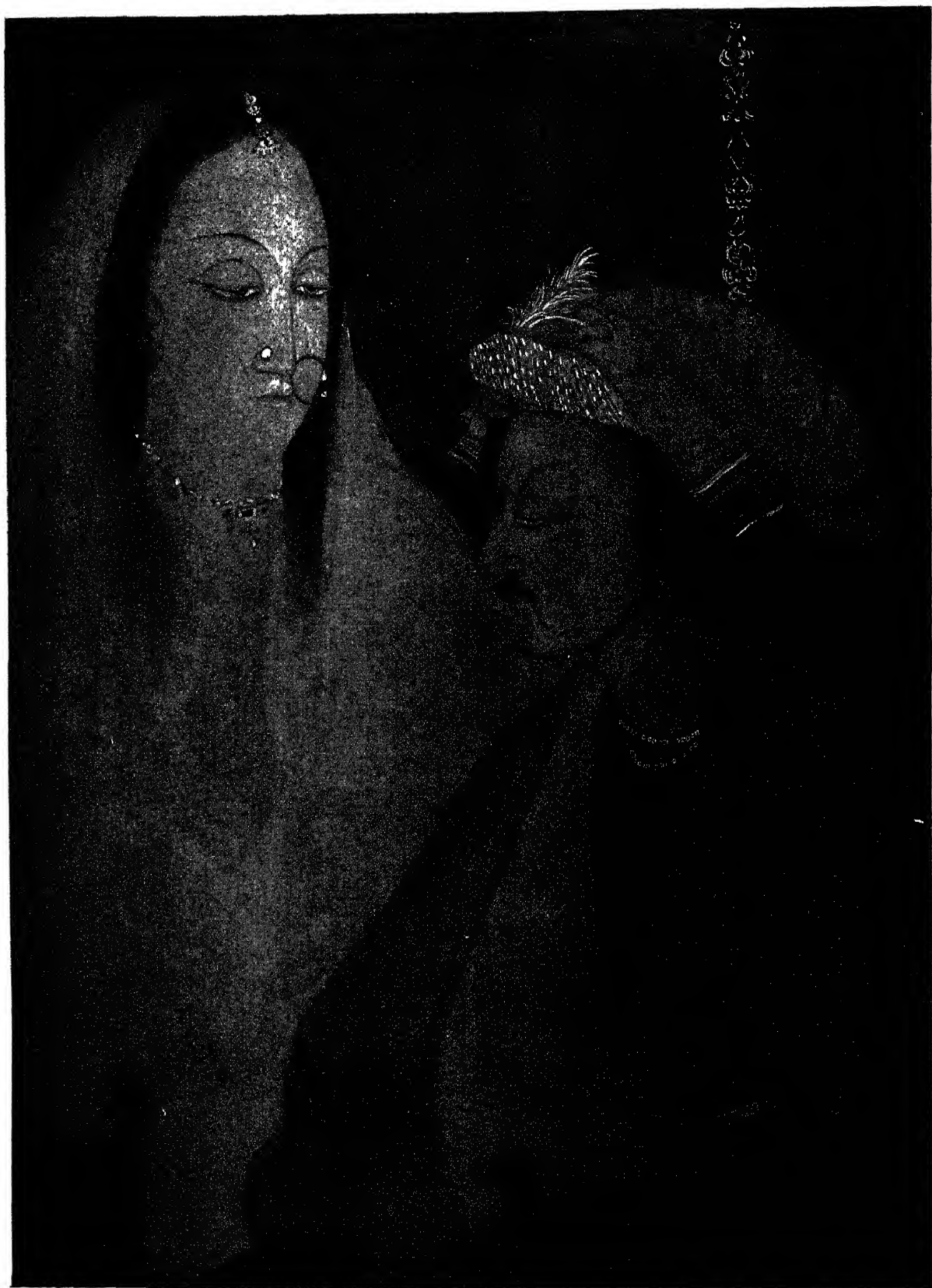
Eight years ago Polina Osipenko who was working on a farm in Russia, had never seen a plane. Now, a lieutenant in the Soviet air force and holder of three women's altitude records, she is to try for the international flying-boat record.

#### FREE FLIGHTS FOR WOMEN

An American Aviation Company is giving free flights to "wives," since a survey showed that "36 per cent. of wives do not want their husbands to fly, primarily because they themselves have never flown, and many have never visited an airport." The Company, therefore, invited the wives of men who like to fly to take a free trip with their husbands between San Francisco and Los Angeles.

In Tokyo, there is a Women's Club which gives flight over the city and a light lunch, all for Rupees Two. Will Mrs. Pandit organise a similar Air Club in India?





THE MONARCH AND HIS CONSORT  
By Paritosh Sen

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

# THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER



1938

Vol. LXIV, No. 4

WHOLE No. 382

## NOTES

### *Mahatma Gandhi's Seventieth Birthday*

We write this note before the celebration of Mahatma Gandhi's seventieth birthday has commenced anywhere. There is no question that everywhere it will be celebrated in an impressive manner. It is to be earnestly hoped that the pomp and circumstance which invariably mark such celebrations will not stand in the way of the participants' realizing what Mahatma Gandhi stands for and what he has worked for.

He has all along laid the greatest stress on truth and non-violence. There is much loyalty to truth and non-violence, which, it is evident from some of Gandhiji's recent writings, has given him pain and perhaps some sleepless nights. Unquestionably loyalty to truth should be whole-souled. So also loyalty to the principle of non-violence.

To eschew hatred and anger in thought, word and deed is a very difficult ideal to follow—one almost impossible of realization. But an earnest endeavour should, we feel, be made.

Personally we, who are very very far from the realization of this ideal, think that all use of force is not violence, though when force must be used the ideal is to use it without anger and hatred. In the present stage of human civilization, force has to be used for the prevention and suppression of anti-social acts, generally called crimes. There are certain occasions when even killing would be justified: for example, when a woman finds that she cannot save herself from

being ravished except by inflicting what may amount to even a fatal blow on her assailant, it would be quite right for her to do so. It is both her right and duty. If she be disabled, some one else coming to her rescue may also quite rightly do so, or rather ought to do so, if there be no other way to save her.

We cannot assert dogmatically that if, for maintaining or regaining the independence and freedom of a country, non-violent means prove ineffectual, recourse should not be had to armed force, though our conviction is that in the present circumstances of India, our struggle for freedom and independence can only be and ought to be absolutely non-violent.

The leading part which Mahatma Gandhi has taken in India's struggle for freedom and the way to success which he has pointed out have raised untold millions of Indians from the slough of political despondency. They may not all be his followers. But his teaching and example have filled their minds with a new hope and confidence. They feel that India can and will be free.

There are dissensions in Congress ranks, and even some of the leaders have not been true to the declared principles of the Congress—which is to be deplored. The Congress can lead India to her goal only by being strictly non-communal, democratic and nationalistic. Though Gandhiji is not infallible, just as other human beings are not, he is better qualified than any other Congress leader to call the Congress back to its true principles and to keep it loyal to them. Apart from any feelings of personal

attachment to him which numerous Indians have, mere selfishness must make us all wish him long life.

His devoted services to the "untouchables" are unsurpassed. He has made himself one of them. If others adore him while despising them, he cannot help it; he must be pained by it.

It would not be practicable—and it is not necessary, to recount all his services to the country and the world. The great impetus which he has given to village industries is known to the public. He has worked for the peasants and the factory workers without entertaining and rousing hatred against the landlords and the capitalists; and without hostility to the ruling princes he champions the cause of the disfranchised and oppressed people of the Indian States. He has been misunderstood for this kind of attitude and activity.

His services to world peace have been recognized by many in India and abroad, but not yet as generally as they deserve to be.

The purity, spirituality and simplicity of his life have given a new value to human personality, apart from accessories.

### *Question of India's Freedom "A Matter of Life and Death"*

"India is at present deeply concerned with the question of her own freedom, which is a matter of life and death for her and not so much with minor political details," said the Hon'ble Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, explaining the background of the Congress ideology at a conference of press representatives, mainly of Indian newspapers.

She deplored the complacency with which her arrival was made the occasion for reports indicating that everyone was happy with the working of 'provincial autonomy' in India. She said that this deeply pained her, as also such manifestations of ignorance as a statement in one press report that she started her daily round of activities with a yogic exercise, standing on her head, and that the United Provinces was a backward Indian State.

Backwardness and superstitions did not matter now, nor small amenities such as roads and parks, but only bread and butter and the free air of freedom. India was fighting for her independence and all her activities in the political field today were conditioned by that sole objective.

Questioned on the subject of the threat to the Czech democracy, and whether India as a protagonist of freedom would not choose to side with England in the event of a war for the protection of democracy,

she drew attention to the Congress resolution on the subject and added that the matter was for the people of India to decide, but this could only be done by an India

which was free to decide for herself. She asked if India could fight for a democracy, while democracy was denied to her, and said: "No, that is a contradiction in terms."

Questioned about her future programme, the Hon'ble Mrs. Pandit said that she would devote the next ten days to the matter of her health and the question of social activities, if any, would be decided later.—*Reuter*.

That the question of India's freedom is a matter of life and death for her children, is *literally* true, was shown by us in the last number of *The Modern Review* in the note on political subjection and length of life. The table of expectation of life in different countries given in that note proves to demonstration that in subject India people die on an average much earlier than in other civilized countries for which statistics are available. And all these countries are free and independent or almost independent or autonomous in their internal affairs.

Some months ago Mrs. Pandit had said that the kind of 'provincial autonomy' given to the provinces did not mean that they had obtained Swaraj. She did well to repeat that observation in London in different language. Recently Mr. Sampurnanand and other notable Congressmen have said similar things. As Swaraj has still to be won, all nationalists should concentrate attention on what is indispensably necessary for its attainment, refraining for the present from bringing to the forefront the particular fads or fancies of particular persons and groups.

Though some of the British newspapers are guilty of "manifestations of ignorance" in what they have written of her, deservedly high tributes have also been paid to her by others. For example, the *Manchester Guardian* has written:

Until last year only one woman in any part of the British Commonwealth had ever held Cabinet rank. Mrs. Vijaya Pandit . . . is Miss Margaret Bondfield's first successor, but, unlike Miss Bonfield, she holds two Ministerial posts in the Government of the United Provinces of India—those of public health and of local self-government.

Considering the energy with which the Government has been working since it took office in July, 1937, and the arduousness of Mrs. Pandit's duties (culminating in the weeks she spent touring through all parts of the province affected by the recent cholera epidemic), it is no wonder that the doctors ordered her to take 'three months' leave.

#### WORK IN THE HOME

Most women in India, she thinks, have little sympathy with women in political life, fearing that their homes are likely to be neglected. One reason why she had attained a certain measure of popularity among women was that they had seen her trying to run her house and look after her children in the ordinary way, and realized that her

political work had not prevented this. It was a big strain, but the women's movement would certainly be injured if people thought it wrong for them to enter political life. Mrs. Pandit gave a sketch of her ordinary day, making it clear that she could run her house and fully carry out her ministerial work.

Her three young daughters take a great interest and pride in her work, and so does her husband, who is a member of the Legislative Council. "If I am able to achieve any success," she said, "a large part of it will be due to my husband's co-operation and moral support."

Mrs. Pandit shared in the great awakening of Indian women that took place in 1930 . . .

"My father had died," she said, "and my mother, a woman of the old school, with her main interest in her home, gave up her whole life to the movement. My brother, my sister, and I were sent to gaol. I had an eighteen months' sentence, and spent the whole of 1932 in gaol. Then they attached my motor-car and remitted the last six months." . . .

One of the things she is doing as Minister of Health is to plan a network of small dispensaries all over the province to meet the needs of villages too far from hospitals . . .

Mrs. Pandit was an early advocate of nursery schools; she has recently started a training school for nurses, and she wants to establish a nursing service for the poor and for middleclass people in their own homes. While in England she wants to see what is being done here on the preventive side of public health.

### *Congress Swadeshi Exhibition*

Autumn is a season of rejoicing in India. In different parts of the country Hindus have festivals variously named Dussera (Dashahara), Durga Puja, Ram-lila, and so on. On these festive occasions members of the family, relatives, and dependents are presented with new articles of clothing, and sometimes with other things also. In no part of the year are greater purchases made than now. Now is the time, therefore, for pushing the sale of Swadeshi goods. Foreign articles attract buyers by their cheapness, finish, and gaudiness, though many of them do not last as long as country-made goods of the same description. Many persons again buy foreign articles of some kinds under the mistaken belief that Swadeshi goods of the same descriptions are not manufactured and cannot be had. Some unscrupulous shopkeepers also sometimes mislead customers.

Exhibitions of Swadeshi goods in this season are for these reasons particularly necessary and useful. Congress leaders in Calcutta rendered considerable service to the public and to the manufacturers of Swadeshi goods by holding a Swadeshi exhibition in the College Street Municipal Market last month. Not only were various kinds of goods exhibited there, but in addition demonstrations were given of the processes of manufacturing them. As the

entrance fee was only half an anna per visitor and batches of school girls and school boys were also admitted free, the number of persons who saw the exhibition was large, and there was much buying and selling.

### *Moving Exhibition of Swadeshi Goods*

If the Congress Swadeshi Exhibition was a success and served a useful purpose, much more spectacular and striking was the Moving Exhibition of Indigenous Products organised by the Commercial Museum of the Calcutta Corporation on the 4th September last. If busy or lazy men, or if ladies for some reason, or other, would not or could not see the Swadeshi Exhibition, here was the Exhibition brought to their very doors. They could see without any expense or trouble how many different kinds of things their enterprising countrymen were making for their use. Many of those who saw these articles for the first time had no idea that Indian manufacturers had succeeded to so large an extent.

A fleet of seventy motor lorries and 'buses, loaded with various kinds of country-made things, well arranged and displayed, glided smoothly and slowly through many important thoroughfares of the city, creating a sensation and drawing large crowds of curious spectators to the roadside and the roofs, balconies and verandahs of houses.

It is to be hoped the Commercial Museum of the Calcutta Corporation will repeat this successful experiment so that lasting results may be obtained, and that towns outside Calcutta and Bengal will emulate Calcutta's example. Most of our manufacturers and traders have not yet acquired the advertising habit, and even if they had, such moving exhibitions would have their value owing to their direct striking visual appeal.

It should be mentioned in this connection that the Eastern Bengal Railway authorities have been serving both the manufacturers and the buying public by their annual Puja moving shops.

Among the large number of firms which took advantage of the Moving Exhibition mention may be made of the following:

Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, Calcutta Chemical Co., Himani Works, B. K. Paul and Co., Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, Mohini Mills, Lily Biscuit Co., Banga Sree Cotton Mills, Sree Durga Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mills, Sterling Pharmaceutical Products Co., Bharat Electric Bulb Works, Bengal Electric Lamp Works, Bengal Waterproof Works, Ladeo, Nasco, Parijat Soap Works, F. N. Gooptu and Co., G. C. Law and Co., Bengal Enamel Works, Sur Enamel, India Electric Works, Jay



Engineering Works, J. P. Dutt and Co., Everest Engineering Co., Clyde Fan Co., Sreenath Mills, D. N. Bose's Hosiery, Kidderpore Hosiery, Deshabandhu Hosiery, Hari Hosiery Factory, Santosh Biscuit Co., M. L. Bose and Co., Bengal Immunity Co., Oriental Metal Industry, Standard Stationery Manufacturing, Orion and Co., Arya Bakery, Calcutta Mineral Supply Co., Darling Pump, Bengal Potteries, Suraj Mall Nager Mall, Panna Lal Seal Vidyamandir, Bangiya Diesel, Calcutta Expanded Metal, Calcutta Metal Manufacturing, Bengal Glass Works, New Indian Glass Works, Vax Institute, Calcutta Celluloid Works, R. B. S. Rubber Mills, Bengal Salt Works, Indian Salt Manufacturing, Lakshmi Narain Cotton Mills, Maya Products, Flash Lights, Nath Brass-ware, Bengal Scientific and Technical Works, Tropico Sensidising, India Rubber Goods and Murial Laboratory.

### *Unique "Convocation" in Patna Senate Hall*

In the Senate Halls of other Universities year after year degrees are conferred upon those who succeed in passing the Bachelor's degree and higher examinations. The Patna University Senate Hall recently witnessed a different, but not less important gathering for recognizing and rewarding pursuit of knowledge under difficulties.

The Hon'ble Dr. Syed Mahmud, Education Minister of Bihar, awarded prizes there to a batch of adults who were illiterate before but had become literate through the literacy campaign launched by him. The following passages are extracted from the impressive speech which he delivered on the occasion.—

I am extremely glad to be called upon to perform the most pleasant duty of giving away prizes to the first batch of those who a few months ago were steeped in the darkness of ignorance and in this short period of time through the devoted efforts of our student and teacher volunteers have been reclaimed to literacy and enlightenment. This great historic Hall has seen many distinguished gatherings and academic functions in which the highest academic honours have been conferred on eminent men of letters and science but never perhaps has this Hall witnessed a function which has been held to celebrate the success of hundreds of our unlettered adult countrymen in their efforts to seek knowledge and wisdom late in their lives. I have no doubt that today's function will be a turning point in the lives of these men and it will stimulate them to greater efforts for attaining a fuller and richer life.

To my newly literate brethren I take this opportunity of saying a few words. You have during the past few months shaken off your mental inertia and have, in spite of numerous demands on your time, come forward to receive the blessings of education and thus have set a noble example which will no doubt inspire others to follow in your footsteps. You must remember that you have taken upon yourself a great responsibility and that is to continue in the path of knowledge, a journey which you have just commenced. Let me remind you that you have another duty to perform and that is, not only to keep the torch of knowledge burning in your homes and hearts but also to illumine the darkness which today envelopes your fellow brethren. Let each one of you make a grim determination that by way of thanks-giving

for the knowledge which you have been able to acquire, you in your turn will pass it on to others. Thus in this crusade against illiteracy and ignorance, I have every hope that we will be able to count on the active support of this new army of adult literate volunteers which will immeasurably strengthen our teacher and student volunteers and lead us to victory.

I shall be failing in my duty if I fail to acknowledge publicly the splendid and devoted services rendered by thousands of our teacher and student volunteers who at the great sacrifice of their hard earned leisure worked hard in spite of all difficulties to make the movement a success.

### *United Provinces Literacy Schemes*

The U. P. Ministry for Education has a number of schemes under contemplation to spread literacy in the Province.

#### TEACHING OF ADULTS

First, the Ministry is requesting all teachers employed by local self-governing boards, numbering about 100,000 to give some of their spare time to the teaching of adults in their respective areas. For their good work, when this has been testified to by the Education Expansion Office and headmasters of district board schools, they will be awarded certificates of merit and appreciation by the Government, and for exceptionally good work they will be given cash bonuses, ranging from Rs. 15 to 50.

Secondly, those interested in spreading literacy are being asked to undertake regular educational work in the villages. They will be required to organize private schools in suitable village buildings. For their expenses, and as an honorarium, they will receive Rs. 10 per month from the Education Department.

Lastly, to utilize the services of those who may not be in a position to undertake whole-time educational work, the Education Department is planning to invite people to enlist as part-time workers. For every person made literate through their efforts they will receive Re. 1.

#### LIBRARIES AND READING-ROOMS

It has been found that those who leave school after learning to read and write often relapse into illiteracy for lack of opportunities and facilities to increase their meagre knowledge. Plans are, therefore, almost complete for the opening of 960 adults schools, 750 circulating libraries and 3,600 reading-rooms in villages in October, the aim being that within a radius of three or four miles there should be one reading-room, and that almost every village should be served by circulating libraries.

Each reading-room will be provided with at least one Urdu and one Hindi weekly paper, and magazines in Urdu and Hindi. For each library books worth Rs. 200 will be provided.

### *Experiments on Living Animals*

A British Home Office Return recently issued reveals the surprising fact that nearly a million experiments were performed upon living animals in 1937, or 96,793 more than in 1936.

Of these, only 40,319 were performed under anaesthetics. The report admits that "in many cases of experiments performed without anaesthetics the results were negative."

It is shocking that in the vast majority of these million experiments on living animals no

anaesthetics were used. What positive results beneficial to the human race were thereby obtained? Not that we admit that men have any right to torture the lower animals for human advantage.

### *Bombay's Compulsory Purchase of Lands Attached in 1931, And Return to Former Owners*

BOMBAY, Sept. 2.

It is understood that the Secretary of State for India has permitted the Governor of Bombay to accord previous sanction as required by Section 299 of the Government of India Act to the Congress Ministry's Bill seeking compulsory acquisition of lands confiscated during the Civil Disobedience movement from peasants of Gujarat and Karnatak.

In this connection it might be recalled that the Bombay Legislature passed a resolution approving of Government's policy of purchasing these lands at Government cost with a view to returning them to the original owners. As negotiations to acquire these lands were not very successful, Government proposed bringing forward legislation in the matter. The matter had to be sent to the Secretary of State for approval. According to the measures, the present owners of confiscated lands are to be paid the cost they paid for the land plus any expenses incurred in improving the lands, fifteen per cent by way of compensation and four per cent interest on the capital.

The example of Bombay should be followed in all other provinces where lands may have been confiscated for political reasons.

### *Persecution of Jews in Europe*

It is sickening to read of fresh measures of persecution of Jews in Italy, Austria, and Germany. The papers contained news of a fresh pogrom, too, in Russia. In Poland also they are persecuted.

A Christian poet wrote in a different connection, "Alas for the rarity of Christian charity under the sun" But neither 'charity' in the original biblical sense nor any other virtue is a monopoly of any religious community.

### *References to 'Chatterjee' in the Book on "Lenin and Gandhi"*

Our attention has been drawn to certain references to 'Chatterjee' in René Fülöp-Miller's *Lenin and Gandhi*, pages 290-293. The first of the sentences in which 'Chatterjee' figures runs as follows:

"The publicist, B. C. Chatterjee, editor of the *Modern Review*, declares that an independent India would never be able to maintain the hegemony over the Indian Ocean at present exercised by Delhi."

We do not know whether the opinions ascribed to Mr. B. C. Chatterjee on pages 290-

293 of *Lenin and Gandhi* are really his. We are concerned here with merely stating that they are not ours and never were, and that the name of the editor of *The Modern Review* is not B. C. Chatterjee.

If Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, really holds the opinions ascribed to him by the author of *Lenin and Gandhi*, it is only proper that he should get the whole credit for them.

We do not know whether this Note which we have written on *Lenin and Gandhi* will come to the notice either of the author of the original book or of the publishers of the English translation of the same. But we have written in the hope that the necessary corrections will be made.

### *Bengal Civil Liberties Union*

At the last second annual general meeting of the Bengal Civil Liberties Union an abstract of the honorary secretary's report of its activities during the last two years was adopted. Great credit is due to Sriut Sures Ranjan Chatterji, M.A., B.L., the honorary organising secretary, for his single-minded devotion to the work of the Union. The greater part of the abstract of the report is printed below. The first paragraph relates to the condition of detenus.

On the 22nd December the first statement of the Union was issued regarding the serious condition of several detenus attacked with Tuberculosis, and since then up till now 71 statements have been issued ventilating the grievances of more than a thousand detenus, internees, and persons under other restrictions imposed under lawless laws and also those of people whose Civil Liberties have been wantonly violated by the Executive Government, the Police or other Governmental Agencies in exercise of their powers under ordinary laws especially in connection with labour and peasant movements. The statements have urged for abolition of Repressive Laws and Release of Detenus and Political Prisoners, Modification of Press Laws, Arms Act, Sec. 124A I. P. C. etc. and for Prison Reform in the light of the Reforms that are being introduced in all civilized countries of the world. A special statement containing typical facts and outstanding figures was issued on the 27th Oct. 1937, when the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee met at Calcutta and a negotiation was being held between Mahatmaji and the Hon'ble Ministers. Facts and figures were specially prepared and supplied to Mahatmaji for the momentous pourparler between His Excellency the Governor and himself held at Barackpore on 9-11-37.

A Special Report, containing 132 pages of typed and printed matter, was placed before the London Conference on "Civil Liberties in India" held at the Transport House on October 7 of the last year under the presidency of Lord Listwell. This report contained the following chapters:—

- I. Repressive Laws.
  - A. Their Scope
  - B. Their Operation.
  - C. Condition of the detenus, etc.—Suicides, Deaths, Insanity, T. B. and other serious diseases, etc.
  - D. Number of several sets of prisoners under successive persecutions since 1915.
  - E. Miscellaneous.
  - F. Condition of Camps and Grievances of Male and Female Detenus.
- II. Press Laws.
  - A. Operation thereof in practice.
  - B. Books Proscribed.
- III. Civil Liberties as they are today: Chronicle of events since the inauguration of the New Constitution.
  - A. Repression as continued till now.
  - B. Lady Detenus and Political Prisoners.
- IV. Police Methods.
  - A. Fabrication of cases; Planting of Revolvers, etc.
  - (i). Midnapore Police Spy case.
  - (ii). Sylhet Revolver Planting case.
  - (iii). Revolvers and Explosives find case at Dacca.
  - (iv). Two other cases.
  - B. Char-Manair Report, 1923.
  - C. Police atrocities in districts during the Civil Disobedience Movement, 1932.
  - D. Summary of Chaygaon case.
  - E. Present Day Instances.
  - V. Beginning of the struggle for the rights of the people since 1905 in Bengal.
  - VI. Agonies of individual Detenus, etc.
  - VII. Tragic wails of families.

The substantial service to the credit of the Union is that

It was able to bring out to the public (i) the real condition that had been for a long time prevailing behind the prison-bars and at the domiciles in the forlorn corners of remote villages; (ii) that numerous families of Bengal had been disrupted under systematic repression carried out by a reactionary Government; and (iii) that police persecution continued still after release, making it almost impossible for our youths to settle down peacefully in life. The cumulative effect of all these may be said to be that a consciousness has been awakened to the magnitude of infringements of Civil Liberties, and the sensitiveness that grew blunt has been a bit keen as to the safeguarding of the rights of the people.

And a greater appreciation by the public of the province manifested itself in the formation of Branch Unions in districts which again gave clear indications of a growing awakening.

As regards repressive laws, it is stated:

Though the detenus have been released and restrictions withdrawn, the administrative policy of the Government remains reactionary as before and a whole series of repressive laws disfigure the Statute Book. There are again clear indications in the passing of the Army Recruiting Bill, that in days not very remote the engine of repression may be in full operation. A vast amount of literature is still under ban and organs of communication and expression of thoughts and opinions are still sought to be gagged. While in countries where there are National Governments Civil Liberties Unions are growing in number and strength, it is the duty of the people of this country to see that a Civil Liberties Union is maintained.

A Civil Liberties Union should certainly be maintained in Bengal in fully vigorous working order. It has done very useful and necessary work during the last two years.

The following office-bearers were elected for the session 1938-39:

President: S. J. Ramananda Chatterjee.

Vice-Presidents: S. J. Syamaprosad Mukherji, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, S. J. Sarat Chandra Bose, S. J. Hirendra Nath Datta, Prof. Nripendra Ch. Banerji, Mr. A. K. M. Zakariah and Prof. Minal Kanti Bose.

Secretary: S. J. Sures Ranjan Chatterji.

Jt.-Secretary: Prof. Benoyendra Nath Banerji.

Treasurer: S. J. Sutarman Sakseria.

### *The American Civil Liberties Union*

The United States of America is the greatest republic in the world in the old accepted sense of the word 'republic.' Its people enjoy great political liberty, and their civic rights, too, are enviable. Yet they have a Civil Liberties Union, and it has to be very active, too. This is enough to show how greatly the people of India, who are not free, require the services of Civil Liberties Unions in all provinces—particularly in provinces like Bengal and the Panjab, with branches in all districts.

As to the work of the American Civil Liberties Union, *Unity* of Chicago writes:

The American Civil Liberties Union has through twenty years of impartial, unprejudiced, courageous fighting built up for itself the reputation of being the foremost champion of civil rights in this country. It has never failed to come to the relief of any one, however humble or even disreputable, who has been denied full freedom of speech and press, as see its annual report just issued. In the very necessities of the case, its clients have frequently been Socialists, Communists, and other radicals who have of course been the first to suffer the worst at the hands of reactionary public authorities. It has been this insistence of the Union upon defending the liberties of those whom no one else would defend which has besmeared it at the hands of bigoted opponents with the charge of being "red." But the Union has championed quite as vigorously individual and groups of quite a different stamp—as for example, Roman Catholics, Jehovah's Witnesses, Ku Klux Klanners, and now capitalistic employers under indictment of the National Labor Relations Act.

This last instance is interesting! Under the terms of the Wagner Act (as the law is popularly called), especially as administered by the National Labor Relations Board, employers are denied the right to state any opposition to or criticism of trade unionism to their employees, to distribute circulars among them, to communicate with them in any way, shape, or manner. The employer within the area of his factory, and among the people on his payroll, must keep absolutely silent on all matters at issue between them. Recently, for example, an employer was indicted by the N. L. R. Board, and will in due course be punished, for the heinous offence of distributing among his employees a speech by a Congressman attacking the C. I. O. If

this isn't a denial of free speech, we should like to know what such denial is.

### Princely Sympathy and Munificence

DARJEELING, Sept. 9.

Information has been just received here that on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of his accession to the Premiership, His Highness General Sir Joodha Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, Maharaja of Nepal, has announced remission of the entire loan amounting to twenty lakhs of rupees, given to sufferers of the 1934 earthquake, and also refund of the amounts already paid.

On the news of this announcement reaching Darjeeling there was great rejoicing among the local Nepalese residents. A. P.

### Industrial Production in India

Commerce writes:

Official statistics available regarding the progress of industrial production in India during 1937-38 show satisfactory development. The progress that was noticed in the earlier two years, in the wake of general economic recovery, was maintained and even augmented in certain instances, particularly in the cotton mill industry. The following are the available statistics of production in some of the major industries:

Commodity	1936-37	1937-38
Cotton piecegoods (mil. yds.) ..	3,572	4,084
Iron and Steel (000 tons)		
Pig iron ..	1,552	1,644
Steel ingots ..	861	922
Finished steel ..	692	823
Sugar (000 cwt.) (11 months) ..	16,213	17,988
Paper (cwt.) .. ..	970,625	1,076,222
Coal (000 tons) .. ..	20,064	23,479
Jute manufactures (000 tons) ..	1,252	1,303

### Vidyasagar Memorial Hall at Midnapur

MIDNAPUR, Sept. 10.

The foundation stone of the Vidyasagar Memorial Hall was laid this morning by Professor Sir S. Radhakrishnan after Mr. B. R. Sen, I. C. S., had opened the proceedings and thanked the donors for their liberal contributions.

In the course of his speech Sir S. Radhakrishnan referred to Vidyasagar as an eminent educationist, social reformer and leader of Indian renaissance. "This renaissance is not the recapture of ancient ideal or renewal of ancient achievement but a dynamic readjustment of ancient ideals to modern conditions."

Tracing the history of Hinduism, he said that its essential spirit was movement and its dark days were those when its champions became advocates of stagnation. The great teachers of Hinduism were not the conservative upholders of existing outworn ideas but radical innovators of new ways of thinking and acting. Vidyasagar was a religious man. We have failed not because we have followed things spiritual but because we have not followed them sufficiently. We have created a gulf between spirit and life and rested in a compromise. Religion is not belief in routine and ritual. It is not a system of enactments and prohibitions based on undefined fears and sanctioned by terrific penalties. Bigotry and

superstition are mistaken for religion. It is a life of peace and love. Vidyasagar was a friend of women. He was a constructive patriot. His many-sided activities indicate his versatile genius and his passion for India's freedom.—A. P. I.

### Two Great Jews

Unity of Chicago records the death in July last of two of the world's greatest Jews—one in U. S. A. and the other in England. The former was Supreme Court Justice Cardozo, and the latter, Dr. Claude Goldsmid-Montefiore. The American weekly observes:

Amid the raging anti-Semitism of this hour, and the snailing prejudice and contempt of Jews, so prevalent even among those who would deny the taint of anti-Semitism, we think of these two men who make ridiculous every charge directed against their brethren. Glorious and indispensable to mankind is any race which can produce such sons.

### Doctorate for Ex-Vice-Chancellor

The Senate of the Calcutta University at its meeting on September 10 last conferred *honoris causa* the Degree of Doctor of Literature on Mr. Syama Prasad Mookerji.

Paying his tribute to the services rendered by Mr. Mookerji as Vice-Chancellor of the University, the Vice-Chancellor, Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, said he believed the entire Bengali community would welcome the conferment of this Degree on Mr. Mookerji, who had done so much for the cause of education in the province. Mr. Mookerji had left a mark in the history of education in this province and the Vice-Chancellor felt sure that the policy shaped by Mr. Mookerji would guide the activities of the University for many years to come.

This honorary degree is fully deserved.

### Mr. C. F. Andrews on Decentralization of Industries

Addressing the students of the Institute of Science at Bangalore Mr. C. F. Andrews dealt lucidly with the subject of over-population and spoke mainly about the way in which industrial and agricultural science might help to solve the problem or at least lessen the evil.

He pointed out that huge centralized industries of western type such as are found in Great Britain, United States and Germany might only increase the present misery.

True, but in certain places and under certain circumstances, they might not increase the present misery, but relieve it.

"What is needed," he said, "is rather some form of decentralization, whereby the villages themselves may become thriving homes of industry. This would increase the earning capacity of the villagers without taking them away from their homes."

This is very much to be desired wherever possible.

Two improved methods of village craftsmanship, said Mr. Andrews, might be aimed at: (1) the construction of

better machines which could be worked by the hand and foot and (2) the introduction of power through the transference of electricity from power stations.

The first method is practicable everywhere in India with regard to some village industries. The electrification method is practicable in provinces whose Governments have not been fleeced by the Government of India. It can hardly be adopted in Bengal so long as the legalised spoliation of this Province continues. Sir N. N. Sircar writes in his "Speeches and Pamphlets" (published in 1934), pp. 106-107:

The percentage of total Provincial Revenues which are retained in the Provinces are —

Bengal	..	30.3
United Provinces	..	78.4
Madras	..	69.5
Bihar and Orissa	..	92.8
Punjab	..	85.9
Bombay	..	40.7
Central Provinces	..	90.1
Assam	..	85.4

While slight corrections are necessary, as some part of Customs Revenue from maritime provinces is attributable to those inland, and a smaller portion of revenue from taxes is similarly attributable—yet the figures bring out clearly the condition of Bengal due to no shortcomings of her own.

Some further correction is necessary owing to Sir Otto Niemeyer's award. But after making all such corrections, one would find the relative wretched position of Bengal's finances unaltered.

With regard to iron and steel works Mr. Andrews saw little hope of any great decentralization. Everything should be done at such centres by careful town-planning to avoid making new slums. The Tata Steel and Iron Company had succeeded in this at Jamshedpur.

There may be other similar heavy industries, which must either be centralized in India by Indians or left in the hands of foreign manufacturers abroad for the exploitation of India.

On the other hand for lighter industries, there was a perpetual supply of skilled labour in the villages which was only being half-employed in agriculture. Just as in Denmark and Switzerland a new and thriving countryside had recently come into existence, owing to the revival of village industries combined with the use of electric power, so the countryside of India might take this form more and more in the future and thus lead on to a higher standard of living. Increase of spending power was likely in the end to mean a lower birth-rate. At the very least it would provide more food for those who were suffering badly today from malnutrition—U P.

We agree. Nothing would please us more than the revival of village industries through the use of electric power and improved cottage machinery. And we know that in the course of a few years some provinces will be able to supply electric power even to rural areas for agricultural and industrial purposes. We do not and will not envy them their good luck. But

what is to be done in and for the Provinces which owing to no fault or natural poverty of theirs have no public money for making arrangements for the supply of electric power both in towns and villages?

### *Distress Caused By Flood*

Owing to many rivers having overflowed their banks in Assam, Bengal, Orissa, Bihar and U. P., extensive areas are under water in these provinces, and in consequence there is great distress among the people. Vast multitudes are without food and shelter and proper clothing. It is very difficult to cope with disaster of such magnitude. The resources of both the people and the provincial governments may be taxed to the utmost, but both parties must try their best to be equal to the occasion.

Perhaps the floods have been the most extensive and destructive in Bengal, half the province (13 districts, to be precise) lying prostrate under the destructive fury of its rivers.

It is a proper occasion for the Central Government to come to the rescue of the provinces affected.

### *Control of Floods*

A Poona message says that the problem of flood control is being studied there under official auspices by the officers concerned.

This reminds us that, so far as we are aware, Dr. M. N. Saha's informative paper on river physics and river training contributed to the Sir P. C. Ray Seventieth Birthday Commemorative Volume was the first public discussion in India of the problem which called attention to its gravity. Since then he has contributed other papers on it to this *Review*. After the great North Bengal floods some years ago the Bengal Government asked Professor Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis, its meteorological officer, to study the question of floods and submit a report. He did study the subject in its various aspects, passed in review the rainfall statistics for decades and produced a remarkable report. But unfortunately owing to the Government having fixed a prohibitive price for it, it has been as good (or bad?) as suppressed. Writing from memory and not having the report before us—perhaps no Indian editor got a copy from the Government, we are unable to supply more details. But we are positive that any committee which may be appointed to study the problem of floods will derive great advantage from a study of this report. We believe an Orissa

Minister has had talks with Prof. Mahalanobis on the subject of floods.

Talking of Orissa, one cannot but recollect that some years ago Mr. C. F. Andrews made a special study of the Mahanadi floods. Provincial Committees in Orissa, Bihar, U. P., etc., appointed for the purpose, will do well to obtain as much help as possible from Mr. Andrews, along with advice from Sir M. Vivesvarayya and other engineers.

Dr. Nalin Kanta Bose, Ph. D. (Göttingen), has also scientifically studied the subject.

In Japan a committee of engineers and other experts have drawn up a scheme for the conservation and control of rivers. The physical and geographical conditions in Japan are not the same in all respects as in the Indian provinces affected by floods. Nevertheless there must be similarities. The Japanese ideas concerning widening and deepening the river-beds, re-opening covered and silted-up rivers, elevation of railway bridges where necessary, widening and re-opening of culverts, and the like should receive the earnest consideration of our experts and authorities.

Many of our large rivers flow through more provinces than one. For this reason, the Central Government should co-operate with the Provincial Governments and co-ordinate the latter's endeavours.

Since the above was in type we have seen in the September number of *Science and Culture* a letter on "Floods and Prediction of Flood Levels by River Models" contributed by Dr. Nalini Kanta Bose of the Irrigation Research Laboratory of Lahore.

### *Bengal Bill to Muzzle Press and Public Opinion*

A bill, named the "Bengal Official Records Bill", was published in an extraordinary issue of the official *Calcutta Gazette* on September 1 last. It is said in the statement of objects and reasons:

A growing tendency has been noticed, both in the press and on the platform, to give unauthorised currency to the contents of unpublished state documents. This tendency has rendered imperative the necessity of taking legislative measures to suppress the dissemination in the press and on the platform of the contents of unpublished records of Government unless after due authorisation."

Its penal provisions may be summarized thus:

The provisions of this Bill are calculated to penalise, with imprisonment, editors of newspapers which may publish 'any unpublished official record relating to any affairs of State' or any related matter or any comment thereon, except with the previous permission of the

Provincial Government. The keepers of the presses in which such newspapers are printed will be severally liable.

Any person revealing such records or commenting on them on the public platform is also proposed to be similarly dealt with.

Where a newspaper may be the victim of the penal clauses, the Government may either forfeit any security it may have deposited or may even declare the press to be forfeited to the Government.

One can understand that the unauthorized and premature publication of military plans, army manœuvres, and the like may injure the State and the public and may, therefore, be penalised. Or, let us take another kind of official information which must be kept secret in the interests of the State. In paying a compliment to the trustworthiness of Indian officials, high and low, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, Finance Member of the Government of India, said in the course of a speech in 1913:

"Three years ago when it fell to my lot to impose new taxes, it was imperative that their nature should remain secret until they were officially announced. Everybody in the department had to be entrusted with this secret. Any one of these, from high officials to low paid compositors of the Government Press, would have become a millionaire by using that secret improperly. But even under such tremendous temptation not one betrayed his trust. So well was the secret kept that a ship laden with silver in Bombay delayed unnecessarily its unloading for three days and was consequently caught by the new tax."

It is not the divulging of only official information of the kinds indicated above that the Bill penalizes. If passed into law it will enable the Government to punish the divulger of any kind of official information which the Ministry or other officials may wish for their own convenience and interest to keep secret. It will not be necessary for the prosecution to prove that its divulgence has injuriously affected the interests of the State or the public. On the contrary, let us give a few examples of the kind of official information whose unauthorized publication was in the public interest, but which the Bill, if it becomes law, will penalise hereafter.

Lord Curzon's proposal for the partition of Bengal was subjected to severe criticism in a minute by Sir Henry Cotton, then Chief Commissioner of Assam. The former ordered that that minute should not be published. But it was published by Surendranath Banerjea in defiance of that order in his *Bengalee*. He thereby promoted public good. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* also published secret official information on several occasions, relating, for example, to Kashmir, Gilgit, Bhopal, etc., thereby serving the public but incurring the wrath of the powers that be. In recent times the *Hindusthan*



*Standard* has done quite the right thing by publishing two successive drafts of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill. Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, M.L.A., in his speech at the Calcutta University Institute on the 1st September last read out extracts from a secret report of a Press Officer of the Government of Bengal and the following extract from a Note of the Bengal Chief Minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq :

"In my opinion we should at once undertake legislation to compel newspapers to reserve two columns at any rate for the publication of Governmental matters. If we cannot give them sufficient matters to fill the two columns, they will still keep the unutilised portions vacant in order to show that these columns have been reserved entirely for Government publications. It is on these conditions we can allow the press to function in our country."

The extracts read out by Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose have not injured either the State or the public. On the contrary, they have warned the public of possible dangers ahead. But if the Bill becomes law, no one will be able to publish such things hereafter without running the risk of being punished.

By the by, Mr. Bose has not told the public whether Mr. Fazlul Haq's note contained any proposal for paying the newspapers for the reservation of two columns and whether Mr. Haq wanted also to lay down the condition that the papers must not criticise what appeared in these columns !

### *Congress Resolution On Defence Expenditure Carried*

SIMLA, Sept. 13.

By 74 votes to 35, the Central Assembly carried the Congress Party's resolution urging immediate constitution of a committee of the Central Legislature with an elected majority to examine the arrangements in force for the control of Defence Expenditure and suggest means of reduction in defence costs.—U. P.

### *Bengal Legislature and Calcutta University*

It is welcome news that the Government of India have informed the Government of Bengal that according to the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, the Bengal Legislature is not competent to undertake any legislation affecting the Calcutta University. The reason obviously is that the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University extends over two provinces, namely, Bengal and Assam. It is further reported that the Government of India does not at present intend to initiate any legislation in the Central Legislature affecting

the Calcutta University. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, the Prime Minister of Bengal, will therefore have to give up for the present his intention to rush his reactionary and communalism-ridden Secondary Education Bill through the Bengal Legislature.

### *Ten-Year Journalistic Fame*

Browsing through the pages of Miss Ullman's volume entitled "A Portrait Gallery of American Editors" Mr. Reginald T. Townsend was reminded of John Farrar's remark at the luncheon table that the average editor's span of greatest usefulness averaged ten years—at the most fifteen. That is what Mr. Townsend writes in *The Saturday Review of Literature*. He proceeds :

Applying John's yardstick to the Editors in Miss Ullman's book, we found it amazingly correct. Of the forty-three Editors at the height of their power thirteen years ago but two out of the entire group, in this year of grace 1938, are still editing the same or, for the most part, any magazine. And of the thirty-nine magazines then published, thirteen had suspended publication entirely and several others had been merged or in the case of "Life" had changed their character entirely. Nine of the Editors were dead—two by their own hand—two had retired, one was editing the Sunday Section of a daily newspaper, and of nine we could find no trace. The remaining thirty had quit journalism entirely for other and we trust more substantial occupation. One had become Governor of a New England State; another Vice-President of a large Public Utility Company; several had gone into the more lucrative fields of advertising or public relations; two or three more fortunate than the rest, perhaps, were receiving pensions for their years of work, but there were several others still among the ranks of the unemployed.

So, now-a-days, when a young man or woman suggests taking up editing as a profession, I merely hand them the book with the summary. Not that it will do any good, for youth is ever (fortunately for the world) optimistic.

### *Dr. N. B. Khare's Affair*

The speeches delivered, statements made, letters in the press published, and the leaders and notes written by editors against and for Dr. N. B. Khare, ex-premier of C. P. and Berar, and the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee and Working Committee have attained unusual proportions—bidding fair to become a modern Mahabharat, with its Kurukshetra at—(?). The Congress President, wishing perhaps to deliver the *coup de grace*, indited a very long defence of the Working Committee's action. But alas! Dr. Khare has come out again with a rejoinder.

It cannot but be admitted that both these gentlemen have super-abundant energy.

### *A British Paper on Dr. Khare*

*News Review*, "the first British News-magazine" writing on "hairy" Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel (but printing at the same time his bald-headed portrait !), writes:

To prove the complete power he had gathered into his hand, Patel could have found no more redoubtable victim than Premier Khare, first Congressman to head an Indian Cabinet. Wealthy surgeon Khare was an old gaol-mate of the Mahatma's. Of Brahmin family noted for its fighting stock, he won himself an early reputation as a dangerous man to cross.

Beside running his own practice he found time to edit *Tarun Bharat* (Young India), most intransigent of Indian Nationalist news organs. He is an inveterate smoker of expensive English cigarettes, sacrificed an income of 20,000 rupees a year to head the Central Provinces Ministry with an income of a mere Rs. 6,000 and an occasional scolding from Sardar Patel.

### *"Patel's Broom"*

The same British newspaper gives other hits, either substantial or spicy, about Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel, e.g.:

Most ruthlessly unorthodox member of India's nationalistic Congress Party is its "shadow" leader, hairy Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel. When elected President of the municipality of Ahmadabad, a northern cotton town, he secured a broom and ostentatiously swept the public lavatories and streets. More recently he has devoted much energy to cleaning up graft, slackness and political chicanery in the seven Provinces controlled by Congress.

Last week broom-wielder Patel raised the dust even in the far-away corridors of Whitehall's India Office. Wires buzzed with reports that he was sweeping Congress along the way to Fascism.

This confirmed the suspicions of British officials that Congress, in opposition to the All-India Federation Plan, is grimly attempting to establish a parallel government to the Raj.

How effectively the organizing has progressed was shown recently when the powerful Congress Working Committee calmly assumed the prerogatives of Central Province Governor Sir Frank Wyles. Kicked out of office with no more ceremony than is required to fire an office boy was recalcitrant Premier Dr. Khare.

### REVOLUTION

Dismissal of provincial Premiers is one of the functions reserved under the Constitution Act of 1935 to the Governors. The Congress coup, therefore, came as the climax to a series of defiant gestures.

Since its foundation 52 years ago by retired British Indian Civil Servant Octave Hume, National Congress has reached its maximum irritation to Britain under the rules of pacific Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Socialist Subhas Bose. Ascetic Patel (55) the most powerful man in India today, is responsible for the party's latest tactics.

A barrister of the Middle Temple, Sardar Patel prefers parlour meetings to platform work. In his political armoury he carries three weapons: biting sarcasm, quiet intrigue, organizing genius.

An unwavering believer in the doctrines of Gandhi, Patel follows his master in every detail. When Gandhi

once criticised his moustache he shaved it off—but grew it again later.

In a land of ascetics, he is outstanding for frugality. He breakfasts on a pint of cow's milk and a handful of nuts, for lunch and dinner rarely eats more than a few vegetables, a little home-baked bread, some ghee (clarified butter) and a sip or two of lentil soup. Never will he touch a curry, tea or coffee, alcohol or tobacco.

### *Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit*

Similarly it is said of Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, United Provinces Minister :

Dark-haired Minister Lakshmi has planned to visit France. With her she brought four grey cases, packed with two dozen vari-hued Indian saris, a few cotton bodices and an overcoat.

Did Britishers expect her to have red, golden, or flaxen hair, we wonder !

### *"Outlawing Anti-recruiting Activity"*

The British paper from which we have made extracts in the foregoing notes makes no secret of why Britain maintains an army in India for which India has to pay, nor of how Moslems are played off against non-Moslems.

To keep India safe for the British the Indian Army maintains a strength of 57,045 Britons and 159,200 native-born troops. With every three Indian battalions a British one is quartered.

As for the composition of the Indian troops it is stated:

Steeped in warlike tradition, India's Moslem Sikhs provide the bulk of native recruits; fewer each year come from the less martial Hindu Nationalists.

"Moslem Sikhs" is delicious. Both Moslems and Sikhs will appreciate it. The British critic conceals the fact that the British Government has long stopped recruitment from the "Hindu Nationalists."

About the debate on the army recruiting bill, now an Act, the paper observes:

Last week when Home Minister Reginald Maitland Maxwell's Bill to outlaw anti-recruiting activity was being debated in the Central Legislative Assembly, the Government had good reason to bless this fact.

In the CLA Hindu Nationalists and the Moslem League together control a clear majority of the 145 seats. Only when one group can be played off against the other can Viceroy Linlithgow's 40 nominated members push through their own proposals.

Then comes a description of the playing off.

Taking advantage of the opportunity to flay British foreign policy, Congressman Satya Murthi declared that eventually Indian soldiers would have to be used to bolster it.

While the Chamber still echoed with his taunts, Moslem Leaguer Maulana Zafar Ali rallied to Mr. Maxwell's aid. Two facts prompted his decisions: (1) Congressman Murthi's native province of Madras provides

the lowest quota of soldiers to the Indian Army; (2) his own Punjab furnishes the highest.

Announcing his party's support for the Bill, even though it meant re-enacting legislation which the Assembly had repealed three years earlier, Maulana Zafar Ali helped to secure its passage by the Assembly.

Moslem Leader Jinnah fully approved Ali's stand. He made clear, however, that Moslem support did not imply permission to use Indian troops against the will or interests of India.

Precious little does Mr. Jinnah care for India's interests! And he knows as well as the merest tyro in Indian politics that, as things stand, India has no power either to withhold or give permission for the use of the Indian army in any way which Britain likes. So what he said was mere eyewash or bluff. It has become quite plain from a subsequent statement of his that he voted as he did (along with his followers) in the economic interest of the Moslem sepoys, recruits and would-be recruits. But thereby he did not promote even the economic interests of the whole or even the bulk of the Muhammadan community. For outside the Panjab & N.-W. F. P. Moslem recruitment is nil or almost nil—Bengali Moslems, who are the largest linguistic group of Indian Mussalmans, not being taken into the army.

Mr. Jinnah is being adversely criticized by many Moslem leaders, including prominent members of the Moslem League.

### "Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1938"

What is generally known as the Army Recruitment Bill is now an Act of the Central Legislature. Clause (3) of Section 1 of the Act runs as follows:—

It shall come into force in a province on such date as the provincial Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, appoint in this behalf for such province.

As the Act provides "for the punishment of certain acts prejudicial to the recruitment of persons to serve in, and to the discipline of, His Majesties Forces," and as recruitment is practically confined to two or three provinces, it will not be necessary to issue the aforesaid notification in eight or nine provinces. Congress policy now prevails in eight provinces. Hence, the issue of such notification is sure to be resisted by the ministries in eight provinces. It will be discreet for the executive government of those provinces to avoid any deadlock which may result from any attempt to issue such notification.

Section 2 of the Act provides,

2. Whoever—

(a) With intent to affect adversely the recruitment

of persons to serve in the Military, Naval or Air Forces of His Majesty, wilfully dissuades or attempts to dissuade the public or any person from entering any such Forces, or . . . shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

This is penalising mere dissuasion. Practical prevention is a more serious offence than dissuasion. The authorities in India concerned with its defence practically prevent the inhabitants of the whole of India from joining the naval and air Forces and the inhabitants of by far the largest portion of India from joining the land Forces. This ought to be penalised by some law, national or international.

### *A Great Journalist's Warning to Journalists*

In a considerable number of what are commonly called civilized countries, freedom of the press does not exist. Among those in which it does exist Britain occupies a prominent place, and Britain is a really self-ruling country, too. But even in Britain a distinguished journalist like Mr. J. A. Spender apprehends that that freedom may be taken away or curtailed unless his brother journalists are careful. So he has uttered a note of warning, which is to be found in the subjoined extract from the *Manchester Guardian*. It is far easier for the powers that be to forge fetters for the press in India than in Britain. So we journalists should be careful not to give any handle to the enemies of freedom unnecessarily. The *Manchester Guardian* writes:

'These are times of very real peril for the freedom of the press,' declared Mr. J. A. Spender in an address on March 7 on 'The journalist and the public' to the extinguished in one-half of the world, and in the other Institute of Journalists in London. 'It is totally half there are enough enemies of liberty who will gladly seize any handle that we may give them. I would appeal to those who may not have reflected on this matter to bear in mind that a very few false steps may seriously prejudice the liberties which are the common cause of the whole profession.'

'On the question of manners it is useless for any of us to set up our own standards against the accepted code of good feeling and good taste. The accepted standards will prevail whatever we do. I do urge that we should do our utmost to uphold these standards and to protect our own members from any pressure that may be put upon them to depart from them.'

Referring to the Journalists (Registration) Bill, brought forward by the institute, Mr. Spender said that the House of Commons had been incensed by certain recent incidents and by the defiant claim of certain newspapers to do exactly what they chose. The press might think itself fortunate if some clever young M. P. did not draft a bill by which the House of Commons would impose its own discipline on the journalistic profession, and pass it through as a private member's bill.

'We think it to be the far better way,' Mr. Spender went on, 'that we should be given the means of setting our house in order than that public authorities should undertake that task for us. We do not trust officials, who may obtain power to correct our manners, not to use it to stop our voices.'

'In this country the liberties of the press are never likely to be demolished by a frontal attack, but they may be undermined and grabbed away on the plausible excuse of stopping abuses which we ourselves are unable to defend. The French press in the last few months has been threatened with a measure making any writing which may damage the national credit or send capital abroad a penal offence. The necessity of such a measure may be argued in the most persuasive and plausible terms, yet there is hardly anything which, in the hands of an arbitrary executive, it could not be made to cover.'

### *History of Bengali Lexicons*

CALCUTTA, Sept. 19.

It is reliably understood that the Griffith prize of the University of Calcutta for 1937 has been awarded to Prof. Kali Kinkar Dutta, Professor of History, Patna College, and to Mr. Jatindra Mohon Bhattacharya for two original theses on Indian History and on the Bengali lexicon respectively.

It is understood that it is for the first time that a comprehensive, systematic and scientific attempt has been made by Mr. Bhattacharya to trace the growth and development of the Bengali lexicon from the year 1743, i.e., several years even before the battle of Plassey. Mr. Bhattacharya has been able to refer in his original theses to as many as 150 different volumes of Bengali lexicons between 1743 and 1867.

Mr. Bhattacharya has dealt with indices of words given in different volumes, their philological treatment, the unpublished manuscripts of eight different lexicographers, and their lives. The last chapter of the thesis deals with the development of the Bengali language since 1838 and an attempt has been made to demonstrate how the Bengali language was used as the court language of the province. Mr. Bhattacharya also refers to the pioneering attempts made by Rev. Long, that immortal missionary litterateur, who made the cause of the province his own, and also State papers in this direction.

Mr. Bhattacharya hails from the district of Sylhet, which, although Bengali in all respects, belongs politically to the province of Assam. He is the Ramtanu Research Scholar of the Calcutta University and is the author of two volumes published by the University.—*United Press*.

### *"Making a Fetish of Congress Resolutions"*

In the course of a defence of the Madras premier Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's use of the Criminal Law Amendment Act for suppressing the anti-Hindi agitation in the Tamil-speaking parts of the Madras Presidency Mahatma Gandhi observes that we must not make a fetish of Congress resolutions. As a general proposition that is correct. They are not sacrosanct. They may and should be done away with if found to be wrong, and they may and should be ended or amended if changed circumstances so require. But so long as any Congress resolution remains in force, that is to say, so long as it has

not been withdrawn, reversed, or altered, Congressmen are bound to act according to it. Therefore, Congressmen should try to put an end to all repressive laws, instead of having recourse to them for their convenience. This the Madras Premier has not done. On the contrary a Madras M.L.A.'s bill for the repeal of the particular repressive law in question has been opposed by the Madras ministry.

It is not to be thought that we either support or justify the persecution to which Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has been subjected. We do not. We think he might have promulgated an ordinance to get rid of the nuisance and later have had recourse to legislation, if necessary. And he ought to have repealed or agreed to the repeal of the repressive law in question, which Mahatmaji speaks of as a monstrosity and which Congressmen opposed and condemned when passed.

While no persecution of anybody should be allowed, the anti-Hindi agitators should be allowed the fullest liberty to carry on their propaganda and agitation along constitutional lines.

### *Gandhiji's Wrong Analogy*

In order to justify the compulsory teaching of Hindustani in Madras Presidency Mahatma Gandhi has brought in the analogy of the compulsory teaching of Latin in schools in England. We do not know whether Latin is still compulsory in English schools. But assuming that it is, the analogy is not correct. Latin may be compulsory in English schools, because a very large number of English words are derived from Latin roots, because many scientific, philosophical and other words have to be coined from Latin roots, because Christian (particularly Roman Catholic) divine services were and still are to some extent performed through the medium of Latin, because the Latin Vulgate is an important translation of the Christian scripture, because knowledge of Latin was and still is a mark of culture in Europe and because the rich Latin literature has to be studied in Europe as a part of the Humanities.

So far at least as the languages prevalent in the Madras Presidency and the people of the Madras Presidency are concerned, Hindustani does not occupy the same position as Latin does in England. It will not be incorrect to state that it does not occupy the same position anywhere in India.

It should also be borne in mind that Latin is not, was not and was never proposed to be made the *lingua franca* of Britain.

If any one proposed to make the study of

Sanskrit compulsory in any Indian province—in even the Madras Presidency, it would be in some respects like making Latin compulsory in England. It is not necessary to elaborate our observation. In very many respects Sanskrit occupied and occupies in India the place which Latin did and does in Europe. Mrs. Radhabai Subbarayan once made some such proposal. Recently Mr. Sampurnanand, education minister of U. P., has pointed out the desirability of introducing Sanskrit words into Hindi. That can be done only by those who know Sanskrit.

### *A Congress Daily in U. P.*

We are glad that the United Provinces Congress party has again got a properly equipped daily organ. Every distinct party should have its organ. The aims, ideals and opinions of all schools of politics should find expression, and comments on current events in accord with these should be published for the guidance of the public.

We cordially welcome the appearance of *The National Herald* and wish it all success.

### *A Lesson From the Starting of a Congress "English" Daily*

We have never been against India having a *lingua franca*. Our opinion is and has always been that it would have been very convenient if we had a common language. But we have also expressed the opinion that, as circumstances now stand, *it is not necessary for winning Swaraj* that we should have an Indian common language and that we should not make such efforts to have one as to cause dissensions among us standing in the way of a combined struggle for freedom and diverting attention from it. Of course, there is no objection to endeavours free from the element of compulsion. When the Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala delegates demanding separate provinces pressed their demands on the Congress Working Committee, they were told in effect that their wishes would be attended to after Swaraj had been won; and in the meantime they should not do anything which would divert attention from the main endeavour of the Congress. That is exactly our point of view.

All All-India publicity and propaganda work of the Congress is done through the medium of English—at least in the first instance. We do not say that this is a desirable state of things. What we say is that it is a fact. If it be a shameful fact, which we deny, that does not make it less of a reality. Mahatma Gandhi

makes his views known through the medium of English in order to gain the ear of all educated people in India and abroad. As for those who do not know English, Congress views and Mahatma's views reach them through the medium of different provincial languages, of which Hindi (or Urdu, or Hindustani) is one. So for carrying on the struggle for freedom under the present circumstances English and the different provincial languages are found to be sufficient. That is a fact.

And now, even in the United Provinces, of which Hindi (or Urdu or Hindustani) is the mother-tongue, the Congress party has published its well-equipped daily, *not* in the mother-tongue, but in English. It should be borne in mind that our provincial dailies have the largest part of their circulation in the provinces of their publication. So the *National Herald* will circulate mostly in U. P., and to some small extent elsewhere. Hence, for provincial circulation it might have been a Hindustani daily. But if it had been a Hindi paper it would not have been read by pure Urdu-walas, and if it had been an Urdu paper, it would not have been read by pure Hindi-walas. And a bi-lingual or bi-scriptal paper starts with a great handicap. An English paper has no such drawbacks. And undoubtedly if the promoters of this daily had not been convinced that English would suffice for their purpose and serve their purpose better than either Hindi or Urdu or both *in the unilingual province of U. P.*, they would not have decided to conduct it in English.

The U. P. Congress party seem to say, "For the purposes of our province of which the mother-tongue is Hindustani, we prefer to use English rather than Hindustani." But All-India Congress policy says, "The people of Madras and other provinces whose mother-tongue is not Hindustani must learn and use it."

Our opinion stands that *under present circumstances* it is not necessary for carrying on the struggle for freedom to have an Indian language as India's *lingua franca*.

### *"Occupation Day" in the Philippines*

The American forces occupied Manila, the capital of the Philippine Islands, forty years ago on the 13th August, 1898. That day was celebrated this year by the Filipinos, not with feelings of resentment towards the United States of America but with friendly feelings; for Filipino independence is at hand and both the Americans and Filipinos are preparing for it in co-operation. The proclamation of Manuel L.



Quezon, President of the Philippines, on Occupation Day, began thus:

" . . . Whereas that day inaugurated in the world a new conception in the relationship between a sovereign country and a dependency;

"Whereas, during the space of forty years there has been developed in our beloved country a state which is now in its final stages of preparation to take its place amongst the sovereign nations of the world; and

"Whereas it is deemed just and fitting that the Filipino people render honor to the great democracy of the United States of America for the unparalleled progress and development that have been the fruits of her policy."

His address on the occasion contained the following passage addressed to the United States High Commissioner McNutt:

"Mr. High Commissioner: As a symbol of the endless friendship that binds together our two peoples, I wish to present to you, Sir, for your exalted leader, the President of the United States, these two flags—that of your own country and that of the new country to which it has given birth. The tie that binds us together, which they represent, does not depend on an alliance, nor a declaration, nor a treaty. It consists of those eternal spiritual kinships and relationships which defy all quarrels, all oppositions, all aspirations. It is that extraordinary, indefinable longing for the same sort of things. Our aims, our hopes, our appreciations are the same. In the great moral causes, the great causes of righteousness, of liberty, of peace, the great causes which mean the perpetuation of the higher and nobler aims and purposes of life, the United States and the Philippines are in complete unison, not dominating nor conspiring against each other, but going on in perfect accord, because in the essential things we are in absolute and hearty agreement."

What a contrast to Indo-British relations and attitudes!

We are indebted to the *Philippine Magazine* for the passages quoted in this note.

### *Burma Riots Enquiry*

RANGOON, Sept. 17.

It is understood that the Council of Ministers, at a meeting today, selected the following as the personnel of the Riot Enquiry Tribunal:

Chairman: Mr. Justice Braund.

Members: Dr. M. A. Rauf, Senator A. Rahim, U Po Han, and U Khin Maung Dwe.

The Tribunal will begin its enquiry at the end of this month.

This Riot Enquiry Tribunal contains two Indian members both of whom are Mussalmans. They will be able, if they care to, to present the Indian point of view and the grievances of Hindus also. We know Dr. M. A. Rauf. He is a highly cultured gentleman of broad nationalistic outlook. Nevertheless, as the personnel has been fixed on a communal basis, it would have been better to include a Hindu member. But perhaps the Burma Government think the quarrel was more between Indian Moslems and Burmese Buddhists than between other Indians and the Burmese.

### *"Militant" Note in Congress President's Speech*

CALCUTTA, Sept. 13.

"Our fight for freedom is not simply against British Imperialism but also against those individuals or groups in our country which function as so many allies of imperialistic power. We must spot out such blacklegs from amongst our kith and kin and at first try to persuade them to join the fighting ranks for national emancipation. Should these endeavours not meet with the desired result, we should not hesitate to take drastic steps to amputate such diseased limbs from our body politic without being deterred by any form of sickly sentimentalism. For traitors, in the garb of friends, deserve to be dealt with more ruthlessly than open and avowed enemies."

This militant note was sounded by the Congress President, Mr. Subhas Bose, in the course of a speech on "Our Fight Ahead," at a largely attended public meeting held in North Calcutta this evening.

Continuing, President Bose stressed the imperative need for the cultivation of a spirit of discipline and implicit obedience by the rank and file in the Congress to the direction of veteran generals of the national army. In this connection he referred to the Khare episode, over which, he regretted to find a lot of fuss was being made in certain sections of his countrymen.

In a country like Germany, opined Mr. Bose, an act of indiscipline with which Dr. Khare stood charged, would have been dealt with by the offender concerned being blown off from the mouth of a cannon. But here in India they had let him off with only a resolution of condemnation.—*United Press*.

We are not in favour of using words like some of those used by President Bose. They rouse resentment unnecessarily. Mahatma Gandhi also said that in Germany Dr. Khare would have been shot. Such words may lead people to suspect that in India what stands in the way of political opponents being shot is not *ahimsa* or non-violence, but lack of the political power to shoot.

We venture to think that if Gandhiji and Mr. Bose considered it absolutely necessary to think and say what would have been done to Dr. Khare in a foreign country, they should have said what would have been done to him in U. S. A., Britain or France.

As for discipline and implicit obedience, perhaps the whole of this commodity should not be used up for the benefit of old sinners—a little of it may be reserved for younger persons as well.

### *India's Claim for Better Representation in League Secretariat*

GENEVA, Sept. 19.

Sir Shanmukham Chetty drew the attention of the League-administration to the inadequacy of representation given to the Indian nation in the League Secretariat and I. L. O. in the Fourth (Budgetary) Committee of the Assembly.

After recalling the point stressed on many past occasions, Sir Shanmukham Chetty added that they were



still dissatisfied with quantitative recruitments and still more with what he might call qualitative recruitments. He declared that "what would satisfy Indian aspirations is the appointment of some competent Indians in higher posts relating to the direction of control in the League."

Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty said that he did not suggest that this could be achieved by promoting junior members of the League Secretariat over seniors. What the administration must do was to get a competent Indian from the public services of India. He felt confident that among men occupying posts of responsibility in these services could be selected persons who could be trusted with any post of responsibility in the Secretariat.

He drew the attention of the administration to the need of giving more representation to Indian nationals when posts occupied by nationals of States who had withdrawn from membership of the League had become vacant. If public opinion in India was to be roused in favour of the League, it was essential that early steps be taken in this direction.—*Reuter*.

Readers of our Review since the last quarter of 1926 will remember that we were the first to point out the injustice done to India in the matter of the number and class of appointments made in the League Secretariat and the International Labour Office. It is not merely India's size and population which require to be taken into account, but her annual contribution to the League's expenses also.

### *Anti-Phooka Bill Passed*

It is welcome news that the Central Legislative Assembly has passed the Anti-Phooka Bill. It is to be hoped that it will be properly worked.

### *Early Publication of the Present October Issue*

As owing to the ensuing Durga Puja holidays we have to finish writing the Notes on the 23rd September, we are unable to comment on the deliberations of the Congress Working Committee, the All-India Congress Committee, and the Conference on the Bengali-Bihari question.

### *Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose on Communal Percentages in Public Services*

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, leader of the Congress party in the Bengal Assembly, has made a statement justifying the party's attitude *re* the distribution of jobs in the public services on a communal basis. He claims in effect to have made a "realistic approach" to the question.

The distribution of jobs on a communal basis is an extension of the 'principle' underlying the communal "Award." The "Award" distributed seats in the Legislatures on a communal basis and to a smaller extent on an occupational and racial basis. All nationalists, including Congressmen, condemned it as anti-national and

anti-democratic. Congress, however, neither accepted nor rejected it. That was in our opinion the first defeat inflicted on it by imperialistic strategy. In the case of the extension of the "Award" to the sphere of the public services, the Bengal Assembly Congress party, as represented by Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, does not reject the 'principle' underlying the "Award." It may be realistic politics in the sense that the imperialist British Government has created a situation to which that party is obliged to surrender. But it also is a defeat at the hands of the British imperialists.

We do not at all want that Moslems and the depressed class Hindus should not have an increasing share of the public services. What we want is that they should have it by means of educational advancement and increasing fitness. That is no doubt a slower process than giving them a fixed and "weighted" share of the jobs, even if that results in injustice to and deprivation of fitter candidates among "caste" Hindus, Christians, etc. But that is the only equitable way to lasting results. There is no question that some Moslems and some depressed class Hindus are as fit as "caste" Hindus. But a rule that 60 per cent must be Moslems and 20 scheduled Hindus must inevitably result in the appointment of many unfit and comparatively less fit men. That would result in diminished efficiency in the public services. Efficiency has already suffered, *e.g.*, in the educational services. Communal outlook has become evident even among some members of the magistracy and judiciary, affecting their impartiality. The police force has been becoming less efficient and reliable in the case of certain classes of crime.

Mr. Bose advises "caste" Hindu young men to take to industries and agriculture. We should like some one to introduce and get passed a bill in the Assembly to give them a fixed proportion of the land in east and north Bengal districts, no matter if thereby Moslem peasants were deprived of some of their land! Of course, every one will say that that would be an outrageously unjust proposal. And so it would be. But if it be just to deprive men who are fitter for the public services in favour of those who are less fit, it would be equally just to deprive efficient farmers of their land (which according to Congress ideology belongs to the Nation) in favour of less efficient farmers. We should like Mr. Bose also to try to give a fixed proportion of the steamer services jobs to the Hindus, now monopolized by the Mussalmans, and also redistribute occupations and crafts on a communal basis. We know this cannot be done. And we

know it is easier to deprive Hindus of occupations for which they have fitted themselves, without giving them any compensating advantage in occupations for which others have fitted themselves. Mr. Bose will also do well to persuade the Government to give scholarships to caste Hindus for industrial education, as Moslems and scheduled Hindus are being given many scholarships for medical and general education.

That the public services maintain a very small percentage of the population is true. So does most other occupations, including the law. And, therefore, following Mr. Bose's line of argument, one might say to caste Hindus: "This occupation maintains 1 per cent., the second occupation maintains .5 per cent., a third .3 per cent., and so on; and therefore you should deprive yourselves of the opportunity of making a living by them. They are trifles. Take to agriculture." But unfortunately very many millions are already there living upon the land, and they cannot be taught the lesson of self-sacrifice.

Mr. Bose tries to clinch his argument by means of the following illustration:

There is nothing which rankles more bitterly in the mind of the educated Bengali Hindu than the stigma of his supposed military inferiority and incompetence. Yet the fact is unassailable that for the last hundred and fifty years at any rate, whatever may have been the case in earlier times, the people of Bengal as a class have not served in the Army and have not been noted for their military capacity. What would a Bengali Hindu feel if that were put forward as a justification for the exclusion of Bengali Hindus from the Army? It is surely permitted to others to feel likewise under comparable disabilities.

Mr. Bose speaks of "comparable disabilities". Does he really mean that the exclusion of Bengalis from the Army is comparable with the *alleged* disabilities of the Bengali Moslems in the public services of Bengal? Even before the Government had laid down that 45 per cent. of the jobs must be given to them, there were many Moslems in these services. And now some branches, e.g., the inspecting branch of the education department, contains more Mussalmans than Hindus. Bengali Mussalmans in Bengal were never *excluded* from the public services for being Bengali Mussalmans as Bengalis have been *excluded* from the Army for being Bengalis. Therefore the cases of the two groups are not in the least comparable. If Bengali Mussalmans do not get as many posts as they want, it is not because they are Mussalmans, but because they are educationally less qualified.

It is unnecessary to discuss the past or

present fitness or unfitness of the Bengalis for the Army.

Mr. Bose has asked:

"What would a Bengali Hindu feel if that (namely, Bengalis not having served in the Army and not being noted for their military capacity) were put forward as a justification for the exclusion of Bengali Hindus from the Army?"

He will perhaps allow us to ask a different kind of question, namely, "What would a Sikh, or a Gurkha, or a Pathan feel if, in order to enable Bengalis to make up leeway in the Army, 80 per cent. of the jobs in the Army were reserved for Bengalis, and 20 for the aforesaid 'martial' people?" They would feel and say that fitter men were being excluded and deprived in favour of the less fit.

Similarly the "caste" Hindus of Bengal feel and say that some men among them who are fitter for the public services are being excluded and deprived in favour of those who are less fit. If it be assumed that "caste" Hindus are unfit for fighting work and therefore it is right to exclude them from the Army, is it also to be assumed that, in spite of their being fit for soft jobs, some of the fittest among them can be justly deprived of soft jobs also? Then how are they to live? Even if the public services maintain a very small number of them, why should even this small number be deprived of their means of living?

And it is not merely or mainly a question of giving jobs to this group or that. As pointed out already, the apportionment of jobs on a communal basis is sure to affect the efficiency of the services for the worse.

As for the Army, as the question has been raised by way of illustration, we may say that Bengalis do not want any reservation. They do not want a reservation of even one per cent. What is wanted is that privates should be recruited from all provinces according to some physical and other tests, irrespective of the class or community to which candidates may belong.

### *About Gandhiji's Non-Violent Militia Plan*

NEW DELHI, Sept. 21.

Mahatma Gandhi informally met the members of the Congress Working Committee who have so far arrived here, at his cot in Harijan Colony this afternoon when in the course of conversations he expressed his views about some aspects of the activities of persons who style themselves as Congress workers and are in several instances holders of responsible positions in Congress organizations.

It is understood that Gandhiji expressed grave concern at some recent developments in different parts of the country which, in his opinion, were in complete negation of the fundamental principles and ideals of the Congress.

There were clear indications, Gandhiji is reported to have remarked, that certain sections of so-called Congress workers had begun to make light of the imperative need for observing truth and non-violence as the sheet-anchor of all Congress activities.

This, he thought, was all the more deplorable at a time when the responsibility of administering several provinces has devolved on the Congress. Congress Governments, he is further reported to have observed, stand the risk of being discredited before the world if the rank and file of Congress workers give a go-by to discipline and non-violence.

Dwelling on this topic, Gandhiji is understood to have referred to some of his recent articles in the "Harijan" which, he opined, were the outcome of his lacerated heart.

As has been his usual practice for some times past, Gandhiji did not talk much, but expressed his views in writing, which was read out.

Interviewed by the "United Press" after these talks were over, a prominent member of the Working Committee said that today's talk was meant to serve as the background of Gandhiji's plan for reorganization of the Congress movement all over the country on the basis of strictest adherence to truth and non-violence which is likely to be unfolded at tomorrow's sitting of the Working Committee.—U. P.

Gandhiji has been for some time thinking on this subject and has written several times in the "Harijan" on the subject emphasizing the need for maintaining complete non-violence. It is understood that this afternoon he will expound to the members of the Congress Working Committee the scheme for the creation of a Non-violent National Militia.

Mahatma Gandhi's address, according to authoritative circles, will mark a new phase in the Congress history of non-violence. Those in intimate touch with Mahatma Gandhi point out that during the last several weeks Mahatma Gandhi has been contemplating over the question and has fully utilised his recent vow of silence to evolve a scheme. He has thought and thought over the subject in silent meditation and has frequently hinted at what is coming by referring to this subject in his articles in the "Harijan."

Mahatma Gandhi is understood to be feeling that a definite stage in the history of the Congress in India has now been reached when the Congress must clearly define what its creed of non-violence means and adhere to it at all costs. He seems to ask that if in the near future the majority of the people in India express a desire to arm themselves what should be the attitude of the Congress?

This problem, it is further pointed out, has become all the more difficult and important in view of the fact that the Congress is today controlling Governments of eight provinces and may soon capture power at the centre, even if it be to only a limited extent. A talk of war and consequent armament was in the air and in the midst of all this welter of chaos and confusion it was necessary to define the attitude of the Congress.

The argument appears to be, how could the Congress, consistent with its creed of non-violence, subscribe to a policy of armament.

His contention, it is stated, is that Ethiopia, China and even Czechoslovakia, which were fully armed, had not succeeded but had to succumb to greater armed forces. This clearly indicated that mere arms would not solve the problem of retaining a country's independence and autonomy.

Arms and violence thus having proved useless weapons for the retention of the independence of a

country, it is asked why should non-violence be not given a fair trial. Moreover, if a country like India, could think of attaining freedom through non-violence, why should it not also think of retaining that freedom through non-violence.—A. P.

Our heart is entirely for non-violence, even on the biggest collective scale. Without meaning to criticise Gandhiji's ideal, we may point out that China has not yet succumbed and may yet be able to retain her independence by fighting. In past history, too, it was generally by fighting that nations retained or gained their independence.

### *Czechoslovakian Situation*

PRAGUE, Sept. 21.

The reply of the Czech Government has been handed to the British and French Ministers.

"Reuter" learns from official sources that it is a complete acceptance of British and French recommendations with no reservations or stipulations.

The reply, however, concludes with an appeal that, if Czechoslovakia should be attacked, the Government trusts that Britain and France will come to her aid.

#### POLISH AND HUNGARIAN DEMANDS

It is learned that the Polish Ambassador in London in the course of recent visits to the Foreign Office presented the view of the Polish Government that, if cession of Sudeten territory to Germany was envisaged in the Anglo-French proposals, a similar attitude should be adopted vis-a-vis Polish claims regarding Te cher Karvina.

It is understood that the Hungarian Minister in London has acquainted Lord Halifax with the view of the Hungarian Government that all minorities in Czechoslovakia should be accorded equal treatment with Sudeten Germans.

In Warsaw thirty thousand attended a mass meeting demanding the return to Poland of the Polish-speaking parts of Czechoslovakia.—Reuter.

What ground is there for the hope that Britain and France will help Czechoslovakia, if attacked by a strengthened Germany?

### *Mussolini on the Czechoslovakian Situation*

ROME, Sept. 21.

Signor Mussolini in a speech at Treviso said that Czechoslovakia's delicate position was due to the fact that it was not only the Czech State, but also the Czech-German-Polish-Hungarian-Ruthenian-Rumanian-Slovak State.

Exactly. And for this composite character of Czechoslovakia Britain and France were mainly responsible, though they have now backed out.

Il Duce paid a tribute to Mr. Chamberlain for taking the political initiative and leading the ship into the harbour of peace.

He declared that now that the Czech problem was being faced, it must be settled in an integral manner.—Reuter.

### *Litvinoff on the Same*

M. Litvinoff, addressing the League Assembly at Geneva declared, "Czechoslovakia may decide today or tomorrow to take up arms in defence of its independence. The sympathies, if not of all Governments, at any rate, of all peoples represented in the Assembly go out to the Czech people at this terrible hour of their trial."

The remark was greeted with cheers mainly from the public galleries.

M Litvinoff told the Assembly that Russia had two days ago replied to Prague that she was prepared to render "immediate and effective assistance" under the Czech-Soviet pacts.

That the cheers came mainly from the public galleries, not from the Assembly members, is very significant.

### *America's Resentment At Betrayal of Czechs*

New York newspapers are very angry on account of the proposed carve-up of Czechoslovakia. The *New York Times* sees in it the end of the whole system of security built up by post-war treaties and adds: "It is the end because a demonstration is being given that force alone is the determining factor in the relationship between nations."

The *Chicago Herald Tribune* says that two Western democracies not only laid Czechoslovakia on the altar of sacrifice but they have commanded her to commit suicide so that they may be spared the embarrassment of denying their commitments to defend her.

The *New York Post* says: "The agreement sounds like the world's greatest destroyers."—*Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

### *Coalition Ministry in Assam*

A coalition ministry, Congress predominating, has been formed in Assam. The European and Muslim blocs have combined to form the opposition. But it is hoped that, notwithstanding such opposition, the ministry will be able to carry on. It will be good for Assam and for India if the hope is fulfilled.

It is only in three provinces that the Congress is not carrying on the administration, and all the three are Muslim majority provinces. It would be good if there were emulation between the two groups of provinces in bringing India nearer to the goal of freedom.

### *Proposed National Art Gallery for India*

The scheme for a National Art Gallery for India which Mr. B. Ukil of New Delhi has placed before the public deserves full support. As New Delhi is now the capital of India, such an institution located there is likely to receive more support from the Princes and many leading men of India than if located elsewhere.

### *Students' Strikes Called Off*

We are glad the Dacca University students' and Dacca Jagannath College students' strikes have been called off. The strike of the St. Xavier's College students and other sympathetic strikes declared in consequence are also now at an end. Now is the time for the students to calmly consider whether they could not have got by patient negotiation what they have now got by striking after giving an ultimatum. The authorities of the educational institutions concerned should also consider whether they could not have conceded before their students went on strike what they have conceded after the strike—assuming that they have made any substantial concessions. It is very greatly to be regretted that the relations which ought to exist between teachers and students have received rude shocks.

According to newspaper reports—we do not want to use any information received from any other source—the St. Xavier's College students have had to part with two of their leading fellow-collegians by transfer to another college, have had to sustain a lathi charge by the police and a drenching with street hose water. There has also been much anxiety, loss of college lectures, etc. All these have to be taken into account in considering the gains, if any. The students may, after all, have gained only a Pyrrhic victory.

### *Unrest and Repression in Many Indian States*

For some time past every issue of the dailies has contained news of unrest and repression in several Indian States. In some, troops have had to be called out and ordered to fire on crowds, with fatal results. In some other states, *e.g.*, Hyderabad, arrangements continued to be made for repression.

In all these the Princes and their Ministers are ill advised. Their people can never be satisfied with anything less than the rights which the inhabitants of the Congress-governed Provinces in British India actually enjoy. That is the minimum. The sooner all the ruling Princes decide to concede these rights to their subjects the better it would be for all concerned. Let them make a beginning at once and definitely fix the stages according to which other rights will be given. Whatever the dictators in Europe may think, autocracy cannot last. And the power of the Indian princes is but borrowed power. They shine by reflected light as it were.

### *The National Council of Women in India*

The sixth biennial report (for 1936-1937) of the National Council of Women in India contains much useful and interesting information relating to Indian women's activities. Full page portraits of H.H. Maharani Setu Parvati Bai of Travancore, President of the Council, and of Mrs. Brijlal Nehru, President of the 6th biennial conference of the Council, adorn the report. Besides condolence resolutions the conference passed resolutions on legislation relating to Hindu Women's Rights and the Child Marriage Restraint Act, on the means of advancing the cause of women's education, on sex education, on child welfare, on medical inspection in all aided and government schools, on health and nutrition, on the promotion of peace in the world, on the registration of nurses, and on traffic in women and children.

One misses a resolution on the abduction and ravishment of women, which not unoften takes the form of 'gang-rape'.

### *The Most Important Work Before Women*

The work which ought to receive the greatest attention of all women workers, whether they are members of the Congress or of any other organization, is the education of girls and women. In India the education of boys and men is in a very backward condition and that of girls and women is in a still more deplorable condition. In whatever direction we wish to make progress, education is the foundation on which we can build. There is nothing showy or sensational about education. That is perhaps why it has little attraction for many workers. But it is one of the most substantial kinds of service to India that one can render.

### *Sir Pheroze Sethna*

Sir Pheroze Sethna who died on the 17th of September last was a very successful man of business. He was connected with many companies doing insurance and banking business. He succeeded Sir Sorabji Pochkhanawala as chairman of the Central Bank of India Limited. He took keen interest in politics and was connected with the Liberal party from the time of its inception. He presided over a session of the National Liberal Federation of India. His speeches were marked by accurate knowledge and felicity of expression. He took a prominent part in the deliberations of the Round Table Conference both in its committees and

in discussions outside. He was specially interested in the questions of defence, commercial safeguards and the minorities. He laboured earnestly for improving the position of overseas Indians and the position of India in the League of Nations. He was connected with many public institutions in Bombay.

### *C. W. C. Approves of Action Against Dr. Khare*

On the 22nd September the Congress Working Committee passed at New Delhi the following draft of a resolution on the Central Provinces ministerial affairs and the Khare episode for submission to the All-India Congress Committee:

"The A. I. C. C. approves of the prompt and decisive action taken by the Working Committee in the handling of the C. P. Ministerial crisis and fully endorses the views expressed by the Working Committee regarding the conduct of Dr. Khare and that of the Governor of the Central Provinces in the unfortunate episode.

"The A. I. C. C. is further clearly of the opinion that the conduct of Dr. Khare since his resignation from the C. P. Ministry deserves the severest condemnation."

This was expected..

### *Lala Hardayal Allowed to Return*

BOMBAY, Sept. 22.

*The Times of India* publishes a report from its special correspondent at Simla that after 27 years of exile, Hardayal will be returning to India. The Government of India have decided to permit him to return to his homeland. This permission has been granted, it is stated, in view of Hardayal having given an undertaking not to participate directly or indirectly in any unconstitutional movement.

Hardayal left India in 1911 and organized the ghadar party in America, aimed, it is stated, at overthrowing the State by revolutionary and violent methods.

Since 1927 he had been making occasional attempts to obtain from the Government of India an assurance of an amnesty. Recently, however he gave an undertaking, and the Government of India have therefore permitted his return.—A. P.

Lala Hardayal is a man of culture and extensive scholarship, and of ascetic habits. Years ago he used occasionally to contribute articles to *The Modern Review*. The article which roused the greatest interest was one on "The Social Conquest of the Hindu Race." It was proscribed by the Government in the Punjab when published in its Urdu form. It was not proscribed in its English garb as published in our Review.

### *Dr. Moonje Declares Hindu Mahasabha A Nationalistic Movement*

Addressing a crowded public meeting in the Albert Hall, Calcutta, on the 22nd September



last, Dr. B. S. Moonje showed that the Hindu Mahasabha was an entirely nationalistic movement. It is not at all a communalistic movement in the sense in which the Muslim League and other Muslim organizations are communalistic.

In rising to speak amidst cheers Dr. Moonje pointed out that

there were three aspects of the Hindu Mahasabha Movement,—political, sociological and socio-religious

In the political aspect the Hindu Mahasabha movement was entirely a nationalistic movement. It preached unalloyed nationalism. If there was any institution, any political institution in India—the Indian National Congress, not excluded—which preached completely unalloyed nationalism, it was the Hindu Mahasabha. (Cheers.)

Explaining that the Hindu Mahasabha was not a communal organisation Dr. Moonje said:

“Let us first understand what communalism is. Unless we know what is communalism, how can we know what is nationalism? Communalism means a state of mind when one looks entirely to the interests of one's own community without caring to know how it can affect the progress of the masses of the country as a whole. There are three main divisions of our people, Hindus, Muslims and Christians. I have absolutely no quarrel with the Muslims on the one side and the Christians on the other side. If there is one side with which we have quarrel it is the British Government (cheers), because the British Government has been exploiting and taking advantage of these three divisions in the country. And unfortunately some of the Muslims, some of the Christians and also some of the Hindus are falling a prey to this ‘divide and rule’ policy of the British administration. But I can clearly tell you and assure you that the Hindu Mahasabha has no quarrel with the Muslims on the one side or the Christians on the other.

That state of mentality which says that political powers and political rights have to be divided in certain proportions among so many divisions, that state of mentality is communalism

Compare this state of mind with that of those taking part in the Hindu Mahasabha movement. Has the Hindu Mahasabha ever said that because the Hindus are in a majority in certain provinces therefore they should be given powers, privileges and rights in greater proportion or that because the Hindus are in a minority in certain other provinces, therefore there should be reservation of powers for them or that they needed protection? The Hindu Mahasabha has never said that. You can study its history from beginning to end. The Hindu Mahasabha has never said that political powers are to be distributed between people on the ground that they belong to this religion or that. This is a fact which is incontrovertible. Then why should anybody call the Hindu Mahasabha movement a communal movement? Neither the Muslims nor the Christians nor the British Government can say that, much less the Hindus. But unfortunately, the Hindus have been the loudest in accusing the Hindu Mahasabha movement of being a communal movement. Nobody should on its merit accuse the Hindu Mahasabha movement of being communal.

Dr. Moonje admitted that Congress was the premier political organization in the coun-

try out to fight British imperialism, and observed:

The Congress from the very beginning has been a national body. Practically my whole youth, my whole life has been spent in the Congress. Though I may not be a four-anna Congressman at the present moment yet I hope that I have lived as a Congressman and I shall die as a Congressman (applause). But unfortunately, the Congress in spite of being a national body rather connives at or instigates or encourages communalism.

Dr. Moonje did not like the way in which the Congress attempted to placate the Muslims and did not believe in the proposition that thirty crores of Hindus of India could not achieve independence of the country unless the seven crores of Muslims co-operated with them.

He could understand Muslims and Christians joining the Hindus in the common struggle for Swaraj but he failed to understand why thirty crores of Hindus would not be able to achieve independence without the co-operation of the Muslims. If that was the attitude of the Congress then the Britishers would say, “We would never go out of India and our imperialism will stay.”

We have always held that the Hindus should strive for Swaraj, irrespective of the co-operation or non-co-operation of others, but that they should invite and welcome the co-operation of others. Such co-operation would make the attainment of Swaraj easier. But such co-operation is not indispensable for its achievement.

Then again it was said that Hindu-Muslim unity must be established and untouchability must be removed. “But untouchability,” remarked Dr. Moonje, “has now been given a statutory existence and Hindu-Muslim unity cannot be established so long as the Communal Award stands (cheers)”

Dr. Moonje recalled how Bengal had expressed its sense of indignation at the Communal Award and its determination to fight it some time ago;

but he deplored that that spirit of opposition to the Communal Award has now “evaporated.” The Communal Award, Dr. Moonje emphasized, gave a statutory place to communalism because it created a division between Hindus and Muslims, because it prevented India from having unalloyed nationalism.

Continuing Dr. Moonje said:

If a man were to come and say that you, Hindus, cannot have Swaraj unless the seven crores of Muslims co-operate with you or two crores of Christians co-operate with you, I do not know how it would appeal to you. But it appeals to me in a most shameful manner that these thirty crores of Hindus who are like so many sheep cannot establish their own kingdom, their own rule in India as Afghans have established their rule in Afghanistan, as Arabs have established their rule in Arabia and the Irish have established their rule in Ireland and as at the present moment the Czechoslovakian Germans are trying to do. What was the Hindu Mahasabha doing? Where was the harm if they preached that Hindus should



stand on their own legs, that Hindus should make up their own mind as to how to maintain their identity, their religion and their culture?

Explaining how the minority problem was created in India, Dr. Moonje pointed out that the minority problem was created in India by Lord Minto in 1904-1905 when the Aga Khan was sent on a deputation to him *at the secret suggestion of his lordship's government itself*. The speaker condemned the Congress for placating the Muslims and recalled in this connection that the first thing that Mahatma Gandhi had uttered when he went to England during the Round Table Conference was that he was prepared to give a blank cheque to the Muslims. The Muslims took advantage of it and made certain demands. How could they oppose the Communal Award if on their behalf Mahatmaj had been prepared to give them a blank cheque? The minority problem had got to be created, the speaker emphasised, with a certain motive—and that was that the Britishers wanted to perpetuate imperialism.

Dr. Moonje would like to ask the Hindus to remember that

the whole of Afghanistan was Muslim in religion, the whole of Persia was Muslim in religion. "Suppose by any chance the central authority in India becomes weak, do you know to which extent this minority problem will go? It will go to the very extent to which the Sudeten German problem has gone"

Dr. Moonje would like to present one problem before the Hindus of Bengal and would ask them to seriously ponder over it.

"Take the whole geography of India. There is Sind, there is the Punjab, there is Afghanistan, there is Kashmere, there is East and West Bengal. Sind was invaded by Md. Bin Kasim and practically the whole of Sind became Muslim and one invasion by Mahmud of Ghuzni made the whole of Afghanistan, once a centre of Hindu culture and learning, become Muslim. The whole of Kashmere was now practically Muslim. Ninety per cent. of East Bengal became Muslim because Shaista Khan happened to go there from Poona. What was it that enabled the Hindus round about Delhi to stand aggression and made the Hindus of East Bengal and Kashmere surrender immediately?

That was a problem which the Bengali Hindus should seriously consider.

Dealing with the sociological aspect of the Hindu Mahasabha movement Dr. Moonje emphasised that

there was no community on the face of the earth which did not want to exist. What the Hindu Mahasabha did was to ask the Hindus to maintain their identity, their culture and their religion. If they wanted to survive they must try to bring out from among them men like Rana Pratap, Guru Govind Singh and women like the Rani of Jhansi. So long as the Congress did not give up its want of self-confidence which it has developed in itself there was no politics, there could be no movement except the Hindu Mahasabha movement.

### *Spanish Government Orders Withdrawal of Volunteers*

GENEVA, Sept. 21.  
Senor Negrin announced that the Spanish Government had decided to order immediate withdrawal of all non-Spanish combatants fighting on the Government side.

The withdrawal will apply to all foreigners including those who have assumed Spanish nationality since the outbreak of the war.

Senor Negrin asked for the appointment of an international commission to supervise the withdrawal.

He described the decision as a contribution towards general appeasement.

Senor Negrin, in a speech, explained that the Government resolved to remove the possibility of people casting doubt upon the purely national character of the Republican cause.—*Reuter*.

Will General Franco also order the withdrawal of the German and Italian volunteers from his army?

### *Non-violence as an Antidote to War*

Addressing the students of the National High School at Bangalore on Mahatma Gandhi's birthday Mr. C. F. Andrews said, in part:

Mahatma Gandhi regarded the strict observance of truth and non-violence as an antidote to war. Hitherto in human history this antidote had been confined to individual martyrdom and sacrifice. But Mahatma Gandhi, beginning in South Africa, and continuing in India itself, had been working out the same principles on a corporate scale. Undoubtedly this corporate moral resistance was far harder to achieve without any semblance of violence than individual acts of martyrdom such as the past history of the human race disclosed.

The greatness of Mahatmaj was not that he had solved this tremendous issue on which the whole future of humanity depended but that he had already shown in practice on a small scale that such a solution of the war problem was possible. In South Africa, where Mr Andrews said he was in his company, Mahatma Gandhi had proved completely victorious in what was called passive resistance struggle. There non-violence and truth had been quite unadulterated. On the other hand, hitherto in the larger movements of non-co-operation in India itself, the purity of the struggle had not remained throughout at this highest level. Possibly, concluded Mr. C. F. Andrews, before Mahatma Gandhi finished his work he might be able to show to the world once more this ideal of corporate moral resistance in the purest manner not only in overcoming riotous conduct in the great cities owing to Hindu-Moslem tension, but also in bringing to an end war itself.—*A. P.*

### *Picketing*

Mahatma Gandhi has, quite naturally and reasonably, condemned that kind of picketing which consists in lying stretched at full length across the gates or other entrances, or otherwise blocking passages. That is constructive use of force or violence. Yet the professed followers of Mahatma Gandhi in the press and on the platform are not known to have condemned this form of picketing by students during their strikes.

### *Bengal Jute Ordinance*

The Bengal Jute ordinance will benefit the big jute mills, almost all of which are British

concerns. The predominantly Moslem ministry of Bengal would have been thrown out of office but for the support of the British *bloc* 25 strong. So, on the principle of "you scratch my back and I scratch yours," the ministry had to do something to show its gratitude. The ministry may profess to have acted in the interest of all who have anything to do with jute. But it has not been and cannot be shown that the ordinance will secure higher prices to the jute-growers for raw jute, or will benefit the jute-dealers and the smaller jute mills.

### *Reservation of Majority of Jobs for the Majority*

The Government of India Act of 1935 has entrusted the Governors of the provinces with the responsibility for safeguarding the interests of the minorities and given them the necessary power to discharge that responsibility. If the Governor of Bengal allows the resolution reserving 60 per cent. of jobs for the majority community of Bengal to be enforced in practice, it should be accepted as the governmental method of safeguarding minority rights! As the Indian National Congress also advocates the safeguarding of minority rights in the same way, as the attitude of the Bengal Congress party in the Assembly towards the aforesaid resolution shows, the Congress should instruct all Congress-controlled ministries, which are functioning in the Hindu majority provinces, to reserve 95 per cent. of the jobs in their provinces for the majority community—namely, the Hindus!

Mr. Premier Haq and his supporters and all members of the Muslim League will undoubtedly support this suggestion!

### *Is the Communal Apportionment of Jobs Legal?*

The Government of India Act lays down that no one can be deprived of the right to be a Government servant, to follow a profession, and so on, merely on the ground of his race, religion, etc. But the communal apportionment of jobs does deprive many Hindus, Indian Christians, who may be the fittest for some such jobs, simply because they are not Mussalmans. Is such apportionment an infringement of the Government of India Act, or is it not? Not being lawyers, we are unable to answer the question.

But if the point raised be arguable, should it not be taken to the Federal Court for its decision?

### *Lord Cecil on British Policy "re" Czechoslovakia*

Lord Cecil has condemned the British policy in relation to Czechoslovakia in very strong language in a letter to *The Daily Telegraph*. He observes:

"Submission to Hitler means extinction of Czechoslovak independence, it means breach of our treaty pledges, it means a great increase of the prestige of the Nazi Government and corresponding diminution of the prestige of Britain, it means acceptance of the view that the only thing that counts in international affairs is brutal force and that the hope of substituting for it reason and justice must be definitely abandoned."

Some other prominent citizens of Britain have also condemned the Chamberlain Cabinet's policy. But that has not prevented the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. And possibly it may not prevent the extinction of the independent existence of the Czechs. Even if the self-assertion of British public opinion leads ultimately to the overthrow of the Chamberlain ministry, it will perhaps be too late to be of any advantage to the Czechs.

### *Dismemberment of Czechoslovakia*

Under irresistible pressure the Government of Czechoslovakia had to agree to evacuate that part of the republic which is inhabited mainly by Germans. So all troops of the republic has left Sudeten territory, which has been annexed by Germany. [Fighting has broken out and some of this territory has been re-occupied by the Czechs.] The Czech government have said:

"We are not vanquished. We submitted in order to avoid misery and bloodshed. We are sacrificing ourselves to save peace as Christ sacrificed himself to save humanity. We shall not attempt to throw the blame where it belongs, but leave it to the judgment of history. We stand alone, but shall be Czechs together. A new life is now before us."

Poland and Hungary have demanded those parts of Czechoslovakia which are inhabited by Poles and Hungarians. Hitler may not be satisfied with merely having the Sudeten territory, as the following *Reuter's* telegram indicates:

LONDON, Sept. 22  
"The Daily Telegraph" correspondent from Gode-berg says there can be little doubt that German troops will enter Czechoslovakia.

The correspondent adds that Herr Hitler probably will propose to Mr. Chamberlain the disappearance of Czechoslovakia as a Sovereign State, establishment of German control and removal of Dr Benes from office.

### *Why Czechoslovakia Suffers*

Britain and France were the principal European allies which vanquished Germany in

the last great war with the help of America. In order to weaken Germany and Austria they constituted Czechoslovakia, bringing together in that republic areas inhabited by Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Rumenians and Ruthenians along with Czechs, and they promised to defend the new republic if it were attacked or sought to be injured. This promise they ought to have kept, but instead of keeping it, they have put pressure upon the Czech government to surrender territory to Hitler. Herein lies their treachery. They have acted as they have done in order to save themselves from the risks incident to a war with Germany. But if in spite of their selfish policy, Hitler fights, he will fight with fresh accession of strength.

As for the Sudeten Germans, they cannot be blamed. We do not know whether, when their home-land was included in Czechoslovakia, they were consulted and their consent obtained. In any case, it is natural for people belonging to the same race, speaking the same language and living in one another's vicinity to like to form one nation and State.

### *The Muslim League and the Army Recruitment Bill*

Maulana Mohd. Sahib, President, Frontier Provincial Muslim League, has issued the following statement to the Press on the question of the Muslim League's support to the Army Bill in the Central Legislature:

"The support given by the members of the Muslim League to the Army Recruitment Bill in the Central Legislature was absolutely based on the policy of vindictiveness displayed against the Congress. It was certainly due to that impulse that the Muslim League leaders did not pay any heed to the wishes of the Muslim community. Every patriotic Muslim cannot but express his sincere regret for the way in which these leaders who, in season and out of season, are raising the cry of 'Islam in danger,' have behaved in this particular matter and played a traitor to their community and country, as the Bill in question is a death-blow to the interest of Islam. It would be indeed difficult to cure this wound, which is nothing but to perpetuate the bondage of India and to ruin the Muslims outside India. In view of the events that are being foreshadowed in the near future I cannot refrain from saying that those who have voted for this Bill have dug their own graves and have sacrificed the interests of the Muslim community and it will further the ends of the British Imperialism. The supporters of the Bill will surely one day repent of their action.

"In conclusion I unequivocally condemn the Army Bill and appeal to every son of this country in general and the Muslims in particular to raise their voice of emphatic protest against this measure."

### *The Bengali-Bihari Question*

As to-day (September 23) we have not got before us Dr. Rajendra Prasad's report on the

Bengali-Bihari problem and the Congress Working Committee's decision thereupon, we will not make any observations on the subject. We write this note mainly to obtain information.

We find it stated in the papers that Mr. Krishna-ballabh Sahay had stated on behalf of the Bihar Government that provincial governments other than that of Bihar had also their domicile certificate system and rules in that connection. If it be true that he has made such a statement, it is only fair and proper that all such provincial domicile systems and rules should be made available to the public by the Bihar Government. If that is not done, the public will be entitled to consider Mr. Krishna-ballabh Sahay's assertion unfounded.

Further, the Bihar Government should publish circulars like the Brett, the Owden and other similar circulars, *if any*, of other provincial governments, in order that the Indian public in general may be able to judge of the justice and legal validity of such circulars.

Supposing that all provincial governments have inherited or issued domicile rules and linguistic group circulars, the question arises whether a National organization like the Congress will tolerate them. If it does, then there may or will be mutually exclusive domicile rules and linguistic-group circulars among Tamils, Andhras, Karnatakas and Keralas, among Maharashtrians, Gujaratis and Karnatakas, among Maharashtrians and Mahakoshalians, among Panjabis and non-Panjabis, among Sindhis and non-Sindhis, and so on.

Then will Indian National unity be at its height!

### **A Correction**

On pages 128-9 of our last August number there appeared a short note regarding a fruit said to have been produced by grafting a mango on to a citron tree. We were misinformed. The fruit was from a seedling mango tree, a sport of sorts which looked like a green citron.

### **Puja Holidays**

The office of *The Modern Review* will remain closed for the Puja holidays from the 29th September to the 12th October, 1938, both days inclusive. All letters, orders, complaints, and remittances received during this period will be dealt with after the holidays.

# RUSSIAN SILHOUETTES

BY NICHOLAS ROERICH

## I

FRIENDS,

I was very glad to hear of your interest in the Literature and Art of Russia. In this connection I remember with what enthusiasm already in pre-war times we were reading translations of the Bhagavad Gita, Gitanjali and the works of Kali Das, which my friend, the poet Baltrushaitis had beautifully rendered into Russian. And now the tribute which Indian writers give to Russian literature especially touches me. Friendship and mutual understanding are the basis of evolution, the more so when fundamental traits of the character are so near.

I have had opportunity to meet Russian writers of the last and present generation, and many of them were my close friends. Amongst them Maxim Gorky, Leonid Andreyev, Alexey Remizoff, Kuprin, Alexander Block were in specially close contact. I had also cordial meetings with Leo Tolstoy, Chekhov, Merezhkovski and with Grigorovitch. I fully understand why India is interested in all these authors not only as representatives of world literature, but also feels drawn to their personalities. Fortunately, Russian literature at present is spreading in translations in many languages widely all over the world and thus a correct understanding of the Russian people is reached. Till recently even in so-called educated circles there were the wildest notions about this vast country. Let us not forget that in French literature there were descriptions of heroes of Russian stories, sitting in the shade of huge branchy 'klukva'—apparently the author did not know that 'klukva' are the berries of a tiny three-inch shrub. Let us further remember German stories about Cossacks eating children, candles and soap; that a samovar is carried on the head and that bears roam in the streets of Russian cities. All these absurdities are now vanishing with the spreading of the glorious Russian literature abroad.

When we add to the abovementioned Russian authors Dostoyevsky, Turgenev, Nekrasov, Gogol and do not forget the great Russian poets Pushkin and Lermontov and include further the father of Russian poetry

Derzhavin (end of XVIIIth century) and Lomonosov, the scientist and writer of the middle of XVIIIth century, we have a fairly complete outline of the leaders of our literature. Of course I mention above the literature of the last two centuries, but let us not forget that already since the XIIth century Russia had excellent literary gems like the famous "Discourse (Slovo) on the Campaign of Igor," which just celebrated its 750th anniversary.

Derzhavin's famous Ode "To God" written 150 years ago is one of the best poems of the Russian language. This poem has been translated into scores of foreign languages. I cannot refrain from quoting the first verse of this Ode, because it so beautifully represents the spirit of the poet:

"O Thou eternal One! whose presence bright  
All space doth occupy, all motion guide;  
Unchanged through time's all-devastating flight;  
Thou only God! There is no God beside!  
Being above all being! Mighty One!  
Whom none can comprehend, and none explore."

When we speak of Theodore Dostoyevsky he often is represented as a stern psychologist of suffering humanity. The very names of his works *Crime and Punishment*, *The Idiot*, *The House of Death* already seem to point in this direction. But let us not forget that precisely Dostoyevsky proclaimed that 'Beauty will save the world.' Besides this, in his *An Author's Diary* he gave many prophetic pre-visions.

Ivan Turgenev gave an entire epopee of Russian country life and Dmitri Grigorovitch was one of the first to describe Russian peasantry. For me Grigorovitch is like the godfather of literature because he blessed me and introduced me into this domain. My first meeting with him dates 1897. The sufferings and aspirations of the Russian people are expressed also in the poetry of Nicholas Nekrasov, culminating in his poem: "Who can live happily and freely in Russia?"

Leo Tolstoy, more than any other Russian writer has been translated into many languages. His famous *War and Peace*, *Anna Karenina*—let us not repeat the whole suite of his remarkable works—show that amidst moralizing writings he dreamt about a wonderful country, which would bring real happiness to the people.

Anton Chekhov, whom I now and then met in Moscow, was an unusually striking personality. Whereas he himself was extremely modest, his sweeping scope of writings covered the entire period of his time in Russia. In his sad smile at certain manifestations of life, he expressed his sensitiveness and love to his Motherland.

In 1934 the Nobel Committee intending to give a prize to Russian literature, had four candidates: Gorky, Merezhkovsky, Bunin and Remizoff. The committee decided in favour of Bunin. But public opinion was surprised that the palm was not bestowed upon Gorky or Merezhkovsky. As regards Remizoff, he is very highly revered in the circles of the intelligentsia because of his genuine old Russian style of writing.

Gorky worked at the same time as Leonid Andreyev, and they were often regarded as rivals although essentially they are quite different. Gorky was a psychologist of the masses, whereas Andreyev in his profound writings evinced the qualities of a prophet. Let us remember his *Man's Life*, *King Hunger*, *Red Laughter* and *Anathema*.

We all remember and cherish that the recent Centenary Celebrations of Alexander Pushkin turned into a world event. On February 10, 1837, the greatest Russian poet died after receiving a fatal wound in a duel. The name of Pushkin is known all over the world. The sad centenary of his violent death was revered in the whole world by all true lovers of literature. Not only in the immense vastness of Russia, but in all countries there were held solemn celebrations, exhibitions dedicated to the poet were opened and many new editions of his famous works were published. In Russian and foreign theatres his immortal dramas were produced, in the musical interpretation of the best Russian composers.

The commemorative event resulted in a great Day of Russian, or rather world Culture. The immortal creations of Pushkin, equal to Shakespeare, Dante, Goethe, Balzac will forever remain a vital inexhaustible source of spiritual enrichment of the present and future generations of humanity. *Eugen Onegin*, *Poltava*, *The Bronze Rider*, *The Captain's Daughter*, *Ruslan and Ludmila*, *The Queen of Spades*, and hundreds of other works of Pushkin will live as precious evidence of radiant thought, as expressions of the feelings of true noble inspiration.

Pushkin's poems, written over a hundred years ago, move the hearts of mankind as deeply

now, as they did at the time of his contemporaries. Only now has the glory of Pushkin become a truly universal glory. He has expressed the inner life of the country in an unprecedented way calling up artistic images. For Pushkin the poet, there were no geographical nor historical boundaries. Ancient Hellas, Rome, Italy, Spain, and the ancient and new East, all Slavonic thoughts, were reflected by him with the same deep comprehension.

No one has before or after Pushkin enriched Russian culture to such an extent as this greatest poet of his Motherland. He was the true creator of the Russian literary language. He has conquered for Russian literature a place of honour in world classics. The poems, stories and essays of Pushkin prove the inexhaustible wealth of human expressions. Pushkin was the creator of a magnificent, flexible, expressive Russian literary language. He imbued Russian literature with the spirit of the people, he magnified the language with innumerable words taken from the very depths of folklore treasury. He introduced real poetical gems of national bards. Pushkin's contemporaries used to say about him that he was ever restless, that his spirit was rebellious and as such he died.

The great Russian critic Belinsky thus defined Pushkin's poetry:

"What a style! Antique plasticity and stern simplicity were combined in him with the charming play of romantic rhythm. The entire acoustic wealth, the might of the Russian language were revealed in him in extraordinary perfection; he is delicate, sweet, tender, like the murmur of the waves; he is rich as soil, brilliant as lightning, transparent and pure as crystal, aromatic and fragrant as spring, strong and mighty as the sword in the hand of a hero. Should we want to describe the verse of Pushkin in one word, we would say that it is *par excellence*, a truly poetic, artful and artistic verse; and this would solve the mystery of the majestic pathos of the entire poetry of Pushkin."

Gorky, usually severe in his judgment, says of Pushkin:

"Pushkin is for Russian literature, what Leonardo da Vinci was for European art. We have before us a great Russian national poet, the creator of poetical tales, which charm with their beauty and wit, the author of the first realistic novel *Eugen Onegin*, the author of our best historical drama *Boris Godunov*, a poet, who up to now is unsurpassed in the beauty of his verse and in the mighty expressions of emotions and thoughts, a poet—the father of the great Russian literature. In the person of Pushkin we have the example of a writer, who being imbued with impressions of life, was striving to reflect them in verse and prose, with greatest truth, with utmost realism, and in this he succeeded as a real genius. His creations are the most valuable testimony of a clever, wise, truthful person about customs, habits and conceptions of a certain period—indeed they are the true records of Russian history by a genius."

As befits every great man, Pushkin suffered great injustice from his contemporaries. The great poet was exiled and for a long time there hung upon him the threat of evil suspicions. This cannot be avoided—without these torches of savages no great achievement is possible. Thanks to his all-containing heart, Pushkin joined all advanced movements and was a friend of free thought. We find him amongst the *dekabrists*. We see Pushkin as a mason and to this society belonged all the foremost thinkers of Russia. The poet was seeking everywhere for Truth and listening to the fairy tales of his old nurse, he was enchanted from his very childhood by the beauty of Russian folklore.

During the short span of his life 1799-1837 he, whilst studying historical chronicles, yet remained ever in the defence of the new, carrying in his heart the vision of Russia's great future. When still in the Lyceum, Pushkin already astonished everyone with his sonorous verse and the great Derzhavin blessed him and foretold his glory. Seldom can one heart embrace simultaneously both the East and the West. Every reader in the Orient will understand Pushkin's *Ruslan and Ludmila*, *The Capture of the Caucasus*, or the *Fountain of Bakhchisarai*. Whereas *Eugen Onegin*, *The Queen of Spades* or *Dubrovsky* will resound in the Western hearts.

*Boris Godunov*, the drama, in which Pushkin with astounding depth unfolds the tragedy of a ruler, 'who has attained the highest power,' attracts now the attention of the whole world. Recently *Boris Godunov* was staged in Berlin; in Praha—*Eugen Onegin*; thus in the most diverse and even contradictory audiences the splendour of Pushkin's creations calls forth equal admiration.

As we see, Pushkin simultaneously proceeded by all creative paths. During the twenty-seven years of his literary career, Pushkin became a great poet, a great prosaist, a great dramatist. In his works we have examples of all literary styles. Every new creation of Pushkin was not only a real *chef d'oeuvre* but became a new chapter in the history of Russian literature. In his immeasurable artistic might, in his extraordinary multifacetedness, in his unusual alacrity of mind are expressed the potentiality and genius of the great nation, in which he was born. Let us remember his self-characteristic poems "Echo" and "The Prophet," which are significant as describing the view of the poet upon his mission in life. Let us not attempt to translate them into

poetical verse, but try to render the poet's thought:

### ECHO

Whether beasts roar in forests deep—  
Whether the horn sounds, or thunder storm,  
Whether a maiden sings on hillocks far—  
To every voice  
An echo in the empty air  
Resounds at once.  
Thou heedest to the thunder's roar,  
The calls of storm and waves,  
To shouts of shepherds  
You an answer send,  
But you get no response . . . .  
Thus, poet, is your fate !

In the other poem "Prophet" a six-winged Seraphim appears on the crossroad to a wanderer and, touching his lips and ears, opens to him his prophetic vision. The tremors of heaven and mysteries of earth and sea are revealed to him. The Seraphim tears out his tongue and replaces it with the wisdom of the serpent; for his heart he substitutes a piece of glowing coal. The poem concludes as follows:

"Alone as lifeless corpse in deserts I remained,  
And God's voice called .  
Arise, thou prophet, behold and hearken !  
Be filled with My glory.  
And, faring seas and distant lands,  
By word the hearts of men thou set aflame !

Thus the poet foresaw his glorious mission.

### II

Let us record for our friends in India the names of three Russian scholars, who are for ever connected with the East. As always, everyone who loves the East, loves also art. He will revere also the cradle of humanity—India.

I remember old meetings of the Russian Archaeological Society, in which Turayev took part, that remarkable investigator of Egypt and the ancient East. His external appearance, all his unassuming sincerity and heartiness, his naturally great soul, immediately attracted people to him. The first time, not yet knowing him, I asked my companion Veselovsky: "Who is that man there, still young, who smiles so gloriously?" He explained to me that this was Turayev. And then in some connection it was pointed out to me that he was a remarkable Egyptologist, a profound expert in the religion of Egypt, a deeply religious man himself who had a beautiful family life. Thus was given the complete character of Turayev.

A remarkable scholar, a highly religious and excellent participant in social and family life. Then there was gathered around Turayev a whole group of outstanding young scholars,



and one can imagine with what enthusiasm he guided those aspirants for knowledge.

Now it is already eighteen years since Turayev departed from this world.

The introduction to his work, *The Classical East*, says :

"On July 23, 1920 death snatched Turayev from the ranks of the living and left to life the memory of this great personality, to science his numerous works and the school created by him. To this school, the ranks of which after the death of B. T. continued to thin out, has been entrusted the responsible task of preserving and introducing into scientific usage the literary bequest of this teacher. His students, both in Petersburg and Moscow, have carefully looked after the works which B. T. left in the press. In Petersburg soon after his death there were withdrawn from publication several studies devoted to the memorials of the Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow, and to the great papyrus of the collection of Prakhov in the Reports of the Russian Academy of the History of Material Culture."

Then Struve goes on to give the following just statement about Turayev :

"Carrying out his colossal task, B. T. displayed enormous erudition in the almost boundless literature about the ancient East, yet this literature did not dominate his thinking; he decided all problems on the basis of study of the sources themselves. A broad acquaintance with almost all the languages of the cultures studied by him gave B. T. the opportunity of making manifold use of the countless epigraphic memorials presented to science by the inexhaustible soil of the East. In dealing with this material B. T. displayed with identical mastery the deep analysis of the philologist and the broad synthesis of the historian."

"Together with epigraphic material he made use with equal success of material evidence. In his deductions B. T. was always exceedingly cautious, and, drawing out from the sources all they had to give, he never had recourse to artificial and hazardous interpretations for the sake of a larger attainment, he never obtruded upon the source his own cogitation. All these merits of the work of B. T. his remarkable objectivity and many-sidedness, enormous erudition, universal knowledge of all the materials accessible to him, epigraphic as well as objective, and the carefulness of his deductions on the basis of this material, make *The Classical East* the cornerstone of the most remote labours devoted to this period of universal history."

This is a just appraisal to which one would still wish to add something about the most attractive personality of Turayev. It is characteristic to observe the fact that no one was surprised that in him lived both a religiousness of his own and a great respect for the religions which he studied. One would not wish to forget that Turayev, being himself not of strong health, was always remarkably responsive in allotting time to those who came to him.

As with many scholars, Turayev did not live in ease, but these difficulties were swamped in an ocean of scientific enthusiasm. Indeed, the enthusiasm for knowledge kept Turayev

on the unquestionably lofty pathway of the investigator—his path of life, all perplexities remained in him, not disturbing in him the basic meaning of forward movement. He worked unusually assiduously and always progressively. Likewise he did not belong to that order of scholars, who, in order to avoid responsibilities, chose for themselves a completely limited problem, within the limits of which they risk no criticism.

Turayev, on the contrary was not afraid of responsible tasks, summing up his investigations in well-ground deductions. The larger problems fascinated him, as a result of which partial investigations flowed together remarkably harmoniously in his basic structures. Nothing obscured his horizon and at the same time the paths of his research were firmly enclosed. Now-a-days, when there is particularly required a realization of basic synthesis, the memory of such great scholars as Turayev must be preserved as a guiding example for many.

The recently departed Vladimirtsev had the same aspirations. Coeval with them is our great and esteemed Rostovtsev, an outstanding figure among scholars. Vladimirtsev's numerous works (like *The Life of Chingiz-Khan*, *The Social Structure of Mongol Life*, etc.) are new, well-founded and attractive to read. These three circumstances are rarely encountered in combination. It occurs so many times to all readers to regret the fact that very needful treatises are set forth in such clumsy language that their meaning is obscured by artificial accumulations of words. But the books of Vladimirtsev and Rostovtsev are manifested as parts of their enormous knowledge of the Orient. Moreover as true scholars, they identically understand and respond both to the oldest and the newest.

Being deeply acquainted with objective evidence, Rostovtsev is also a just appraiser of contemporary art. Archaeologist, historian, judge of art, he is always renewing his book learning with excavations and with travels. His word sounds clearly, both about the most ancient periods of history and about our own times. He absorbs everything. He is now justly recognized as an authority in America and in all the European countries. His books may be seen in university libraries and in the most unexpected book-collections, and everywhere they show signs of frequent reading. The world has need of such scholars ! They are needed by us, by his countrymen, and by the whole world. I rejoice that the works of Rostovtsev are pub-

lished in different languages and thus are accessible to an enormous number of readers.

During last winter Professor Rostovtsev visited India. It will be especially interesting to recall how this eminent Russian scholar speaks about India in the last issue of *Russkiye Zapiski* (Russian Annals) published in Paris:

"In my old age God gave me the chance to visit India, this fairy-tale country. . In India I saw that, what interested me. . . My chief interest in India was the interest of a historian, a specialist in the field of the ancient classical world,—of a historian, who already for many years studied the relationship of India with the classic epochs, and their (of India and this world) mutual influence on each other which is best of all understood through architecture, painting and applied crafts.

"I will say a few words about India in general, which will be of interest to my Russian readers. As a Russian I was struck by the similarity of India and Russia. One should not exaggerate this, but one cannot ignore this resemblance. A colossal country with a population of hundreds of millions, speaking hundreds of languages. A country of thousands of tribes, tongues and dialects. A country of many religions and acute religious oppositions. A country of endless fertile plains and mighty rivers. A country of millions of peasants, thousands of villages and a few cities most of which are but large villages. The country of squeaking ox-carts, country roads, endless caravans, immense vastnesses. A country of sharp differences in all respects: climatic, social, economic, religious. On the one side hungry poverty, on the other—palaces, sparkling in gold and silver, wealthy rajas decorated with precious gems. Temples, the treasures of which are filled with gold and silver and jewellery, which nobody has ever seen except the priests—and mud huts of millions of peasants and workmen. A small well-wishing intelligentsia torn off the soil and millions of illiterate and half-literate people. A country of unlimited possibilities, hidden in the soul of the people. A country which surprises with its deep religiosity, with thousands of temples and hundreds of thousands of priests, with millions of pilgrims,

with luxurious religious ceremonies and processions. A country of asceticism and mortification of flesh. A country of mysticism and religious upliftment . . . .

"But in order to understand, I, at least, have to see. But to see the dead is impossible. Of the dead one can only guess and reconstruct it in one's imagination. In India the classical polytheism with its theory, philosophy and praxis is alive. One can see it, see it daily, in thousands of large and small temples, scattered all over India, where the cult of thousands of gods never ceases even for a minute, where traditional religion is living and is not likely to die.

"The traditional polytheism of India is indeed alive and it is very instructive for the research worker of the classical world to see its everyday manifestation. . . The similarity is striking. Polytheism is of course existent also in other parts of the world, but that is either a primitive, barbarian, shamanistic polytheism or that of another race,—not of ours. In India the brahmanistic polytheism has been retained amidst the people, who attained a high form of civilization, the same as in the classical world. It has survived in India a hard struggle.

"In galleries, in temple yards and bazaars, in streets inhabited by priests of Hindu temples, I felt exactly as in the classical world. It seemed to me that I saw not the life of a Madura or Bhuvaneshwar Temple of India or the thousands of temples of Bali of the twentieth century, but the life of large and small temples not so much of Greece, Rome or Egypt, but rather of Syria, Mesopotamia of the Hellenistic and Roman period."

Of course when one studies India longer, one no more thinks of the Hellenistic or Roman period but of something much more ancient and much more lofty and essential. But for a brief visit like that of Professor Rostovtsev, who is a specialist of the classical world, such a vivid comparison of life in India with ancient classical countries, is very interesting.

We sketch Russian silhouettes and in them one can realize those friendly ties which mark two countries of the same race.

Himalayas, 1938



# THE CHINESE SOLDIER

By AGNES SMEDLEY

SINCE time immemorial the Chinese have regarded the soldier as the lowest of the earth's human creatures, while the man who could read and write characters was given first honor and a privileged position in society. Today, much of this fallacious attitude continues to exist and is, in some degree, responsible for the weaknesses in the Army Medical Service and the inadequate care of the wounded. This fallacious attitude is also seen in recent Government decisions exempting the student class from conscripted military service at the front and for the fact that modern-trained Chinese physicians have not yet been conscripted by the Government for the Army Medical Service.

While large numbers of students have voluntarily entered some branch of military service, such as guerilla units, the air force, or as officers, still they are chiefly confined to political work in the army and in the rear, while thousands of students calmly move to the rear and continue to study in universities in the same way as before the war began. This is their loss, for the difference between students who have seen hard service at the front, and those in the rear, is most striking. Those in the rear are soft, indecisive, often effeminate, not knowing what life is all about; those at the front become sharp, quick, determined, capable.

Yet it can be said that almost the entire Chinese Army is made up of workers and peasants, the majority of them illiterate, most of them with the most miserable economic background. With the social heritage of outcasts, these soldiers nevertheless arouse in all foreign observers who see them in action almost nothing but unstinted praise and admiration. Foreign military men of long service in western armies have repeatedly remarked that while high Chinese officers are very bad stuff, still the courage, endurance, stubbornness and initiative of the common soldiers and of the lower officers is unsurpassed. One foreign military officer who was on the General Staff in France during the world war said: "I would be proud to command such men."

True, in past wars of rival generals in China, the Chinese soldier received—and deserved—a bad name. However, that was not

his fault. He had no principle worth fighting for, but was a tool of this or that General on the path to glory and riches. But what he was really made of was shown repeatedly when he was once given something worth fighting for. Given an idea worth living for, and he was willing to fight and die for it.

To understand this characteristic of the Chinese soldier you have but to know the economic and social conditions of the workers and peasants, from which the soldier springs. The common people stand always before hunger, completely unprotected from the ravages of nature and the more merciless ravages of their fellow-man. Without the simplest elemental rights of man, they have in addition been left in the darkness of illiteracy. The soldier fought only for his bowl of rice in the past and naturally enough it did not matter to him for whom he fought.

Yet this very virgin mental and economic state, combined with the native intelligence which characterizes the common man of China, makes the Chinese soldier the most fertile soil in the world for ideas. This was demonstrated in the revolutionary wave of 1925-27 in China, but it was above all shown in the development of the Chinese Red Army of workers and peasants. That Army sprang from the very soil of destitution and subjection and, beginning with some few rifles, grew until it stood off an army of a million men armed with weapons so superior to them that the comparison between the present Japanese Army and the Chinese may be made. Yet the once half-naked Red Army of poor men is today meeting the powerful Japanese Army, throughout north and northwest China. As in the past, so today, the most powerful weapon of this Army, now called the 8th Route Army, is the knowledge it brings the common people. No people on earth are more willing to die for an idea of a new and better life than are the common men of China.

Also, in 1932, the famous 19th Route Army demonstrated to the world what the Chinese soldier was capable of doing when fighting for his own country. That army was ragged and badly armed, and many of them mere boys.

When the present Japanese invasion began,

the Chinese soldier again showed his mettle, both in the north and in the Yangtze Valley. Inferior by a thousand-fold to the well-armed and well-organized Japanese army with its fleets of war vessels, airplanes, tanks, artillery and intelligence service, still most units of the Chinese Army stood up and continued to fight against colossal odds. As one foreign diplomat expressed it, "Around Shanghai the Japanese hurled everything at them except the kitchen sink." The courage of the common soldier, his endurance, stubbornness, initiative, and ability to bear hardship when fighting for his own homeland, has aroused the unstinted admiration of every unbiased foreigner and the love of every Chinese who is a sincere patriot. A foreign military observer who recently returned after three months with the Eighth Route Army, expressed his opinion of the character of the Chinese soldier in these words.

"The Chinese soldier stands at the very top of the scale as a fighting man. Given decent treatment, a minimum of food to sustain life in him, and a spiritual purpose to fight for, the Chinese soldier has no superior. He can endure more hardship than any soldier on earth."

In the Yangtze Valley today one has more than ample opportunity to observe the ordinary Chinese soldier. Here are over a million men from every section of the country. Provincial and geographical differences make themselves felt, but beyond this, the fighting man at the front has no differences. In the rear, among politicians, there is unrelenting struggle over the question of the mobilization and arming of the civilian population, against corruption and bureaucracy, and against political reaction. But at the front all this vanishes and men are brothers fighting for one common, holy purpose. Many of the Provincial troops are boys, little more than children, their loose faded cotton uniforms flapping about their thin adolescent bodies. Their equipment is miserable and many know little more than the Japanese have destroyed their homes and families and threaten to destroy all China.

Other troops are older, seasoned, more conscious men. Many come from the North, their homes already in occupied territory. In the fighting in western Shantung down to June, these northern troops—formerly without high reputation—suddenly began to stand the full brunt of the fighting. The 26th Route Army commanded by General Sun Lien-chung, stood its ground to the very last—and lost three-fourths of its force. The Manchurian troops of General Yu Hsueh-chung did the same. I have recently visited Army hospitals filled with these

northern men wounded months ago in Shantung. They are big and strong, slow and stubborn, between the ages of twenty and thirty as a rule, and fully conscious of the meaning of this war.

Then, here in the Yangtze Valley today are also the shorter, wiry, temperamental Kwangtung Army, and the well-trained, politically, Kwangsi Army. The crack troops of the Central Government are also highly trained, politically, in so far as the Japanese problem is concerned. As the best-armed forces of the country, they stood much of the brunt of fighting in the Yangtze Valley around Shanghai and Nanking, suffering heavy losses.

The army with the highest political and social training is the famous Eighth Route, or Communist Army. All its men have been taught to read and write in the Army, while military and political training is about equally divided. Its morale is perhaps the highest of all Chinese armies, and it is the only Army so far able to exist, grow, and operate successfully in the rear of the enemy, to reconquer Chinese territory and re-establish Chinese authority. The rank and file of its men believe that this is a holy war. I have talked with the wounded of this Army as they were carried from the battlefield. Some knew they were dying, but did not complain, and one dying man tried to comfort me by telling me that it did not really matter if he died because China would be victorious.

The wounded Chinese soldier, generally speaking, is perhaps the most stoical of any on earth. This is a tragic necessity also, for the Chinese Army Medical Service has not gone in advance of the backward nature of the country in general. It is, therefore, badly organized and most imperfectly equipped and trained. At the front in the Yangtze Valley today one can see long lines of lightly wounded men making their painful way for days and days to some receiving station or field hospital in the rear. Men severely wounded lie dying in some peasant hut or wayside station, or under some isolated tree. Generally the wounded man dies in silence, uncomplaining, his eyes often filled with hopelessness. It is a terrible thing to see them die, for it is clear to those who know them that they are the material from which true greatness is made, and that the loss of such courage and consciousness is a loss to China and to the world.

In recent air raids in the Wu-Han cities, I have again had the opportunity to watch the Chinese soldier in action and to care for some of their wounded. With mangled bodies, they

patiently watch doctors and nurses care for other wounded men, most of whom are civilians. They do not moan or groan, but wait in white-lipped silence until their turn comes. For every little thing done for them they are eternally grateful,—as if they expect nothing from life. It is a sad truth that, though they

are tender to each other when wounded, and care for each other, still it seems to come as a surprise to many of them when others come to their aid. This sad fact, with all its connotations, will perhaps be destroyed before the present Sino-Japanese war comes to an end.

## IMPRESSIONS OF BOHEMIA

By MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, D.Sc. POL. (Rome).

ON a warm and bright afternoon early in last June, when the spark of an ominous incident on the Czech-German frontier near Cheb had hardly died out, I was approaching the home of the Sudeten Germans who have recently created so much noise and scandal in European politics, by the Paris-Prague express. The train was speeding across the green slopes and exuberant spring verdure of the German woodlands.

On the 20th May and during the following days, Europe was almost on the brink of a war. Two Sudeten Germans were shot at by the Czech police near Eger and were incidentally killed. There was anxiety in all the capitals of Europe as to the possibility of a German intervention in Czechoslovakia. The memory of the *ananschluss* was too fresh to allow European statesmen to dismiss lightly the provocation that this incident might have offered to the fulfilment of Nazi plans in regard to Czechoslovakia. Two weeks had passed since the incident, still there was a lot of tension in the air.

The only other passenger in my compartment, with whom I had been travelling from Nuremberg, did not speak a single word until we crossed the German frontier and arrived at Eger. He was a Czech businessman from Paris coming home for the Whitsun holidays. After we had left Eger he became very friendly with me and told me without reserve all he knew and all he felt about the present situation in regard to Czech-German relations. I guessed the wisdom of his taciturn attitude during the German part of the journey.

Except for the small movement of customs and passport officers, this frontier station which might have proved a new Serajevo about two weeks ago, appeared to be unusually calm and

peaceful. At eight o'clock in the evening the streets were deserted and there was practically no traffic even near the railway station. It naturally suggested to me the strong hand that Prague had taken in regard to the incidents that became so chronic in the Sudeten German districts of Czechoslovakia. This guess was later on confirmed by the general belief that I found among the important officers of the State and members of the Press in Prague that there is only one method of dealing with the Germans, that is, "to show the red eye." The Germans, it is believed in Prague, consider persuasion as weakness. So Czechoslovakia had prepared herself for the worst. As a matter of fact, the entire country seemed to be in the midst of a general mobilization. From the frontier to Prague we noticed at least three lines of fortification, and every bridge was guarded by soldiers. In many places on our way, on high promontories we found those military pickets, dressed in greenish-woollen khaki, in very cheerful and optimistic mood, guarding the outskirts of their beloved motherland. The Czechs made no secret of their preparedness for war, although the enemy might prove to be infinitely stronger than themselves. There was a touch of desperation in the determination of young Czechs to defend their newly acquired independence after centuries of subjection and torture. Every young man whom I had the opportunity to meet in Czechoslovakia gave me the impression of this desperation and of an instinctive aversion to the Teutonic menace.

The present quarrel between the Germans and Czechs can never be understood in its proper historic significance until one realizes the fundamental difference between the Slav and Teutonic temperaments that has given



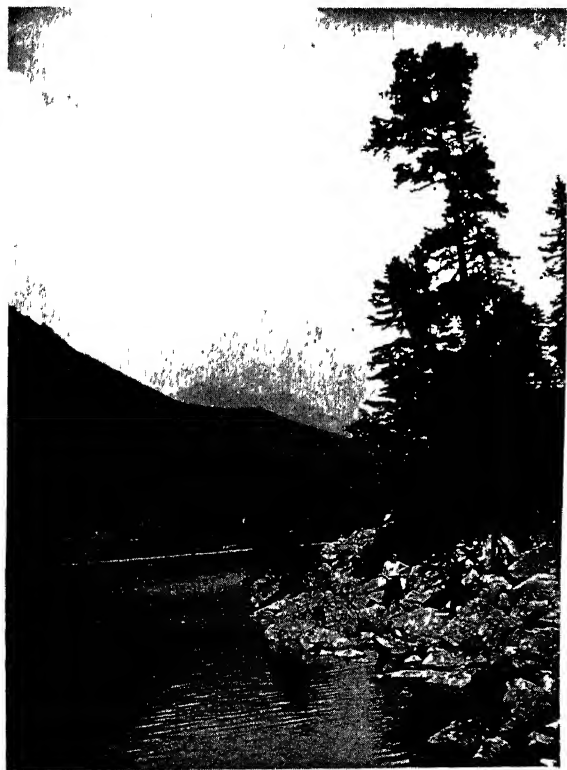
## BOHEMIA



Young girls in their national costumes from a village of Carpathian Ruthenia



Beautiful wedding costumes from South-eastern Moravia



A charming lake in the High Tatras

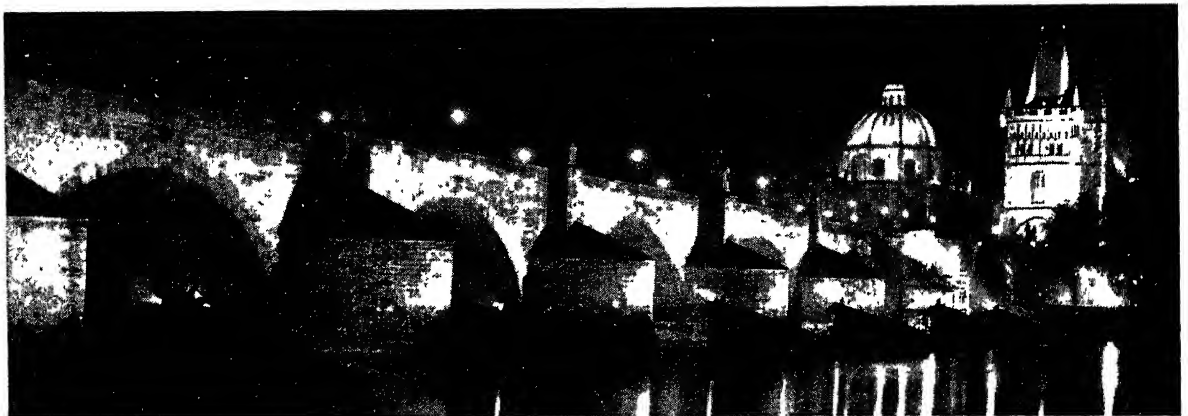


The War Memorial, Prague





General view of Bratislava, the Capital of Slovakia



Reflections of the illuminated Charles Bridge on the Moldava, Prague



The Monument to John Hus, Prague

Europe some of its most decisive wars and still constitutes the most potential danger for peace in Central Europe. The religious revolt itself, led by the Prague Professor John Hus, which partly inspired the Reformation and led to the religious wars involving the political



A delightful ensemble of embroideries and laces. Costumes from middle Moravia

destiny of Bohemia in a series of unending vicissitudes, was not merely an anticlerical movement but was characterized by a deep-rooted racial animosity. According to an eminent English historian,

"Bohemian puritanism, while full of religious mobility and vigour, was closely bound up with national pride, and with the ambition for political independence. It was a movement partly for the reform of a profligate, idle, and ignorant clergy, but partly, also, for a Bohemian Church on a national basis, and for the expulsion or subordination of the Germans. A light is thrown upon this last aspect of the struggle by a decree of King Wenzel in 1409, which transferred the control of the University of Prague from the Germans to the Bohemians. So passionate was the pride of the German masters and students that, rather than submit to the dominion of the Slavs, they emigrated in a body, founded the University of Leipzig, and spread far and wide through Germany their violent abhorrence of the Bohemian cause. The bitterness of the religious war was deepened by that intense racial animosity which is found when two mutually uncongenial races are intermingled in the same geographical area, and maddened by the jars of daily intercourse." (H. A. L. Fisher: *A History of Europe*, page 356).

The political subjection of Bohemia under the Austrian Empire did not wipe out this instinctive aversion of the Bohemians towards their neighbouring Teutonic races. The great War again set at liberty the tides of Slavonic nationalism which had continued to aspire, even during its darkest periods, after self-determination. The following passage from Prof. Fisher's book illustrates this point of view:

"The Hussite wars, while they should primarily be regarded as the prelude to the Protestant Reformation, are also important as marking the reaction of a Slavonic race against the onward pressure and dominating influence of the Germans. The quarrel of Bohemia will not be understood unless we can enter into the emotions of a small people struggling to preserve its soul against a race more numerous and more advanced than itself. Passionate discipline and willing sacrifice made the Bohemians masters of their destiny, but the fruits of victory were snatched by a greedy nobility, and lost in 1620 at the battle of the White Hill, when the Protestant cause was overwhelmed, and the little country with its griddle of mountains was caught in the Austrian and Catholic net, from which it was only delivered after much fletting and uneasiness by the flashing scimitar of the great war" (*Op. Cit.*, page 359)

It would be appropriate in this connection to refer to the two living cults in modern Czechoslovakia which bear testimony to the fact that although the present constitution of the Republic of Czechoslovakia came into being after the great war, its foundation had been laid more than a thousand years ago. They are the cult of Venceslas,\* and the Sokol movement. Czechoslovakia celebrated the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Republic in 1928, but at the same time she celebrated with greater grandeur the millennial anniversary of the death of Saint Venceslas on the 28th September, 1929. Saint Venceslas, whose statue stands today in front of the National Museum in Prague at one end of the principal thoroughfare and main artery of metropolitan traffic which bears his name, was not only the first Saint of Bohemia whom the Czechoslovak people have honoured as their patron and protector but also became the symbol of her independence and of the part she has taken in the march of European civilization. All the history of Czechoslovakia from the 10th to the 20th century is permeated by the cult of St Venceslas. Although an independent Czech State was organized by the Premyslides about a hundred years before the advent of Venceslas, it was during the reign of the Saint that the solid nucleus of the Czech

\* This name is sometimes written also as Wenceslas and Vaclav.

State was formed for the first time under the aegis of a national dynasty by the union of several tribes of occidental Slavs inhabiting the actual territory of Czechoslovakia. It is St. Venceslas who is credited with the wisdom, at the moment of the breakdown of the liaison between the tribes of the occidental Slavs and

the millenary celebrations. The tradition of St. Venceslas has been allocated a position of the first importance in Czech history. Subsequent generations made of him the national patron saint, an advocate before God, the protector of the Czech cause, his country's most perfect representative in the eyes of his people and of

foreigners. It is certain that the martyrdom which brought an early end to his reign greatly contributed to this. On the 28th September, 929, he was assassinated by the order of the partisans of his brother, Boleslav, on the threshold of Stara Boleslav Church. Although the frenzied ambition of his brother was the true motive for the murder, Venceslas was referred to from the death as a martyr to the Christian cause to which he had consecrated his life. Poems were composed in his honour in Latin and Slav, and his reputation travelled all through Europe. His mortal remains transported by his remorseful brother from Stara Boleslav to the Church of St. Vitus at Prague Castle, are regarded as a national



President and Madame Benes plucking fruits

the Byzantine civilization owing to the inroads of the Hungarians into the Danube basin, of turning towards the civilization of western Europe, and of employing all his power to spread among the masses of the Czech people the sole form of that civilization, the Christian religion of the Latin Church. He surrounded himself by enlightened priests, and, with their aid, he propagated the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, routed pagan superstitions, and introduced Christian customs. He maintained active relations with the West and implanted the art of Roman architecture and *belles lettres* in Bohemia. Filled in his youth by the ideal of a Christian ruler, his wise government made a civilized country of Bohemia, enabling her, by the degree of her culture, to rank among the most advanced nations of the West. The monuments of the period of this saintly Prince which have survived the subsequent wars bear eloquent testimony to the work of civilization carried on by the Czechoslovak nation. The most important of these is the Church of St. Vitus, the first foundations of which were laid by the Prince himself in the precincts of the Prague Castle, and which was completed during

palladium, his boar-spear, borne in combat assures victory; his likeness was engraved on the coins and the seals of the rulers of Bohemia, since the tenth century, the anniversary of his death has been celebrated as a national fete and his sword has served as arms for the knights of the State.

St. Venceslas is for Bohemia what St. Stephen is for Hungary. This cult of Venceslas achieved its apogee at the time of the most celebrated of the rulers of Bohemia, Charles IV, who was himself a fervent admirer of the Saint. He had built over the tomb of the Saint a chapel and undertook the construction of the Cathedral of St. Vitus, the foundations of which had been laid by the Saint himself. The University of Prague which he founded in 1348 bears on its coat of arms the figure of the Saint, and the crown of Bohemia, refashioned by Charles, was placed on the skull of the patron of the country and called the Crown of Saint Venceslas. It was for this reason that the Czech territories were afterwards known as the lands of the Crown of St. Venceslas. Even during the Hussite period the cult of St. Venceslas did not disappear but merged later

in the Hussite tradition. Hus himself was an admirer of the princely Saint, and the beautiful hymn in honour of the Saint which appeared at the end of the 13th century was augmented by new verses during the Hussite period and was sung by the "soldiers of God" as a war song and as a national hymn on the occasion of great events. The plastic arts as well as the folk arts of Bohemia have been greatly influenced by the Venceslas tradition. This tradition has been revived with renewed vigour after the foundation of the independent Republic. Imposing manifestations have been made before his statue, and the first gold pieces of the Republic bore his effigy as did the coins of the ancient princes and kings of Bohemia.

The Sokol Movement which is a typically Slav organization and a characteristically Slav contribution to the culture of Europe owes its origin in Czechoslovakia after the downfall of the post-Metternich absolutism in 1860, when the first dawn of constitutional freedom raised in the Czechs the hope of political independence which they never again abandoned. They determined to fit themselves for the part they might some day have to play in Europe, and devoted the spare hours of a hard life to a form of gymnastic exercise which demands mental alertness, binds its exponents in equal brotherhood, and requires of them a high moral standard. The artistic talent of the Czech people made music an integral part of the movement, and the kaleidoscopic changes of attitude and formation are rendered without any words of command, but only in accordance with the notes of the music and an occasional signal. The name "Sokol" (Falcon) is derived from Yugoslav legends and songs, and among the Southern Slavs after the war it took the dramatic form of epic history. Men and women would recount in rhythmic drill the story of the Turkish conquest followed by the long struggle of their race for freedom.

"Music and movement told the tale of subjugation, the men doing every exercise with their arms crossed at the wrists, and being gradually, as it were, driven to the ground, on which their crossed wrists were laid, and foreheads on wrists. The girls meanwhile, the music growing slower and sadder, took dragging steps forward,

sank upon a knee, and buried their faces in their hands. Then the music would grow louder, stormier, heartening, and men and women half rose and looked upward, only to be driven by a crash from the music, denoting the suppression of the rising, back into their attitudes of utter dejection. Two or three abortive revolts followed, each rather differently characterized; then gradually the performers—but they hardly seemed to be performers in the ordinary sense of the word—slowly rose to fully upright positions, the music grew harmonious, majestic and finally triumphant, while men and women closed their ranks, burst into loud song, and marched from the hall to the frantic applause of the onlookers."



A Slovak peasant girl watering plants at home

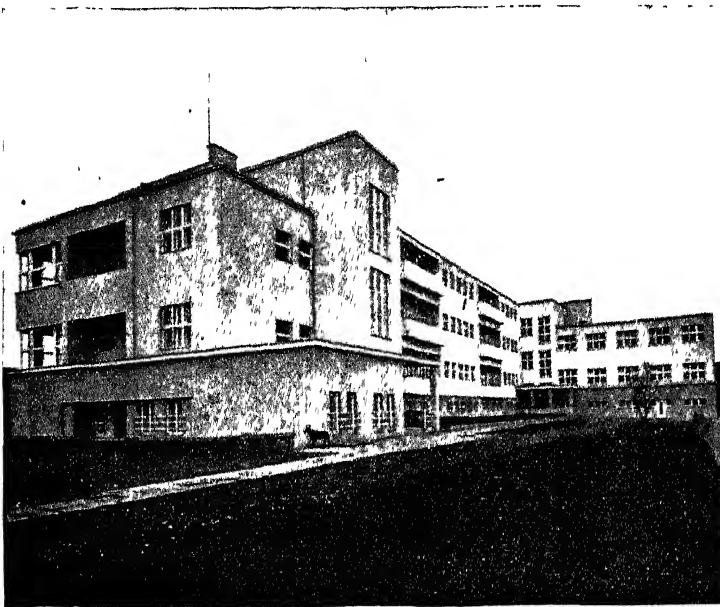
It was history re-enacted by people to whom every memory of disaster and triumph seemed to be a living experience. To the Yugoslavs, Czechs, Slovaks, and other Slavs these exercises mean much more than physical culture, for they express the soul of the nation. They also, of course, teach discipline, orderliness and respect for communal authority. During the great Sokol Congress which is being held at present (July) in Prague representatives of the entire Slavonic world have gathered together and are taking part in the gigantic manifestations. Could our own *Bratachari* movement adopt this all-comprehensive national, patriotic and cultural character?

This fundamental racial antagonism between the Slavs and the Germans has never ceased to play its part in the history of Central Europe, the Balkans and Russia. The Hussite wars, the Pan-Slavonic movement originating with the Slovak poet Kollar in 1824 and leading to the Bohemian revolution of 1848 and

ultimately breaking up the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy after the great war, although Pan-Slavism was not the only motive behind the first spark of that great conflagration, and the actual animosity between Soviet Russia and the Third Reich, the root of which goes deeper than a mere divergence of political convictions all demonstrate this antagonism. Czechoslovakia's alliance with Yugoslavia in the project of the Little Entente, and with Soviet Russia the most powerful Slav State, in the post-War days, indicate that Pan-Slavism is not yet dead as an ideal. The Nazi plan in regard to

which is slowly surging up in that country Germany today dreams again of the dominion of the world, and before she can fight the Western Democracies successfully, she has to feed her Four-Year Plans with the wealth of the Balkans and Ukrania. The present conflict between Germany and Czechoslovakia over the question of the Sudeten Germans, which was discussed by the present writer in the June issue of this *Review*, ought to be seen in the light of this more elaborate Nazi *weltanschauung*.

When I first saw Prague the entire history of Bohemia and the part she played in European history became almost a living experience for me. Here in this modern, brisk and resurrected capital, one can still find the traces of its calmy beginning under the Premyslides, the memories of the glorious reign of Charles IV (1346-1378) of the House of Luxembourg who made Prague the largest city of Central Europe and metropolis of the Holy Roman Empire, are contained in the treasures of mediæval Gothic represented by the Cathedral of St. Vitus, the Charles Bridge and the University; the tragedies of the Hussite wars and of the Catholic triumph in Bohemia seem to still linger on the soaring spires of the Baroque domes adorning the sky-line of Prague and on some of the magnificent specimens of



A typical pavilion in the Masaryk Home near Prague

Czechoslovakia and Hungary owes its inspiration to something more than a mere irredentist policy for bringing the entire German-speaking populations of Europe under the single flag of Greater Germany. Czechoslovakia and Hungary constitute the most formidable walls against Germany's drive towards the East. Although Hungary is not a Slav State, its population being composed of the Magyar races, she refuses to be drawn into a Pan-Germanic circle and thus to serve as a convenient high road for the march of Prussian militarism, resurrected again today under the veiled intoxication of a political doctrine, towards the East where the mineral wealth of the Balkans and the abundant harvests of Ukrania could bring the necessary grist to the mill of German autarky. The reorientation in Hungary's foreign policy since the *anschluss* would clearly indicate the anti-Nazi wave

architecture inspired by the Italian Renaissance. Prague is rightly called the heart of Europe, and the history of this city is the history of Bohemia and partly also the history of the northern Slavs. Apart from these historical associations, the natural situation of the city itself, the leisurely stream of the Moldava with its mediæval and modern bridges, the Castle heights (Hradcany), the unending series of beautiful gardens, the romantic silence of the *Mala Strana* (small town) and the grandeur of the Venceslas Street, make Prague one of the prettiest cities of Europe. Ernest Denis, the French historian and the author of the famous history of the Czech nation, wrote: "Prague is tragic and her every stone speaks of heroic drama." The citizens of Prague have honoured the French historian by naming one of the railway stations of the city after him, as they have named the



other two principal stations after President Wilson and President Masaryk, both of whom played such a big part in the creation of the new Republic. In front of the Wilson station there stands a huge statue of the American President as an abiding symbol of the idealistic bonds that bind Czechoslovakia with the largest democracy across the Atlantic.

During my stay in Prague I had the opportunity of visiting the Exhibition of Prague Baroque in the Castle. A bird's-eye view of this exhibition gave me the impression that there is no other city in Europe which could furnish so many materials for the study of Baroque art as could the "Rome of the North," as Prague was called by Auguste Rodin, the famous French sculptor. To study the history of Prague baroque, it seemed to me, was to study the contemporary history of Czechoslovakia itself. The German, Italian and French influences, as they were brought into this country with its foreign political and religious masters, all contributed to the evolution of this special style which is called baroque. It is principally a combination of Gothic and Renaissance styles. The Gothic style was introduced into Bohemia in the first half of the 13th century, almost abruptly, since the country till that time had been a simple Slavonic agricultural State. Gothic reached its maximum development in the latter half of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century, during the reigns of Charles IV and Vaclav IV, when the Kings of Bohemia were simultaneously German Emperors. It was in that epoch that there came into being the splendid cathedrals in French style (Charles IV was educated at Paris), the cloister churches and the romantic castles not only in Bohemia but also in all parts of Moravia and Slovakia. The powerful expansion of the plastic arts during the reign of Charles IV was interrupted by the religious wars of the Hussites and it was not until the close of the 15th century that Czech art regained the level of that in other countries in Central Europe. The revived evolution of pure Gothic was then interrupted by the appearance of the Renaissance brought to Bohemia by Italian artists at the beginning of the 16th century. The beginnings of the Renaissance style, characterized in particular by the Belvedere Castle, the summer residence of Queen Anne, fall within the period which saw a change in the dynasty—the accession of the Habsburgs to the throne of Bohemia. The Renaissance soon spread through the medium of Italian craftsmen and artists not merely at Prague but also in South Bohemia, Moravia

and Slovakia. Baroque came to characterize the face of Czechoslovak towns during the seventeenth century when, after the close of the Thirty Years' War which had exhausted the countries and deprived them of their non-Catholic population, the Gothic churches were systematically reconstructed and given a new external decoration by the zealous enterprise of Jesuit priests. Spacious palaces and monasteries were erected, and there arose new places of pilgrimage whose plastic forms breathed an exalted religious emotion. The Czech lands became the classic home of the baroque style whose excellence remained unsurpassed as a universal standard. Artistic achievements of the Czech genius reached a culminating point in the 18th century in the architecture of the Dienzenhofers, the frescoes of Rainer, the



A characteristic costume of a Slovak village girl

paintings of Brandl and Kupecky, and in the sculpture of Matthias Braun and Brokoff. This high level of art then gradually sank, the independence of Bohemia in art began to succumb to the growing influence of Vienna which at that time had succeeded in bringing about a gradual cultural Germanization of the country. By the end of the century art in Bohemia was on the point of extinction.

But as in the field of religion, political subjection could not kill the inner urge of Czech national genius to assert itself at an



opportune moment in the field of art and literature too. The Czech national renaissance which culminated in the foundation of the Republic in 1918, had its origin nearly hundred years ago in "the ideas of 1848." Revolution in France, republicanism in England, the rising tide of the Italian *risorgimento*, and the publication of the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx in 1848, had their repercussions in Bohemia. The Czechs were foaming under the



Costumes of Kujov in East Moravia

Austrian rule and Slovakia was oppressed by their Hungarian masters. The Czechoslovak aspirations of national independence which took a concrete revolutionary shape in 1848 could not achieve any practical result; on the contrary, the forces of despotic absolutism at Vienna and Budapest, after having suppressed the political efforts of the Czechs and Slovaks, decided upon a more drastic Germanization of the Czechs and Magyarization of the Slovaks than during the previous Metternish regime.\* But although the political attempts ended in disaster, the undying aspirations of the Czechs and Slovaks for national independence sought their outlet in a literary and artistic revival which constitutes the basis of the national culture of modern Czechoslovakia. The Czech constitutional revolution of 1848 may very appropriately be compared with our own Swadeshi revolution of 1905, so far at least as its cultural consequences are concerned. An attempt was made in Czechoslovakia to rouse the consciousness of the people through literature. Frantisek Palacky (1798-1876) attempted the first elucidation of Czech history, and his ideas constituted the first Czech political programme. The political programme of

Palacky was taken over and elaborated by the second political leader of the Czech nation, F. Ladislav Rieger (1818-1903). That programme was based, on the one hand, on the principle of the nation's right to self-determination, and, on the other hand, on the consciousness of the nation belonging to the great Slav race. This factor of the Czech political programme is reflected particularly in the romantic conception of the Slovak poet, Jan Kollar (1793-1852), who formulated with great pathos and in poetical form his vision of Slavonic unity. The learned researches of Pavel Josef Safarik (1791-1861), a Slovak, led to a deepening of interest in Slavonic questions. Palacky's political collaborator, the talented Czech journalist Karel Havlicek Borovsky (1821-1856), a politician of indomitable character and unending energy, also exercised a great influence on the succeeding generations of fighters for Czech independence. What Palacky, Rieger and Borovsky were in political agitation and propaganda, Kollar, Safarik, Celakovsky and Macha were in poetry and literature. What Karel and Josef Capek, Hilbert and Sramek stand for in Czech dramatic art, Smetana and Dvorak stand for in the national revival of Czech music. The names of Manes, Stursa and Myslbek who brought about the renaissance in modern Czech painting and sculpture, are household words in Czechoslovakia today. These poets and dramatists, painters and sculptors, are but a few of the large number of artists who have enriched by their valuable contributions the national renaissance of the Slavonic people.

In the Czechoslovak Republic of today, the visitor will find the breath of this national rejuvenation in every aspect of its national life, in towns as well as in the country. The ideas of 1848 and of all the subsequent period till the outbreak of the great war have been translated into realities, and an all-comprehensive programme of national reconstruction has been set in motion after the foundation of the Republic. Today the National Theatre of Prague, built in the eighties of the last century by public subscription, is regarded by the Czechs as a living embodiment of Slavonic cultural renaissance. The University of Prague which was divided into two separate institutions, one Czech and the other German, in 1882, gave infinite stimulus to scientific and historical research among Czech scholars which led to the foundation of the Czech Academy of Science and Art (*Ceska akademie ved a umeni*). Two more universities have been established since 1918. the Masaryk University at Brno and the

\* Vide *A Short History of Czechoslovakia* by Kamil Krofta, (London, 1935), pp. 105-115.

Comenius University at Bratislava in order to provide for a harmonious development of all the different elements of which the Czechoslovak culture is composed. The Safarik Society of Bratislava which is also a recent creation aims at the cultural development of the Slovaks. The Masaryk Homes near Prague, which take care of destitute children, the poor and the invalid, constitute a typical achievement of the State in regard to national social insurance. There are these Masaryk Homes all over the country. Czechoslovakia is also a big industrial and commercial country, and the establishments of the Skoda Works at Pilsen and the Bata Works at Zlin, which the writer had the occasion to visit, present a spectacle at once of technical perfection and healthy industrialism. On the 5th June last, I watched one of the most impressive demonstrations of the Czechoslovak working classes from my hotel window, in which nearly ten thousand men and women took part. It was on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the foundation of the Social Democratic Party in Czechoslovakia. President Benes greeted the processionists from the balcony of the Town Hall, while the delegations from different provinces continued to march in their party uniforms with shouts of "Nazdar," the Sokol greeting, and other party slogans. I confess that in this procession of a democratic party I found the sense of brotherhood and comradeship no less intimate and disciplined than that of the totalitarian States. But there was a difference, and a pleasant one too. Here in this procession, for example, little boys carried toys and coloured balloons instead of small muskets hanging on their frail shoulders. Here young girls carried huge daisies as a symbol of spring and beauty instead of a dagger in their belts as obtains somewhere else, and young men carried sporting gears instead of machine guns and tanks. I was delighted very much indeed by this spectacle because it offered me a sense of relief from the apprehension of an oppressive sight which I had expected to see.

The villages of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia are extremely interesting for the student of sociology, although they widely differ from one another in natural beauty and customs of the people. I came across many beautiful castles, built by different dynasties that ruled over Bohemia, while going around the country, and the castles of Karlstejn, and Orlik attracted me most by their natural setting, architectural designs and historical associations. Often I walked down the romantic valleys in

company of young Czechs and Slovaks from one village to another, sometimes through rocky passes, sometimes through the green fields of corn, and sometimes along the course of dark-watered rivers flowing lazily under rustic bridges. One thing, however, disappointed me; here I had expected to find the gipsies who had from time immemorial picked up their tents on the outskirts of Bohemian forests and had lent that characteristic nostalgia of their music to the folk songs of Bohemia and Slovakia. I did not find their traces, except in the ornamental designs of some of the folk costumes



The Castle of Karlstejn near Prague

in Slovak villages, and in an occasional plaintive musical mood of Bohemian peasants. Neither the Czechs nor the Slovaks have known an aristocratic nobility since their national rebirth after the constitutional revolution, but emerged as a nation of peasants and small traders and workers in the towns. Thus the predominance of a middle-class population has given a democratic character to Czechoslovak intellectual and social life. The Slovaks are, in comparison with the Czechs, much nearer the original Slavonic type and character, since the Magyars intermingled much less with the simple Slovaks than the Germans did with the Czechs. The Slovaks have no aristocracy and their leaders have for the most part sprung from the common people. The Slovaks have great artistic talent as is manifest in their picturesque

national costumes, their beautiful songs, and their notable popular arts and crafts. This popular element has supplied the inspiration to more than one poet of renaissance Bohemia, and Frantisek Ladislav Celakovsky (1799-1851) endeavoured, somewhat under the influence of the German romantic school, to revive poetry through folk song, of which he was a masterly imitator. What Celakovsky was in poetry, Nemcova (1820-1862) was in prose, who wrote some perfect tales of village life . . . One other thing which struck me in some of the Bohemian villages is the nice little cemeteries which combined a deep sense of awe and aesthetic simplicity. The only curious experience which I often came across while travelling like a simple tourist in the villages either on foot or while crossing a river, was the inevitable appearance of a soldier who seeing my photographic camera came to remind me always that taking photographs was prohibited, and sometimes they also wanted to see my passport in order to make sure that it was not a German one. The entire country seemed to be under a general scheme of fortifications, and after all, they had every reason to be careful.

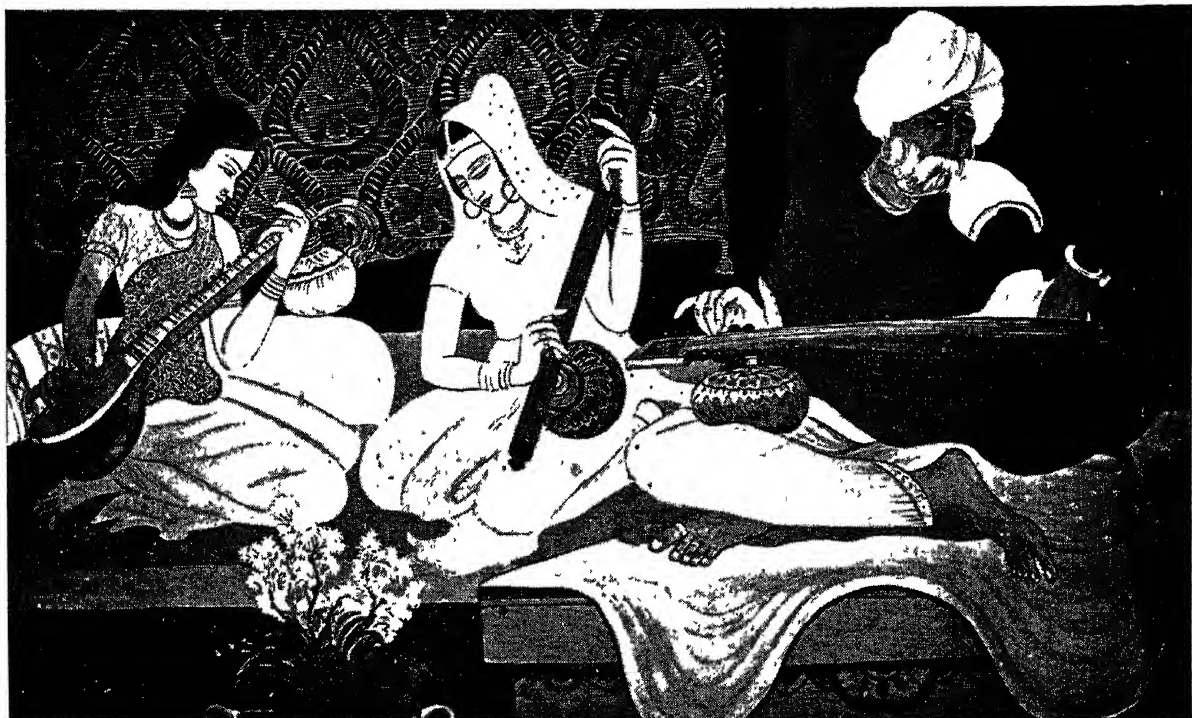
I should like to draw the attention of our countrymen to the selfless efforts of Prof. V. Lesny, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Prague, towards promoting active and progressive cultural relations between India and Czechoslovakia. He is the *spiritus rector* of the Indo-Czechoslovak Association and takes an infinite interest in the propagation of Indian culture among the intelligentsia

of his country. He has been to Santiniketan, and has recently written a critical work on the poetry of Tagore in Czech which is being translated into English. He has instituted a course of Bengali in the Prague University. I had the good fortune of seeing him several times while in Prague, sometimes at his office and sometimes at his club, and on every occasion he entertained me with long conversations in spite of his heavy engagements. It is from him that I learnt that the University of Prague is trying to institute a few scholarships every year for deserving Indian students. Prof. Lesny is very ably and enthusiastically assisted in his work for India by our friend and colleague, Mr A. C. N. Nambiar.

Czechoslovakia finds herself today, as so many times before in her history, under the threat of German expansionism. The destiny of Central Europe may once more come to be decided here. But the decision does not rest with President Benes alone, who is reputed to have the coolest head among the statesmen of Europe; it depends in a large measure on the pagan leader of a romantic people who, in the traditions of Nietzsche, his spiritual *guru*, has made a superman out of himself and believes in "living dangerously." If a general conflagration becomes unavoidable, and if Czechoslovakia would be burnt to ashes, the same historic forces which had sustained this nation in the darkest periods of its national existence, will know how to make of those ashes a new phoenix of Czech nationalism.

Rome,  
July 5, 1938





A Musical Soiree  
By Ramendranath Chakravarti

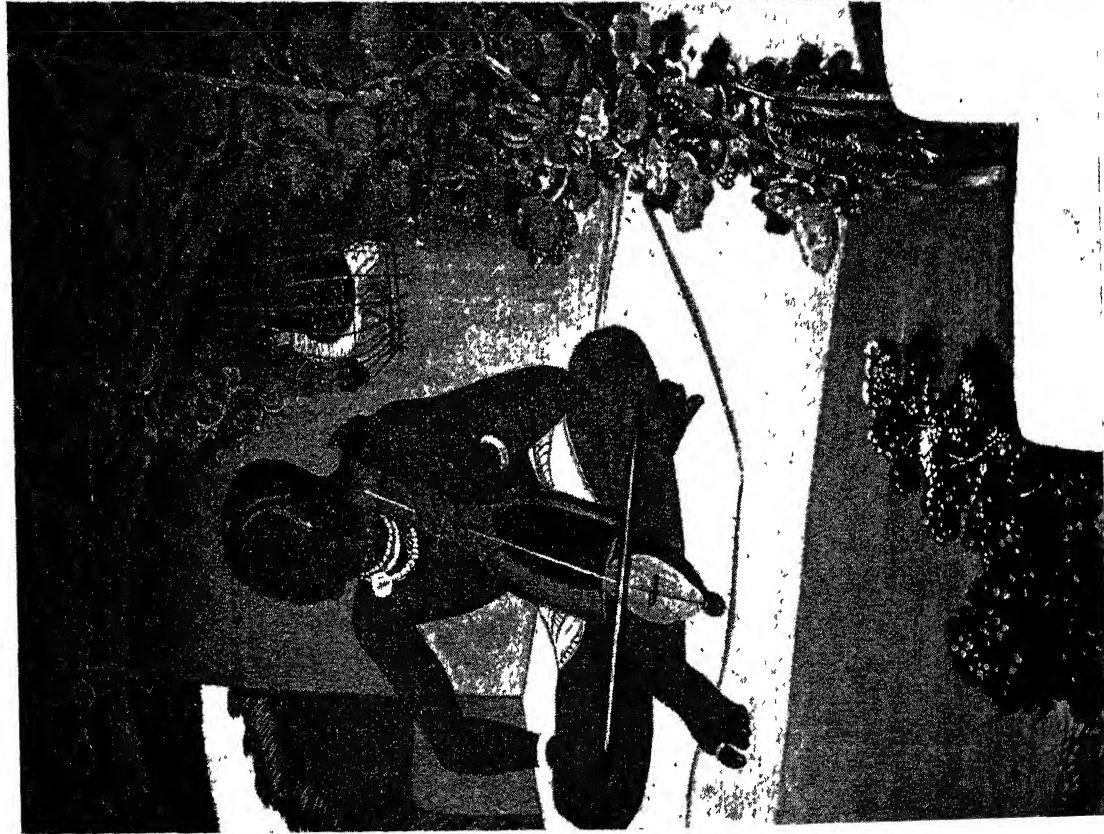


Mother  
By Ramendranath Chakravarti



Birth of Buddha  
By Ramendranath Chakravarti





A Santal Musician  
By Ram-ndranath Chakravarti



A Village on the Padma  
By Ramendranath Chakravarti

# THE ABORIGINAL RACES OF INDIA AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION

BY DR NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M A , PH.D

*Lecturer, Lucknow University*

THAT about 15 million individuals in India have been deliberately excluded, wholly or partially, from the scope of the normal government of the country is a fact which has not attracted the attention it deserves. Large tracts of land inhabited by aboriginal people covering the area of more than 200,000 square miles are classed under the New Constitution as "Excluded," or "Partially Excluded Areas." These areas are now the last stronghold of undiluted autocracy and imperialism in India.

These areas were known as "Scheduled Districts" before the introduction of the Montford Reforms, and were subject to special laws and administrative procedure. After the Reforms of 1919, these areas were termed "Backward Tracts" to which the provisions of the New Constitution were not to be applicable. Some of these tracts were wholly excluded from the scope of the Reforms, the Governor-in-Council being empowered to administer them. The legislatures had no power to make laws for these areas, though the Governor-in-Council might make any Act applicable to them, subject to necessary exceptions or modifications. Proposals for expenditure in such tracts were non-votable, and no discussions or interpellations about these were allowed in the legislatures. The partially excluded "Backward Tracts" were subject to Acts sanctioned by the Governor-General in Council, or the Governor-in-Council, and specially passed by the Legislative Assembly or the Provincial Legislature. The required expenditure was also voted in the legislatures. Questions too were allowed to be asked. Under the present Constitution, the "Backward Tracts" have been designated as "Excluded," or "Partially Excluded" Areas.

Sections 91 and 92 of the Government of India Act of 1935 govern the constitutional position of these excluded areas. These are so reactionary in character that they deserve to be examined in detail.

Firstly, it is the Secretary of State who is to prepare the draft of an Order-in-Council, declaring certain areas to be completely or partially excluded areas. The Secretary of State

is required under the Act to lay such drafts before Parliament, but this is bound to be a mere formal procedure in actual practice. In other words, the creation of excluded areas depends on the sweet will of the Secretary of State, and these areas are really governed by the latter through, of course, the Governor or the Governor-General.

Secondly, His Majesty may at any time by Order-in-Council prepared by the Secretary of State alter any excluded or partially excluded area, or declare any territory not previously included in any Province to be, or to form part of, an excluded area or a partially excluded area. This provision will easily enable the Secretary of State to make arbitrary alterations of the boundaries on the convenient plea of rectifying them.

Thirdly, no Act of the Federal Legislature or of the Provincial Legislature shall be applicable to an excluded area or a partially excluded area, unless the Governor by public notification so directs, and the Governor in giving such a direction with respect to any Act may direct that the Act shall in its application to the area, or to any specified part thereof, have effect subject to such exceptions or modifications as he thinks fit. This provision means in effect that the benefits of Provincial Autonomy will not be applicable to the excluded areas, and these will remain under autocratic rule.

Lastly, the Governor will, at his discretion, make Regulations having the force of law for the administration of an excluded area, and these Regulations, subject to the prior consent of the Governor-General, may even repeal or amend any Act of the Federal Legislature or of the Provincial Legislature or any existing Indian law which is for the time being applicable to the area in question. This extraordinary provision perpetuates executive irresponsibility, and amply reveals the essentially undemocratic nature of the new constitutional changes.

On a comparison of the position under the Montford Reforms, and under the new Reforms,



it would appear that under the New Constitution both the number and the area of the excluded and partially excluded areas have been considerably increased. This will be evident from the following lists:

#### UNDER THE MONTFORD REFORMS

##### (a) *Wholly excluded "Backward Tracts"*

The Laccadive Islands and Minicoy in Madras.  
The Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bengal  
Spiti in Punjab  
All the backward tracts in Burma  
Angul in Orissa

##### (b) *Partially excluded "Backward Tracts"*

The Agency Tracts in Madras  
Darjeeling in Bengal  
Lahaul in Punjab  
Chota Nagpur, Santhal Parganas, Sambalpur in Bihar and Orissa  
All the backward tracts in Assam

#### UNDER THE NEW REFORMS

##### (a) *Wholly excluded areas*

The Laccadive, Minicoy, and Amindivi Islands in Madras  
The Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bengal  
The Balpara, the Sadiya, and the Lakhimpur Frontier Tracts, the Naga Hills, and the Lushai Hills Districts, and the North Cachar Hills in Assam  
Spiti and Lahaul in Punjab  
Upper Tanawal in North-West Frontier Province

##### (b) *Partially excluded areas*

The Agency Tracts in Madras  
Darjeeling District, Sherpur and Susang Parganas in Bengal  
Chota Nagpur Division and the Santhal Parganas in Bihar  
Sambalpur, Angul, Ganjam Agency, and a part of Vizagapatam Agency in Orissa

The Garo Hills District, the Mikir Hills, and the British portions of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills excluding the Shillong Municipality and Cantonment in Assam

The Jaunsar-Bawar Pargana, and a part of Mirzapur District south of the Kaimur range in the United Provinces

Some Taluqas of the West Khandesh District, the Satpura Hills, (reserved Forest areas), some Taluqas of the Nasik, the Thana and Panch Mahals Districts in Bombay

Some Zamindaries of the Chanda District, some Jagirdaris of the Chhindwara District, Mandla District, and some tracts in Bilaspur, Drug, Balaghat, Amraoti, Raipur, and Betul Districts in the Central Provinces and Berar.

What after all is the justification of such exclusion? A number of arguments have been advanced in support of the Government's policy.

Firstly, it is maintained that the people living in an excluded area are backward and primitive, and, as such, are not yet fit for an

advanced and complicated type of political organization.

Secondly, the tribal people being traditionally accustomed to a patriarchal form of government may be happier under direct and personal rule than under a parliamentary kind of government.

Thirdly, it is pointed out that primitive tribes are educationally and economically so backward that they will not be able to assert their constitutional rights as against the better educated and economically advanced urban classes, and so will in actual practice be governed and controlled by the latter.

Fourthly, it is urged that the normal procedure of administration will lead to a complete destruction of the tribal character which has evolved as a result of living in comparative isolation, and because of a natural adaptation to peculiar environment. In other words, anthropologists believe that, if the primitive peoples are suddenly brought under the influence of an advanced form of administration, they are bound to degenerate under the impact of civilization to which they cannot readily adapt themselves, and may even be slowly decimated like so many tribal communities in the Pacific and elsewhere.

Fifthly, it is argued that the replacement of ancient tribal laws and customs by unfamiliar modern laws that must of course follow from the introduction of normal government will create widespread discontent, and might ultimately lead to dangerous conflagrations. It is considered therefore expedient to let the aboriginal peoples remain in their age-old isolation and under their own customary law.

Lastly, it is held that the introduction of normal administrative procedure in primitive tracts would lead to a ruthless exploitation of the unsophisticated and backward inhabitants by the more artful and advanced people of the neighbouring territories.

These arguments, plausible as they are, will not convince the Indian nationalist for a number of reasons. In the first place, it would be urged that fitness for an advanced form of government can be obtained only from actual experience. Continued isolation will never fit the aboriginal people for civilized government. In the second place, Indians no less than the aboriginal people have for centuries been accustomed to autocratic government. This in itself can be no justification for the perpetuation of autocracy or even benevolent despotism. In the third place, it may be conceded that for some time to come the primitive peoples may be

guided by men from the neighbouring areas, but ultimately the former are bound to assert their rightful place in polity with the gradual awakening of political consciousness that would follow from the exercise of the right of vote. In the fourth place, it may be urged that suitable provision can be easily made for the preservation of tribal life and culture, and the introduction of normal government need not necessarily cause a breakdown of tribal life and character. In the fifth place, it may be argued that during a transition stage ordinary law may be suitably modified for the primitive classes to give them time to reach the general cultural level.

That the danger of conflicts and conflagrations can also be obviated is undeniable. Besides, it must be admitted that even under the present despotic regime the aboriginal people have been, and are being mercilessly exploited. Under civilized government they will have greater rights and privileges, and therefore will be better able to free themselves from the clutches of their present exploiters.

In short, it is easy to prove that isolation or exclusion may at best preserve the primitive peoples as so many anthropological exhibits, but will never fit them for a more civilized kind of government which, being human beings, they can claim as their birth-right. In other words, there is absolutely no justification for permanently condemning millions of Indians to a state of animal existence under the pretence of preserving tribal life and character. The march of civilization has already overtaken them, and it is futile to think that under existing forms of exploitation they will be able to keep their tribal character intact. Civilization alone can save them from ruin. They badly require education and enlightenment without which they will not be able to stand

the strain of an unequal struggle with their selfish exploiters thriving under the protective arm of British Government.

It would, however, seem that the official solicitude for the welfare of the aboriginal people is only a pretence. The suspicion may reasonably arise that the scheme of exclusion has been purposely invented for a free exploitation of the rich forest lands. Most parts of the excluded areas are rich in mineral or forest wealth. Big tea plantations have developed in some of the excluded areas, and it is in the interests of the British capitalists that the local people should remain politically backward, and should work as serfs on miserable wages. This is why these areas have been deliberately excluded from the scope of civilized government.

The Indian National Congress has rightly held that the creation of excluded areas is a sinister design to divide the people of India into artificial groups with unjustifiable and discriminatory treatment, and to prevent the evolution of uniform democratic institutions in the country, and that the separation of the excluded areas is prompted by the desire of the Britishers to keep the inhabitants apart from the rest of India for their easier exploitation and suppression.

It is needless to say that the aboriginal classes are being slowly dispossessed of their lands by the grasping landlords, money-lenders, and planters, while the unjust and oppressive forest and game laws, and stringent excise regulations are sapping the very core of their economic life. If they are to be rescued from this animal state of existence, civilization and orderly government must be introduced in their benighted lands. Where paternal rule has so far proved a failure, representative institutions may yet succeed in elevating the down-trodden and oppressed aboriginal races of India.



## THE WAZIRISTAN MENACE

By H. R. NAIR, B.A., LL.B.

WAZIRISTAN with its long record of lawlessness and wanton bloodshed has ever since the British annexation of the region in 1849 constituted a running sore on the North-West Frontier. One policy after another has been put to test and despite heavy financial expense and waste of valuable lives the problem of Waziristan remains as distant from a satisfactory solution as it was before. For the last fifteen years the Government has closely followed the policy announced by Sir (then Mr.) Denys Bray to the Legislative Assembly in 1923 to restrain by military force the 'aggressive truculence' of the tribes and to impress upon them the civilising influence in a way calculated to penetrate the remote mountain villages and slowly to combat the ignorance of the tribesmen weaning them from their recklessness and inhuman cruelty thereby lessening the possibility of their bally forays into the settled districts. In the light of recent happenings and especially of the daring attack on the city of Bannu by a conjointed Lashkar of Khataks, Waziris and Banochies it is obvious that these well-intentioned efforts to make peace pay have collapsed in a manner which must call into question the political ingenuity of its authors.

Before attempting to discuss the causes which have led to the failure of this policy, it will be useful to tell the readers something about the ethnography of this difficult country. Situated between the Miranzai Kurram route to Kabul and the Gomal route from Ghazni, Waziristan is inhabited by tribes 'untamed, fierce, truculent and aggressive who have from time immemorial descended from their mountains to raid and harry and pillage, murder and outrage the inhabitants of the plains.' The barren, mountainous nature of the country has ever been a source of economic stimulus to her people to commit desperate inroads on nearby villages for means of subsistence. Roughly estimated they are between 2 and 2½ lakhs in population out of which at least one-half are men. Being equipped with modern rifles every able-bodied tribesman is a born fighter and a potential menace to peace in the frontier. This danger is further enhanced by the character of the terrain combined with trying and arduous

climatic conditions before which even the most hardened troops might well hesitate.

Waziristan is inhabited by four chief tribes all extracted from the Pathan race: The Darwesh Khel Wazirs, Mahsuds, Bhuttanis and Dauris. They speak Pushtoo and profess Islamic faith. In the north are the Dauris inhabiting the Tochi Valley. They are notoriously corrupt in morals but are hardworking and have derived the maximum benefit from the British rule. Then there is a vicious little group known as the Kabul Khel Wazirs inhabiting the region between Bannu and Thal. The tract adjoining the administered districts of Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu is inhabited by Bhuttanis who singularly lack the bellicose temper of the Mahsuds whose 'jackals' they have been called and who except for occasions when driven into evil ways by the Mahsuds have refused to take up arms against the British Government. Round about the centre of Waziristan reside the Mahsuds, perhaps the most troublesome of all tribes of the North-West Frontier. Agile and enduring a Mahsud possesses on his own hillsides an astonishing mobility, a natural hardness and a complete disregard of difficult impediments. He is gifted with untiring patience in observing an enemy and knows the exact moment when to strike to advantage. He is imbued with a natural faculty of figuring as a peaceful cultivator at one instant only to reappear the next moment in the role of a sharp-shooting sniper. The remaining portions of the country are occupied by the Darwesh Khel Wazirs who outnumber any other tribe in population. According to geographical distribution they are divided into the Utmanzai or Tochi Wazirs confined chiefly to southern Waziristan and the Ahmedzai or Dana Wazirs settled all over the country.

The conditions generally prevailing in Waziristan have in a great measure influenced the character and mode of life of the whole population. Having been never effectually conquered they have remained exceedingly independent. Rude, perfidious and savage a tribesman may be, yet one cannot but admire his upright bearing and determined resolution, 'his frank manners and festive temperament, his hatred

of control and his wonderful powers of endurance.' At heart a tribesman is truly democratic and strange though it may seem, has never been swayed by the advice or politics of his elders or 'Maliks'. This naturally makes it sceptical to place any reliance on the ability of a 'jirga' or tribal conclave of headmen to impose its will upon the community at large. Being spread all over the country without proper organization it is extremely difficult to determine the fighting strength of the Wazir and Mahsud tribes. Generally the tribes assemble a temporary levy or lashkar varying in strength according to the objective in prospect and the attraction the latter may afford and no sooner the fighting is over or supplies give out a levy may dissolve itself just as the situation may demand.

To restrain the troublesome tribesmen from committing depredations has been a difficult problem. It has been the constant endeavour of the political officers of the Frontier to civilize the tribesmen and to inculcate in them a spirit of compromise and peace. The task of the authorities is greatly facilitated by the armed forces stationed in cantonments and military posts established all along the Western frontier of the settled districts. While deterring the aggressive tribes from their designs the Cantonments at Razmak and Wana situated right in the throbbing heart of the tribal area have further served a useful purpose in defending the peaceful population. This long chain of defences 'held by the regulars, militia, frontier constabulary or khassadars is supported on both ends by the large military garrisons at Peshawar and Quetta.'

Even before the annexation of the Panjab the British rulers were confronted with the tribal problem at a time when India was threatened with an invasion by Napoleon and Paul of Russia. The annexation in 1849 only intensified the tribal question due to closer proximity of the administered territory. In the absence of any adequate treaties, with her frontier only ill defined the Government of India still obsessed by Russophobia could not take an active hand in the administration of the mountainous tract. Profiting by Panjdeh incident, which strongly cemented the British Afghan relations, the Government of India sent Sir H. Mortimer Durand to Kabul to settle various frontier difficulties. The mission attained unique success as for the first time in history a well defined international border was fixed between India and Afghanistan.

The policy of the Indian Government was

both at the time and subsequently one of non-interference with the tribes. Every endeavour was made to cultivate friendly relations but when conciliation failed, when the tribesmen continued to murder British subjects then the ultimate sanction was force. Therefore no offensive or punitive expedition was launched against the tribesmen until the Government was compelled to do so by the unprovoked bloodshed and plunder by the tribesmen. Looking over the years since the British connection with Waziristan one would find that there have been no less than twenty such expeditions.

The prolonged controversy between the exponents of the 'close border' and the 'forward school' fanned by a haunting fear of the Russian giant striding across the Wastes of Central Asia necessitated a more precise policy on the part of the Indian Government. Just then it transpired that Sir Robert Sandeman had successfully demonstrated a novel method of pacifying the tribesmen. He found that the best way of winning their support and friendship was in providing the tribesmen jobs in levies or police and in entrusting them with the defence of a trade route in return for a fixed annual payment. This system was first introduced in Waziristan in 1890 when the trade route along the River Gomal was opened. This system has been openly condemned as a form of blackmail. The charge however cannot be sustained when it is remembered that those in receipt of allowances had strenuous duties to perform in the guarding of trade routes and passes and in carrying out of jirga decrees. If plundering has been the profession of a tribe throughout the ages, it is not to be deplored if subsidies are granted to it merely as an inducement to check it from committing raids and bloody incursions. It has been argued that allowances may be expensive, may even savour of blackmail to the fastidious yet they are infinitely preferable to the still more expensive system of punitive expeditions. But in Waziristan both failed. History once again repeated itself.

Towards the close of the last century it appeared that an increasing measure of military supervision was required to stop raiding on the part of the tribesmen. The system of tribal allowances was proving an insufficient safeguard against sporadic acts of violence. This greatly necessitated several military expeditions undertaken into the country with a view to securing the trade routes and repressing organized brigandage. Punitive in the start these later on tended more and more to become preventive.

It was also found that to afford adequate support to these expeditions, fortified posts and block-houses were essential at strategic points. By 1899 two long narrow strips of country lying to the north and south of Waziristan along the trade routes were garrisoned on that principle. These posts were officered by British Military Officers in regular military style. The posts apart from making available for action important contingents of regular troops at short notice served a beneficial deterrent by keeping the tribesmen out of mischief. This arrangement continued for twenty years until the Afghan War in 1919 brought further complications.

No wonder the events of the Great War manifested themselves by some repercussions on the North-West Frontier of India. The constant drain of troops from the frontier during the War and anti-British propaganda by the Bolshevik Government of Moscow were quite sufficient to cause unrest. But what appeared to be an ugly situation at a time was luckily saved by Habibullah, the Amir of Afghanistan, who steadfastly observed the pledges of friendship which he had exchanged with the Government of India. Although the Great War passed off on the frontier without any serious happening, Waziristan was soon to be set ablaze by a general conflagration as a natural sequel to the Afghan invasion of India. The Wazirs and Mahsuds always willing to respond to the slightest stir amongst their Afghan neighbours against the British were not slow to react to the stimulus they received from Kabul during the Third Afghan War. Occasion had now arisen for the British Government to settle the tribal problem with determination and for ever. The campaign undertaken in Waziristan resulted in Military occupation of the whole country. The policy of the British Government behind this campaign was not based on war and conquest, but on the forces of civilization. During the last fifteen years this policy as outlined by Sir Denys Bray in his speech, has been given a fair trial. It has produced some very encouraging results. Tribesmen with rifles and ammunition have been afforded an opportunity to break away from lawlessness by enlisting tribal levies or khassadars. There has been greater communication between trans-border posts and the military cantonments. Perhaps the most important result of this policy has been the building of a motor road connecting Dera Ismail Khan with Bannu. Highways have ever played a prominent part in the import of civilization and the construction of this im-

portant road in Waziristan has not only served a great purpose for the infiltration of civilizing forces, but also provided a beneficial occupation to the aggressive and warlike Mahsuds who have assiduously taken to motor traffic on this road. The construction of this link has also brought to the tribesmen a feeling of security as no shooting up is permitted on it. Such was the success of the new policy that every one came to regard Waziristan as the shining example of the new experiment but just when things looked so bright a series of disorders and revolts gave a serious jolt to all hopes and threw the British Government on the rock with her 'forward' policy torn into shreds.

In November 1936 Waziristan was suddenly flung into throes of commotion and turmoil at the instigation of a firebrand known as the Fakir of Ipi. This Fakir wields a tremendous influence over the fanatical tribesmen and fully exploiting their religious fervour raised the cry of 'Islam in danger.' The ostensible cause of the unrest was the attempt by certain tribesmen to intimidate the authorities and thus nullify the protection given to a minor Hindu girl by a Civil Court against her conversion to Islam and alleged marriage. With the tribesmen looking grim and determined it was deemed necessary to stage a small military demonstration. This rather aggravated matters and greatly incensed the tribesmen. The Government troops were attacked with considerable losses. A major offensive was hit upon as the only effective reprisal. After a searching enquiry moderate terms were imposed on the mischief-mongers but in a short time position grew worse than ever. Unprovoked assaults, cold-blooded murders, kidnapping of Hindus and heinous plundering took hold of the country and about March 1937 the situation grew so serious that it was considered necessary to place the whole country under a military Governorship for the purposes of restoring peace. The command of both military and political affairs was entrusted to Sir Jhon Coleridge, C.-in-C., and this arrangement is to continue until there is an assurance to return to normal conditions in the afflicted areas.

This arrangement has remained in force for nearly two years but the prospects of permanent peace seem yet far far away. The Fakir of Ipi, prime mischief-maker is still at large and has cunningly eluded his hunters. To add further to these difficulties his three most troublesome henchmen, all homicidal maniacs have equally successfully baffled the

British and are making the most of their uncertain moments of liberty by carrying on extensive hostile propaganda and inciting the tribesmen to indiscriminate murder, sniping, plunder and kidnapping. During the period under survey the Fakir and his confederates have frequently ignited trouble leading to bitter conflicts between the British troops and the tribesmen. In April last a band of scouts from Splitoi post were fiercely attacked being saved from complete annihilation only by the timely co-operation of the R. A. F. planes. The Fakir of Ipi lying securely in his lair in Madda Khel territory was once again found to be at the bottom of the trouble. The Government of India in all fury announced to deal more effectively with the Fakir and his associates. A number of jurgas was held and heavy penalties imposed on the Madda Khel but nothing would move the tribesmen to surrender the notorious Fakir.

The Government determined on restoring peace, intensified its operations and placed a large portion of the Madda Khel territory under the prescription ban. But the Fakir and Madda Khel held out again, only becoming more dangerous in their reprisals. In addition to the usual outrages like plundering, kidnapping and murder the tribes resorted to bombing and poisoning water supplies. A little later Datta Khel scout post experienced some very severe fighting and even water supply of Razmak and Razni was cut off. Fighting then extended to Mamū Rogha and Lawargi Pass where after severe skirmishes the Lashkar dispersed only to reassemble last month in still greater numbers. Trouble broke out afresh when Mulla Sher Ali, right hand man of the Fakir attacked the Scouts' picket at Splitoi. All this while hunt for the wanted Fakir continued between Miran-shah and the Afghan Frontier but despite best efforts the Government failed to 'take' the irrepressible Fakir. Reaction to this operation resulted in renewed fighting near Wazhgar sniping at Gherian and bomb explosions at Miran-shah and Gambih culminating in the desperate raid on the city of Bannu.

Despite such large scale offensives, jurgas and the imposition of pains, penalties and blockades the prolonged troubles in Waziristan must naturally evoke a pertinent enquiry: "Why the tribesmen who have suffered heavy losses should still ask for more?" The answer to the question can be found neither in the religious fervour of the tribes nor in hostile activities of the Fakir but in the economic gains of war. It pays the tribesmen to fight. The Fakir of Ipi

has become a business asset. So long as the tribes remain quiet the Government pays subsidies to the 'Maliks,' gives out contracts for road upkeep and employs khassadars from amongst the tribesmen. During peace time money is also spent in the so-called civilizing process. The object of this political bribery has been to induce the tribesmen to keep the peace and thus let the civilising machine do its work among them. The prolonged unrest however reveals that either the tribesman has lost his love for money or he finds war a more profitable concern than peace. Evidently the latter. The reason for this is apparent. During the war new posts are established, a large number of scouts and khassadars employed, supplies have to be maintained and roads to be protected. Restoration of peace takes away such 'business' opportunities. War therefore is more paying particularly against an enemy that always clamours for peace but pays more when faced with war. Then why not fight!

Disorders so serious and extensive have caused a good deal of dissatisfaction both in India and in Britain about the purposes and effects of the Government of India's Frontier policy and the demand recurrently put forward is to think out the problem afresh. The policy inaugurated 15 years ago has produced results which argue with the wisdom of persistence. Various policies have been suggested several of which the authorities with good justification have regarded as less suitable than the one hitherto pursued. The two courses suggested generally are either the absolute withdrawal of the British from Waziristan to the boundaries of the settled districts or to advance to India's international frontier—the Durand line. The feasibility of withdrawal from Waziristan considering the raiding propensities of such uncontrolled neighbours is very much questionable indeed as such a course would inevitably increase defensive responsibility for the settled districts. Moreover the tribal people being economically dependent on the plains would always play their old game forcing the British to adopt the policy of 'burn and scuttle' reminiscent of the Punjab Frontier Force. On the other hand advance to the international border and the assumption of complete political and military control of the whole country cannot be effectually undertaken without a major military operation which the Indian Exchequer can only ill afford at present. At the same time without co-operation of the tribesmen there appears no guarantee that similar troubles will not recur on the new administrative border.



This however doesn't mean that nothing more effective than the existing 'cat and mouse' policy is possible and that India should continue to pay a heavy price for the perennial unrest in Waziristan. The solution as found above is neither complete withdrawal nor advance and acquisition. Each has its own complications and its adoption ill-advised at all times. The only feasible plan which can lastingly secure the cherished end of British Frontier policy lies in the gradual disarmament of the tribesmen. At first the suggestion appears to involve considerable risk for people immediately involved but if the disarmed tribesmen are afforded proper protection by the authorities the difficulty at once disappears. For a period at least territorial administration would have to be entrusted to the military with the object to coerce the tribesmen to surrender arms. This would continue slowly until the whole country is completely disarmed. Dis-

armament to win its point should be backed by a close association and assimilation of the tribesmen with India. Hitherto the attempt in this direction has been haphazard, spasmodic and even arbitrary and the only reciprocal obligation required was a loose political armistice. Time has now come to take organized and extensive steps to humanise the barbaric instinct of the tribesmen. The road system existing at present in the country can be turned to good purpose for the infiltration of civilizing influences. Encouragement should also be given to the use of the roads by private enterprise since past experience has shown that tribesmen readily take to motor travel. In extending the amenities of civilization—like hospitals and schools, the maintenance of law and order by the police, encouragement of wage earning, the settlement of disputes among the tribes and so on—lies the only promise of an effective solution. Civilize the disarmed tribesmen

## THE VISVA-BHARATI HEALTH CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

By D. C. B.

THE problems of public health in the rural areas of Bengal are growing acute day by day. It is not that there are no such problems in the towns within the province, but in view of the better facilities to deal with them in these compact areas they are comparatively less important in these places.

Malaria is the chief scourge of the province and responsible for more than a quarter of the total provincial mortality from various causes. Of all provinces in India, Bengal is said to have the highest incidence of the disease. The latest report of the Director of Public Health Bengal, shows that there were 3,37,647 deaths from Malaria during the year 1936, of which 3,35,500 occurred in the rural areas and only 2,147 in towns. In other words, the rate of deaths was 6.8 per thousand of population in the whole province and 7.2 per thousand of population in the rural areas. Indeed, the disease has of late penetrated into and seriously affected regions, e.g., parts of Eastern Bengal, where it has hitherto been practically unknown. Kala-azar, the sister disease of Malaria, is also gaining ground in the rural tracts, 20,607 people having

died from it in 1936 as against 16,895 in 1935. Next to Malaria is the problem of cholera which accounted for 72,246 deaths in the villages in the year 1936, showing a rise of 33.3 p.c. over the figures of the preceding year. Then there is the large number of deaths each year due to Small-pox, the figure for 1936 for rural areas being 36,349. It is also alarming to note that respiratory diseases such as Pneumonia and Tuberculosis are steadily increasing every year; the former took toll of 42,617 lives and the latter 11,128 lives in the rural areas during the year 1936. The problem of Tuberculosis in this as well as other provinces has assumed such a formidable magnitude that it has attracted the attention of so high personages as Her Excellency the Marchioness of Linlithgow who has started the King Emperor's Anti-Tuberculosis Fund.

While the problems of public health in the rural areas are so many and so great, the present arrangements provided by the Government and the District Boards (constituted under the Bengal Local Self-Government Act, 1885) to cope with them are hopelessly inadequate. The

Government maintain a skeleton rural health organisation consisting of a sanitary inspector, a health assistant and a carrier servant in each rural *thana* called the rural health circle, covering an average area of 100 sq. miles. There are at present 575 such rural health circles on which the Government annually spend about Rs. 10 to 11 lacs. The primary aim of this organisation is the prevention of disease. It is however not only too small to meet the requirements but is also defective in that it does not undertake the treatment and cure of diseases.

The Bengal Local Self-Government Act of 1885 has conferred on the District Boards various powers and duties in matters of public health and sanitation within their respective areas. Each District Board employs a small sanitary staff, *viz.*, a few sanitary inspectors and vaccinators with the District Health Officer (a medical graduate with training in public health) at the head and annually spends not a little portion of its income on public health and sanitation. The Union Boards established under the Bengal Village Self-Government Act, 1919, also expend a percentage of their meagre incomes for the purpose. But the combined efforts of the Government and the district boards and union boards do not touch even the fringe of the problems.

It is found from the Annual Report of the Surgeon-General, Bengal, on the working of hospitals and dispensaries for the year 1936 (the latest report available) that 1102 hospitals and dispensaries, comprising those maintained by Government, District Boards, Union Boards, private persons and the Railways, are situated in the rural areas of the province, and they are placed in charge of 1255 medical officers mostly Sub-Assistant Surgeons, besides 652 compounders. Apart from these medical officers there are reported to be 2177 qualified private medical practitioners settled in the rural areas. Altogether therefore such areas have 3,432 medical practitioners and, according to the census of 1931, only one practitioner on the average for 13,127 people. Again, considering that there are at present 4895 union boards covering nearly 86,000 villages within the province, only one hospital or dispensary exists on the average in a group of 4 union boards or 80 villages approximately, and only one medical practitioner can be got, on the average, in 28 villages roughly.

The situation revealed is extremely disquieting. How helpless are the villagers who do not find a single dispensary within a radius of five miles or so where they can go for relief from

various diseases ravaging the villages. Nor is there available a qualified doctor in most of the villages and, even if there be, the villagers are mostly too poor to avail themselves of his services. Death is thus constantly hovering over the devoted heads of the rural people. Such a state of things would make one utterly despair.

The situation has recently been able to draw the pointed attention of the Government. The Hon'ble Minister for Public Health, Bengal, informed the members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly during its last session that the Government had under their consideration a comprehensive scheme for providing medical relief in the rural areas of the province in co-operation with the local bodies, *viz.*, the district boards and union boards. We do not yet know the details of the scheme. It appears, however, from the Surgeon-General's Report referred to previously that the scheme, worked by the Director of Public Health, Bengal, envisages the provision of one treatment centre between every two union boards and a medical officer for a group of every 4 union boards. Even this scheme will not be an ideal one, as the Surgeon-General himself observes. In any case we fail to understand how the district boards and union boards with their limited and inelastic resources would be in a position, not to say, willing, to render substantial financial assistance in the matter, in addition to their normal *ad hoc* expenditure. We are however ready to admit that the Government too have not surplus funds at their disposal sufficient to finance entirely any complete and effective scheme of medical relief.

What we, therefore, desire to bring out is that a scheme should be evolved which would establish a network of cheap but well-equipped dispensaries or treatment centres with qualified medical officers in charge throughout the rural province and also arouse the active interest of the villagers in the preservation of the health and sanitation of the villages. The Health Co-operative Societies which were started on an experimental basis, in the first instance, in Yugo-slavia towards the end of the year 1921 proved to be immensely successful in tackling the problems of public health of that country. The details of the organisation and working of those Societies are given in an article on "Rural Hygiene & Health Co-operative Societies in Yugo-slavia" By M. Colombain of the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, which was published in the *International Labour Review*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, July, 1935. Following the example of Yugo-

slavia, the Institute of Rural Reconstruction at Sriniketan, Visvabharati, of which the founder is Poet Rabindranath Tagore, have established during the past few years several such health co-operative societies in the villages in the district of Birbhum. The working of these societies has already revealed their potential values and their equal efficaciousness on the soil of this province.

The features of the societies are that three or four villages with a minimum of 200 families are combined to start a society in which each family is represented by at least one member. Each member pays a subscription of rupees three to four a year, which may however be partly in cash and partly in kind, *e.g.*, free labour, and even entirely in kind in case of indigent members. The society employs a whole-time staff consisting of a qualified medical officer of the status of Sub-Assistant Surgeon, a dispensing compounder and a servant. The cost on account of the staff including contingencies is about Rs 800/- per annum which can be usually met from the yearly contributions of the members. A dispensary is maintained by the society, accommodation for which as well as residential accommodation for the medical officer are generally provided by some generous person or persons of the localities. Each member of the society is entitled to free treatment at the dispensary for himself and for all the members of his family. He receives medicines from the dispensary at cost price, while non-members pay at *bazar* rates. If a member calls in the medical officer to his house he has to pay a fee of annas four only for each call; on the other hand, a non-member must pay for such call at the *bazar* rates, *viz.* Rupee one or two per call. All such call fees are credited to the funds of the society and utilised for the purchase of the required drugs and medicines, together with the prices realised for them from the members. Thus, save the assistance that may be necessary in the initial stage *e.g.*, in suitably housing the dispensary, these societies sooner or later become self-supporting and many of the Visva-Bharati's creations have actually become so.

The co-operative health societies have not only brought cheap medical relief within the easy reach of the villagers but have also undertaken through their members,—especially those who offer free labour as their quota of

contribution—such sanitary works as clearing jungles, filling up *dobas* (stagnant pools of water), cleaning tanks, excavation of drains, etc. Some of them have, further, constructed roads, and organised paddy stores and are maintaining primary schools and carrying out other work for the uplift of the villages. Naturally, therefore, every villager is induced to become a member of such a society and thus participate in the benefits conferred by the society.

These societies, being based on the willing co-operation of the villagers, have functioned as the most economic and most effective means of solving the problems of public health in the rural areas. There is undoubtedly, however, room for improvement. The advantages of a full-fledged hospital and of a sufficient number of capable medical practitioners, which are available in well-developed towns, cannot possibly be obtained in the interior of the province. Nevertheless, it is desirable that the dispensaries of the health societies should be able to supply, free of cost, or at least at a concessional price, costly drugs and medicines required for treating common ailments in the villages, and that a medical officer with qualifications not lower than a University degree, and preferably with training in public health, should be employed to supervise and control the work of the health societies. Arrangements should also be made for undertaking by the societies adequate public health measures in the villages, *e.g.*, irrigation schemes for the eradication of Malaria, provision of copious pure drinking-water which is an essential safeguard against Cholera and other water-borne diseases, and so on. For these purposes, however, the income of such societies is obviously too small, and the societies must look up to the Government, the district boards and other benevolent bodies or persons for financial aid in the matters. While small annual grants from the Government are bound to enhance the utility of the societies, such grants should not be a heavy strain on the revenues of the Government. The intrinsic values of the Visva-Bharati Health Co-operative Societies and the unprecedented success they have attained encourage us to suggest that, when the Government are considering a scheme for medical relief in the rural areas, they should decide to give such societies a fair trial, if not accept them at once as a suitable model, throughout the province.

# SOME ASPECTS OF THE PRE-WAR DEVELOPMENT OF POPULAR EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

By SAILENDRA NATH SEN, M SC, M.A.

THE present English system of education owes much to the Education Act of 1902. This Act brought a new era in the public Elementary Education in England. The whole system of education was unified. The provided as well as non-provided schools would now share the benefits of local rates and government grants. The average attendance of the scholars increased and there were fewer exemptions than in the last century. The curriculum of the schools was greatly changed. It was made more human and practical than before. It was made liberal. A volume called *Suggestions to Teachers* was issued by the Board of Education but every local education authority and every teacher was free to interpret it according to the circumstances and peculiarities of respective districts. The status and qualifications of the teachers also much improved during this period. The average number of scholars under each certified teacher diminished from 70.9 in 1902-03 to 55.7 in 1908-09. The salaries of teachers rose during this period though not considerably. The increasing number of pupils demanded an increase in the number of certified teachers and new Municipal Training Colleges built in different parts of the country greatly served the purpose. The expansion of post-Primary Education was remarkable in this period. New codes were formed for Higher Elementary Education and the number of such schools increased. New Central Schools with a bias towards commercial or industrial lines, were created in London and Manchester. The spread of Secondary Education was rapid in this period. The number of scholars rose from 85,358 in 1904-05 to 170,119 in 1913-14, and about two-thirds of these Secondary School children came from Elementary Schools. The pre-war decade is very important in the achievement of health and physique. During the Boer War a large number of volunteers was rejected by the military authority for physical reasons. The result was that an Act called Provision of Meals Act was passed in 1906, providing meals for the necessitous poor children; and another Act (Education Administrative Provision Act) was passed in 1907

which provided the system of medical inspection and other general physical welfare.

## SCHOOL PROVISION

The Act of 1902 gave the voluntary school great financial relief. People of all denominations had to pay rates, but before this Act, rate aid was not given to the denominational schools. Hence the Board schools were thriving by leaps and bounds during the last generation of the last century; but now the financial relief from rates to the voluntary bodies brought a stability in their schools. The Wesleyan and other denominational schools were slowly decreasing, either because they were probably closed down or transferred to the councils. But the Church schools and the Roman Catholic schools increased slightly. In the year 1904-05 the number of Church schools was 10,897 and that of Roman Catholic and Wesleyan schools was 970 and 412 respectively<sup>1</sup>. But in the year 1907-8, the number of Church Roman Catholic and Wesleyan schools were 11,274; 1,061; and 319 respectively.<sup>2</sup> The Board of Education also did not encourage the local Education Authorities to build new council schools where there was no necessity and where there was already a good voluntary school. Under section 8 of this new Act, the Board received in 1905, applications from L. E. A.-s to erect 463 new schools and of these only 427 were sanctioned.<sup>3</sup> In 1909<sup>4</sup> and 1913<sup>5</sup> the L. E. A.-s sent notices for building 214 and 182 schools but only 159 and 179 respectively were sanctioned by the Board of Education.

The most important reasons for building these new schools was that many of the old school buildings were not suitable and were unhygienic. Many of the school premises under the new regime, were considered to be condemned. From the report of the Board of

1. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1904-05, p. 20.
2. *Statistics of Public Education in England*, 1906-08, p. 13.
3. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1904-05, p. 21.
4. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1908-09, p. 107.
5. *Report of Board of Education*, 1912-13, p. 77.

Education, 1908-09, it will be seen that in the case of 2,000 schools or 3,000 departments, the school premises were, more or less seriously unsatisfactory. In the case of 660 of these schools, the premises were either conditionally or unconditionally condemned and in the case of 350 schools of the rest, the Inspectors reported that they ought to be condemned unless specific improvements were effected. It was a costly affair on the one hand, for the L. E. A.-s to build new schools and on the other hand, the premises of many of the voluntary schools were unfavourably criticised by the Board of Education.

"It is of course notorious that the dependence of the nation upon voluntary effort for securing an adequate supply of school buildings resulted, especially in some districts, in a type of building in which educational matters were subordinated to other considerations. There are still in existence a large number of school buildings which were contributed a double debt to pay."<sup>6</sup>

This pressure and the Code of 1908 that "there shall not be less than 10 sq. ft. of floor space for each older child and 9 sq. ft. for each infant," necessitated both the Church and the Council to build a large number of new schools during the period under consideration. During the year 1908-9,<sup>6a</sup> 159 council schools and 4 Church schools and 5 Roman Catholic schools were sanctioned by the Board of Education for building. In the year 1913<sup>7</sup> two Church schools, twelve Roman Catholic and 179 Council schools were built

#### ATTENDANCE AND EXEMPTIONS

The average attendance of scholars during the period under discussion, also improved. During the year 1900, only 4,666,158 children out of 5,686,144 children in the school registers<sup>8</sup> attended schools i.e., the percentage of average attendance was 82.06. The deficiency was probably due to two causes. Firstly under the Acts of 1870 and 1876, the children whose homes were at an unreasonable distance from the school might not attend it. But section 14 of the Education Act 1907, declared that distance from school must no longer be any excuse for non-attendance when conveyance was provided. The second cause of irregular attendance might be attributed to the defect of the system of grants. Formerly the annual grants were in two parts, a grant at the rate of 17s. per unit of average attendance for scholars educated in the infants department or division, and the

grant at the rate of 22s. per unit in the case of the older scholars.

Hence the local authorities and managers classified the children not on the basis of age but with regard to financial considerations. And for this financial consideration, perhaps, the so-called older scholars were given more attention than those in the infant classes or departments. Out of 2,023,319 infant scholars on the registers during the year 1900-01 the average attendance was only 1,460,576 or 72.18 per cent.<sup>9</sup> Subsequently, however, the scholars were divided into two age groups—those who were under the age of five and those above the age of five. For the former group, the grant was 13s. 4d. per each scholar and for the latter 21s. 4d. per each scholar in average attendance.<sup>10</sup> The average attendance of all children rose to a considerable extent. In 1911-12 the percentage of average attendance was 88.93.

Although compulsory education came in England as early as the seventies of the last century, there was the provision of partial exemption for certain children. The 1902 Act did not abolish this system of partial exemption of scholars and the number of such scholars was increasing every year. There were 80,368 partially exempted scholars in the year 1904-05 and the number increased to 81,981 in 1905-06, to 82,493 in 1906-07 and 84,695 in the year 1907-08.<sup>11</sup> This increase in the number of partially exempted scholars alarmed the Education Department and the president of the Board appointed in July, 1908, an Inter-Departmental Committee "to inquire into the question of the existing system of partial exemption from attendance at school, and to report any alteration in the law of school attendance seemed to be desirable." The committee submitted their report in July, 1909 in which they recommended that all partial exemptions should be abolished from a date not earlier than 1st January, 1911 and that no child under 13 should be totally exempted from school.

#### SERVANTS—INSPECTORS AND TEACHERS

One issue of the newly formed L. E. A.-s under the Act of 1902 was the total reorganisation of the Inspectorate. In the early days of forties in the last century, when a staff of Inspectors was first created under the regime of Dr. Kay-Shuttleworth, their duty was

6. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1908-09, p. 14.

6a. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1908-09, p. 107.

7. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1913-14, p. 66.

8. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1900-01, p. 15.

9. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1900-01, p. 15.

10. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1911-12, p. 49.

11. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1908-09, p. 114.



to advise the teachers in the improvement of their instruction and not to criticise and blame their work. But the Code of 1861, which gave birth to "payment by results" changed the functions of the Inspectors totally. Their duty was now to examine the children in the 3 R's and to find out the defects of the teachers. After 1897, however, when payment by results was totally abolished, the Inspectors' duty also altered and since then they were to survey the whole education under their jurisdiction and to make suggestions for the improvement of national education. The relation between the Inspectors and the teachers was growing more friendly. After the passing of the Act of 1902, the Board of Education felt very keenly that in order to keep in touch with the works of the newly formed L. E. A.-s, they must reorganise their Inspectorate. The conditions of the schools of various grades and types through the country were so different that it was essential for the Board to be well informed as to what the local authorities were doing regarding all types of education in their respective districts. The local authority had to consider the supervision and provision of the different grades of education in their relation to one another within the given area. The central authority was to take a more comprehensive survey of educational conditions. Not only the efficiency of the schools, to which Parliamentary grants were distributed must be tested by them but they were also to organise efficient sources of educational information, and to disseminate the results, criticisms and suggestions derived from continuous recorded observation of each kind of school made over a wide area.

Difficulties arose in this connection. If all kinds of educational institutions were to be inspected by each inspector, it was not possible for him to cover a large area or to see schools of different grades working under widely varying conditions and methods. He would be unable to pass beyond the boundaries of a county or a county borough, if elementary and secondary schools, evening schools and schools of Art, Technical Institutions and Training Colleges were all within the purview of a single inspector. In such a case he would learn to know a single Technical Institution, one or two Training Colleges, a few secondary schools and a large number of elementary schools, all working under the same local conditions. Also, the problems of the elementary schools, the secondary schools, the Technical institutions, etc., were very widely different from one another both as regards the

curricula and organisation. Qualifications and experiences of the inspectors, therefore, should vary according to these differences. So, in 1905, to meet these conditions, the Board of Education, distributed their inspectors and differentiated their work in such a manner that they might study the working of each grade or type of school under widely varying conditions. The Inspectorate was divided into five groups, each under a chief inspector, each group were to concentrate their attention on each of the five main types of schools. Officers would be, when desirable, permanently transferred from one branch to the other. There was also created a separate staff of women inspectors and the system of women inspectors being subordinate to the men inspectors was abolished.

The Act of 1902 brought a new era in an all round improvement of Elementary Education in England. There was an improvement in the qualifications of teachers, in the provision of their training as well as in their salaries. Before 1903, one official rule governed all schools in all classes and in all circumstances. The village schools with 40 children of all ages or a town school with 400 scholars, the voluntary school in a poor "slum", parish or Board school in a thriving residential area, were all governed in respect of staffing by one set of articles. Hence the official regulations had to be kept very elastic and consequently the standard was a low one. After the passing of the Act of 1902 a progressive rising of standard was effected by the various changes in the Codes of 1902 to 1908. In the years 1901-02 and 1902-03, the number of scholars<sup>12</sup> per certified teacher in England and Wales 72.1 and 70.9; whereas the number of certified teachers in England alone, was steadily increased during the years 1904-06 and 1908-09 as follows<sup>13</sup>

Years	No. of scholars in average attendance	No. of scholars per every certified teacher
1904-05	.. 4,898,935	66.1
1905-06	.. 4,941,535	62.1
1906-07	.. 4,916,497	58.5
1907-08	.. 4,908,880	57.4
1908-09	.. 4,951,801	55.7

The increase of certified teachers during a period of four years was remarkable. And this increase was due to the various codes and regulations issued from time to time by the Board of Education restricting uncertified and supplementary teachers. In the Code of 1904, notice

<sup>12</sup> Calculated from the *Report of the Board of Education*, 1906-07, p. 41.

<sup>13</sup> Calculated from the *Statistics of Public Education*, 1906-08, p. 25; and 1908-09, p. 116.



was given that after 31st July, 1905 not more than one supplementary as a rule, and in no case, not more than two, would be recognised as part of the staff of any school or Department. This limitation, however, was not to be applied so as to require the dismissal of any existing supplementary fit for continued recognition. It was also stated at that time that recognition of supplementary or pupil teachers for staffing purposes would be considered as a temporary arrangement. Since July, 1908 the maximum number of scholars under a pupil teacher was reduced to 15 and since July, 1909 pupil teachers were not taken into account at all in considering whether the aggregate staff satisfied the minimum requirement of the Code. According to the Codes of 1908 and 1909,

"the number of children in attendance is only one of the points requiring considerations when the staff is under review, and in determining the composition and in selecting the personnel of a school staff attention must be given, amongst other things, to the arrangement of the premises, the organization of the school, the nature of the curriculum and the several teachers for the particular duties for which they are proposed."<sup>14</sup>

These subsequent Codes of 1909 and 1910 gave a further impetus in increasing the certified teachers. In the year 1909-10, the number of scholars in average attendance for every certified teacher was 54.4 and in the years 1910-11, 1911-12 and 1912-13 the numbers of scholars in average attendance per certified teacher were 52.5, 51.1 and 49.9 respectively.<sup>15</sup>

Not only the qualifications but also the salaries of teachers, certified as well as uncertified, increased though not considerably after the beginning of the present century. In 1900, the average salary of a certified master (head and assistant) was £127 2s. 7d. and of a mistress was £85 9s. 1d. The average salary of a Head teacher in that year was £145 15s. 3d.<sup>16</sup> And after a decade, that is in 1909-10, the average salary of a Head Master rose to £174.6 and of a certified assistant master to £129 3s. The average salary of a Head Mistress in those years was £129 9s. and £125 2 whereas that of a certified assistant mistress was £91.6 and £94.6<sup>17</sup>

The demand for certified and trained teachers was increased by the corresponding increase in the number of scholars due to the

Act of 1870 By the year 1902-03, the number of children in average attendance in Public-Elementary schools had risen to 5,030,219 while the annual output of trained teachers was only 2,791<sup>18</sup> Hence the circumstances demanded more Training Colleges and in 1905, grants were provided for building Municipal Training Colleges to be maintained by L. E. A.-s This grant was afterwards extended to the provision of hostels in connection with University Colleges and Universities The earliest colleges of this undenominational type, founded by L. E. A.-s were those of the city of Sheffield for men and women, the county of Hertford for women, and the London County Council and Graystock Place for women, Avery Hill for women and Southampton Row for men and women. Before the great war, there were about 20 Municipal Colleges in England and Wales, 1 for men, 9 for women and 10 for men and women and their accommodation was 3,918.<sup>19</sup> The characteristics of these Municipal Colleges were different in different areas. Some of them began in temporary buildings with the hope of making them residential afterwards. Others started definitely on the line of the Training Departments in Universities and University colleges instituted in 1890. The college was meant to serve the purpose of lectures and academic work alone without any control over the life of the student outside lecture hours. But Local Authorities however, soon discovered the difficulties of admitting students from a greater distance in these Day Colleges. Hence almost all the authorities provided residence for the outsiders. The Leeds Municipal College as well as the West Riding College at Bingley are residential but as a matter of fact most of the Municipal Colleges were planned to provide for both Day and residential students.

The new residential colleges were erected with the ideals characteristic to the new century. This new type of Training Colleges had an educational block with separate self-contained hostels or hall of residence near at hand. Each block accommodated 40 to 60 students under the charge of a member of the staff. The idea was to foster domestic and social relations among the students bringing them into informal and friendly ties with the members of the staff.

#### CURRICULUM

Another importance of this period is the improvement of the curriculum. The payment

14. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1909-10, p. 13.

15. Calculated from the tables given in pages 81 and 84 of the *Board of Education Report*, 1912-13.

16. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1900-01, p. 28 (no separate figure has been given for certified assistant teachers).

17. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1912-13, p. 85.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

by result had lowered down the curriculum which was made to prepare the child for adult life without giving any consideration about his experience and mental life. Soon after the passing of the Act of 1902, the Education Department felt the importance of revising the curriculum in elementary schools and in their volume *Suggestions to Teachers and Others concerned in the work of Public Elementary School* issued in 1905, they discussed with illustrations, the principles and methods of teaching every subject in the curriculum. The ordinary subjects of secular instructions were, the English language, Handwriting, Arithmetic, Drawing, Observation lesson and Nature study, Geography, History, Singing, Hygiene, Physical Training and Domestic subjects for girls. All these subjects, of course, were not intended to be taught in every class, but the curriculum as a whole might be modified according to the circumstances of the school and the locality. The teachers and the Local Education Authorities were given enough freedom in this respect. They were not to imitate but to interpret the curriculum issued by the Board of Education according to their needs. There was no compulsion to adopt the "suggestions." Thus in a country school, the curriculum for Arithmetic, History and Geography might be curtailed in order to give more time to Nature study and practical subjects whereas in a town school more emphasis might be given on hand and eye training. Also, separate and special grants could be earned for instruction in Cookery, Laundry work, Housewifery, Handicraft (including light wood-work for girls) and Gardening.

Different L. E. A.-s, however, have dealt with the question of this curriculum in a different manner. The matter was entirely left, by some of the L. E. A.-s with the teachers and the inspectors; others insisted that the teachers should stick to the syllabus and time table in varying degrees of detail but this tendency relaxed after a few years, but the majority of the authorities were particularly interested in practical subjects, *e.g.*, Hygiene, Cookery, Handicraft and Gardening.

Whatever the views of the L. E. A.-s might be, the general tone of the curriculum throughout the whole country was totally changed. Systematic practice in oral composition was often continued from the infants' school to the highest class in the upper school without placing much stress on dictation, and children from a much earlier age were taught to express themselves on paper. Instead of writing formal

essays on abstract subjects, they were now given opportunity to write from their own experience. Instead of teaching grammar formally, it was taught rather in an informal way in connection with composition. Accuracy was the only aim in teaching arithmetic in former days but now the child was taught to work his money sums in early stages with cardboard coins before he learned to write them in figures. He now learned weights by actual weighing with scales, length by measuring his desk or the playground. Formerly the teaching of geography required the children to commit to memory, names and definitions, but now geography was based on the child's first-hand knowledge of his surroundings and the ultimate aim in teaching geography was to develop in the children, powers of observation, imagination, systematic thought and independent effort on practical lines. As regards history, most of the schools accepted a common plan to adopt the stories and biographies in the lowest class with some detailed studies of periods in the middle of the school and the whole course of English history from different points of view was dealt with in the highest class. Dramatisation, study of local history, study of conditions under which the mass of the people had lived from time to time, were the central idea of the whole curriculum in history.<sup>20</sup>

To speak more concisely, the barrier which tradition had created between the life of the child in school and that out of the school was being broken down by the new enterprise and curriculum. Education was less bookish and more practical than it had been. In almost every subject in the curriculum, the teacher in the century, was using more and more the materials and experiences with which the children were familiar in everyday life. Hence there was increasing difference between schools in one area and those in another—between town schools and country schools. There was growing divergence, after a certain age, between the education of the boy and that of the girl.

All this grew from the recognition of a principle, which Rousseau called attention to, and Pestalozzi, Froebel and other reformers emphasised, that the curriculum must pay attention to the child's interest, capacity and experience. This is the second great determinant of the curriculum and now stands equal in importance with an older one—the equipment of the child for adult life.

20. *Report of the Board of Education, 1910-11*, pp 21-32.

### IDEAS OF POST-PRIMARY EDUCATION

Towards the end of the nineteenth century some of the larger School Boards developed a type of school which had some of the characteristics of a primary school upto the age of 12, although they were never called primary schools. These schools formed in effect, the Junior Department attached to a higher grade Board School. A Junior Department attached to a higher grade school often became an important feeder of the main school. These "Higher Grade Schools" or "Higher Elementary Schools" although they were very few in number, served the purpose of providing education of a post-primary nature for the poor. The progress after 1902 was largely determined by section 22 of the Education Act, 1902, which enacted that the power to provide instruction under the Elementary Education Acts, 1870-1900, should, except where those Acts expressly provided to the contrary, be limited to the provision in a Public Elementary School of instruction given under the regulations of the Board of Education to scholars, who at the end of the school year, would not be more than sixteen years of age; provided that the L. E. A. might, with the consent of the Board of Education, extend those limits in the case of any such school, if no suitable higher education were available within a reasonable distance.

The minute which first created the Higher Elementary schools in 1900 was not followed by any large growth of schools of that type. The causes which restricted the growth of these schools were high cost of building, equipment and maintenance which were required under the old minute, and the predominantly scientific nature of the curriculum demanded. The future work of those going into the manufacturing trades or of those who were destined to take up clerical occupations or domestic duties did not find any guidance from the schools of that type. Also, there were many children, and particularly boys, who could not afford the time for a secondary school course, but who at the age of twelve, were ready for more advanced instruction than the Elementary school could give and for some practical teaching on the lines of occupation which they were intended to follow. So, to meet the existing need, a new type of Higher Elementary school was set forth in the Code of 1905.<sup>21</sup> The needs of the scholars in Elementary schools, who would probably be entering employment of

some sort at the age of 15 or shortly afterwards, were to be made by this new code. The instruction and the curriculum were made different from those of the ordinary Public Elementary schools by carrying the general and fundamental subjects of its course and particularly the subjects of English to a higher standard and by including instruction with a more special aim and more technical outlook than ought to find place in the general education which it was the function of the secondary school to supply. The Board of Education asked the views of the consultative committee regarding the principles which to them seemed of most importance in determining the character of the curriculum that would best meet the needs of the various possible kinds of Higher Elementary School. According to the report of the committee, the course should develop in an unbroken progress the work already done, strengthen on the foundation of primary education already made, and attempt to build upon them as good a general education as the conditions would allow. Such a course must receive a bent towards the special needs of the life which the child would enter, as it was the immediate preliminary to livelihood. It should consist of three strands, which might be roughly described as humanistic, scientific and manual and in the case of the girls, domestic.

The course of the new Higher Elementary schools was to be one of three years instead of four years as heretofore, though it might be extended with the approval of the Board for a fourth year. The Board would make grants, under the ordinary conditions, of 30s., 45s. and 60s. for the several years of the course in respect of each unit of average attendance in each of those years and those would be in addition to the Fee Grant (for scholars under 15) and special aid grant under section 18 of the Education Act, 1902.

After the introduction of this Code of 1905, some of this new type of schools were created but not abundantly. In January, 1906 there were only three such schools throughout the whole country and in August, 1906, 1907, and 1908 there were 5, 35 and 44 of this new type of Higher Elementary schools. The accommodations for the respective years were 724; 1,219; 10,154 and 19,801.<sup>22</sup> Although the schools were few in number and although a handful of children were being educated in these institutions, the general work imposed upon

21. *Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools, 1905*, (Cmd 2579) chapter vi, articles 38-42.

22. *Statistics of Public Education in England and Wales, 1903-05*, p. 67; 1905-07, p. 15; 1906-08, p. 13; and *Report of the Board of Education, 1908-09*, p. 124.

these schools was fairly done. One of the inspectors wrote about a school :

"The school is conducted with much ability and common sense, and it was pleasant to see the friendly confidence between the masters and the boys. A large percentage of these latter take up industrial callings and the general trend of the instruction is in that direction. This does not prevent the boys from doing very well in other walks of life, and the education given all round is above the average . . . ."<sup>23</sup>

But the compulsory education for a generation also could not make the parents sufficiently educated as to understand the value of education. They could not appreciate the idea that a trained boy would be able to earn more than a raw one and they would take out their children from those schools before completion as the law of the land could not prevent them from doing so. One of the unfavourable reports from an Inspector in connection with another school was as follows :

"At present, the chief difficulty in maintaining a satisfactory Higher Elementary school is the serious leakage of scholars as soon as they attain their fourteenth year. Thus during the present year 40 boys started in the highest class and there now only remain 14; of 35 girls in the same class 25 remain. Even in the second class the leakage is nearly as bad, viz 25 boys are left out of 44 and 40 girls out of 55. Unfortunately there is no indication that this leakage is materially diminishing, and it is evident that the scholars, especially the boys, generally leave as soon as they reach their fourteenth year. Unless the difficulty can be met it is useless to attempt any higher work . . . . The solution appears to lie in the revision of the curriculum."<sup>24</sup>

Another kind of advanced Elementary Education other than the Higher Elementary one was preferred by some of the larger L. E. A-s. These were called the Central Schools. In London, the Central School system dates from

the educational year 1911-12.<sup>25</sup> A number of Higher Elementary schools which had long been giving education considerably in advance of the ordinary elementary school standard, including some built originally as organized schools of science, were abolished in the new system. The Chief object of the Central Schools was to prepare girls and boys for immediate employment on leaving school, and that instruction should therefore be such that the children would be prepared to go into business houses or workshops on the completion of the course without any intermediate special training.<sup>26</sup> These Central schools were designed for the provision of an educational course not provided in the Public Elementary graded schools or in the secondary schools, and the curriculum of such schools were to be framed so as to have an industrial or commercial bias. The aim evidently was that the trend of education should be eminently practical without being vocational in any narrow sense. Thus the position of the central school was intermediate between that of the secondary school on the one hand and that of the junior technical school on the other, being distinguished from the former by its lower leaving age and less academic curriculum, and from the latter by its earlier age of admission and the fundamental fact that it did not in any sense aim at providing technical training for any particular trade or business.

In 1912, the Manchester Education Authority instituted six District schools on rather similar lines.<sup>27</sup>

25. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1911-12, p. 32 and 1912-13, pp. 60-62.

26. *L. C. C. Elementary School Handbook*, (1923), No. 2276, p. 118.

27. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1911-12, p. 43.

23. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1907-08, p. 42.

24. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1907-08, p. 43.



## PEACE OR WAR ?

### The Problem of 'Peaceful Change'

By DEEP CHAND SRIVASTAVA, M A , LL.B.

THE question of treaty revision has recently been in the centre of international politics, because violent changes are fast becoming the order of the day. Treaties are no longer sacrosanct. The most important of the post-war treaties, *viz.*, the Treaty of Versailles, has been unilaterally torn to pieces and is now no better than a mere scrap of paper. To a certain extent this was inevitable, for the injustices perpetrated on Germany were patent to any observer, and even if Hitler had not come into power it would have, sooner or later, had the same fate. The pace has been set by Germany, Italy and Japan, and their examples bid fair to be infectious. That would ultimately involve the world in another 'Great War' with all its catastrophic consequences. The evolution of peaceful machinery for revision of treaties and consideration of 'international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world' becomes an imperative necessity in the interests of world order.

The problem of 'peaceful change' is a fundamental question of any legal system. International Law lacked legal character and was, in the famous words of a famous jurist, 'the vanishing point of jurisprudence,' because war was one of the legally recognised modes of changing international rights. This was analogous to an authorisation of a revolution in the very constitution of a State. But the Briand-Kellogg Pact (General Treaty for the Renunciation of War) and the Covenant of the League to a lesser degree, have brought about a radical change in international law by removing the main objection to its recognition as a system of law. War is definitely outlawed and is no longer admissible as a regular legal institution. It is no longer recognised as a legal remedy or as an instrument for changing international law. But no legal institution has been put in its place, and this is fatal, for if war is outlawed, and there is no peaceful machinery for bringing about changes in international law, rule of law becomes synonymous with injustice, and, what is worse, it cannot effectively be enforced. Therefore, to accept treaties of compulsory arbitration without provision being

made for peaceful change would be to perpetuate injustice. It was the recognition of this fact that led to the anomalous provision in the General Act of 1928 that the arbitrators were to maintain, as well as change, the law !

What is 'peaceful change' as a legal institution? Every political society is confronted with the conflict between the demands of stability and the demand of change representing, respectively, the claims of law and the claims of justice. Within the state the gap between the immobility of law and social progress is bridged by legislative action. In the international society there is no legislature in the true sense of the term. And for that reason the problem of 'peaceful change' in the relation of states becomes very acute. Peaceful change implies a duty on the part of states to accept changes decreed by competent organs of international community and also a right possessed by those organs to decree such changes. This is what Professor Lauterpacht considers to be the true meaning of 'peaceful change' as a legal institution. It may be added that peaceful change connotes situations brought about by the operation both of treaties (which constitute the bulk of international law) and of customary rules of international law which have outgrown their original usefulness and significance.

The question of revision of treaties is not confined to the treaties following upon the World War, though, in the popular mind, it has become bound up with the removal of the injustices of the imposed peaceful settlements which terminated the World War.

Peaceful change as a legal institution postulates the existence of an international legislature. There is no such organisation in existence today. But there are some means of varying degrees of effectiveness for modifying obsolete treaty provisions and conditions, though they are rudimentary when compared with the effectiveness of national legislatures.

These means may be briefly examined.

The first is judicial legislation. It is well known, that judges apply, as well as make, law. But the function of judicial legislation,

as an instrument for changing law, is very limited even within a state, being indirect and confined to matters of relatively small importance. In the international sphere it is much more limited, for judicial activity is not a normal one in the international field.

There is a second means also. States, if they like, may ask the Court to act *ex aequo et bonum* (equity in the more general sense) and not on the basis of existing law. This is done in individual cases by the states expressly entrusting international tribunals with legislative function. But there are no general arbitration agreements giving such compulsory powers to international tribunals in regard to future disputes. Nor should such powers be conferred on these tribunals, for it would convert them into legislatures, for which they are not fitted.

Then there is a third mode of changing international rights by peaceful means—the famous doctrine of *rebus sic stantibus*. The general view is that all treaties are concluded under the tacit condition of *rebus sic stantibus*. Vital change of circumstances play a great part with regard to validity of all law, e.g., cancellation of contracts under certain circumstances, and therefore, the state has a right to demand a release from its obligations which conflict with its duty of self-preservation and development. This doctrine, properly understood, means that an international court may declare a treaty inoperative if, since its conclusion, conditions have changed so as to frustrate the purpose of the treaty. In the absence of compulsory jurisdiction of international tribunals the doctrine has degenerated into a notorious device for breaking a treaty under the guise of a legal process. But even as a legal institution, the scope of the application of the doctrine is admittedly a limited one, because it does not apply to (a) all sources of friction not connected with any treaty, (b) all changes in conditions but only to the changes in such circumstances as both parties regarded as the decisive inducement for entering the treaty, and (c) executed treaties. The judicial range of the application of this doctrine is also small. In recent cases where it was invoked the Courts did not think it applied in those cases. Even that limited application is circumscribed by the fact that international courts have no compulsory jurisdiction. The doctrine may, however, prove of some use if states agree to entrust tribunals with the decision whether a vital change of circumstances has really taken place. But even then major changes in inter-

national law cannot be brought about that way for reasons just stated.

These avenues for changing the existing law are the poorest of substitutes for an international legislature. Their scope is limited. At present there is no international agency in which such a power (to change the existing law) is vested. Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, is a tentative attempt to create something like an international legislature. But the Article does not vest in the Assembly the power of changing the existing law. It merely lays down:

“The Assembly may from time to time *advise* the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.”

The scope of the Article is wide, for it covers all executory treaties and also those which have not become inapplicable under the *rebus sic stantibus* clause. But its utility is evidently small for the Assembly can at best give only an opinion in the nature of a recommendation. It is the states themselves which proceed to take any action. Thus, under the Covenant, there is no power able to change peacefully existing law against the will of the interested states, and herein it lacks the essential quality of an international legislature. And there has been no inclination on the part of the Assembly to give an extended interpretation to the terms of the Article. When Bolivia invoked it in 1921 the Assembly held that her case did not fall within that Article. The Great Powers have tried to sabotage the Article, because events have proved that changes effected unilaterally were rewarded with success.

But the Article does foreshadow the legislative method, though it embodies the principle of legislation only in embryonic state. It is the first institutional attempt to deal with the problem of peaceful change within the orbit of politically organised international society. Although the recommendation of the Assembly has no binding character, the fact that it has found that a certain state of affairs is obsolete is not altogether without legal importance.

Opinions may be divided about the possibilities of the Article. One thing is, however, certain: that it does not provide for peaceful change as an organic institution of international society, i.e., it does not provide peaceful change being accepted by states as a matter of legal obligation. There is necessity for institutional provision for peaceful change. If we accept



that it would mark a great advance, it would mean an International Legislature. It would not be restricted to territorial matters. A possible safeguard against its formidable jurisdiction may be made in the provision that sovereign states should not be asked to yield rights unless under such overwhelming considerations of justice as may be found by competent international organs (by practical unanimity). Such a vote must be combined with reform of the unjust principle of state equality. In this way the problem of institutional peaceful change can be tackled.

We must not minimise the difficulties in

the way of international legislation. But they are not insuperable. An international legislature would be ineffective unless combined with some measure of enforcement—preferably by the method of collective security.

As matters stand, international peace is threatened by the fact that 'forcible change' is fast developing into a general practice. This might spell the ruin of civilisation. Surely in the interests of world peace, no effort should be spared to evolve peaceful means for meeting just demands for change in international law. Only thus peace could be ensured on a lasting basis, otherwise war is a stark certainty.

## FOR THE REBEL

By SRIMATI BHARATI SARABHAI

I HAVE so much of this moon—  
A reassured tomorrow and still again,  
Her nightly promise  
Its slow, accelerated pace  
Will take of unbound majesty;  
No time she keeps  
But that of her growing beauty—

I have so much of this moon this night  
While you, whose gift  
Of crowded hour is spent from crest  
To crest of the ungovernable, rising  
multitude,  
As the very vital centre cell, loud throbbing  
With the coalescing  
Swarm of the social artery,

Spread as one entity  
Before your gaze,  
Which, no more an abstraction for theory,  
Stands as a figure with a wellknown face,  
Whose real need you know you can  
Not help much, whose open scars  
Stare at you unaltered from every turn—

Crowd to crowd, aeroplane, car, wagon  
To railway compartments full of men,  
Everywhere slave compulsion, shrinking  
humanity,  
Here and there fruition, full aristocratic,  
free,

Which hurts even more,—there's no time  
for remorse—

Heated breath, sun-baked seers  
Long waiting as for an apparition,

Untempered curiosity and most eager flint  
In failing embers to speed this country's  
cart

To will this time's heroic change—  
Till hoarse is your voice, film-covered the  
image

Of the ivory face, like dreaming architecture  
Put to living use in this Russian age,  
Carries its pale, thoroughbred air—

For the real need, the real desire—  
I have too much of this moon here  
While you are insatiate, you whose delicate  
perception

Vibrates like a cunning instrument  
fashioned

To catch the music of the magic spheres,  
All that has grace and light and sweetness  
In art and nature,

And that freakish accident of nature and  
art,

Woman,—all else that anchors man,  
Harbours his touch, his incense breath  
his ear

Unpetals, his prodigal eye stills, makes  
divine

Justification for the grant of material  
sense—

You, from this heavenly storehouse  
Of the years' accumulated delight in  
loveliness,

You, from all this, will gather power,  
Power like an incalculable volcano,  
Power for all men, power to sway the  
soul's ecstasy

To other uses, until even the air  
Bidden with this my verse like a dynamo  
Like hard, insistent hammerstroke,  
On this fast moving time make a mark.

## ABUSE OF ADVERTISING

By KSHITINDRA KUMAR NAG, Ph.D. (Chicago)

CERTAIN series of advertisements have been appearing prominently in our newspapers and magazines with the message conveying such an idea as "long life in tea drinking" The advertising campaign is bold to the point of audacity in going so far as to depict the message with an illustration in which an old man in a dignified costume is giving sermons to a group of young ones to that very extent. It is not necessary here to ascertain how far the particular inference as to 'long life' is correct, but it is at least certain that no authority could conscientiously give testimonials to tea drinking for one's longevity

Again, another type of advertisements is having similar prominence in the advertising columns of our press with striking announcement of cigarette smoking as beneficial to our health and nerves, and also useful in giving relief to fatigue The idea of health behind cigarette smoking is ridiculous to any common sense, but as regards the question of fatigue Mr. L F Henderson, professor of biological chemistry, Harvard University, who can claim certain authority in this line, has pointed out in his article on "Alkali Ads" which appeared in *Harvard Business Review*, Autumn, '37, that

"Fatigue is relieved by rest and food, not by the use of alkalies or cigarettes. But sometimes it may be relieved by faith."

The article has been devoted to critising principally advertisements announcing the healing virtues of a multitude of alkaline remedies, but Mr. Henderson could make a special mention of cigarettes only in the above line, relating to fatigue

The total effects of such advertisements should not be considered to be trivial, as they must influence the readers' outlook to a considerable extent. And due to our indifference or for want of a definite policy of social control in this respect, we may have to observe a steadily mounting dishonesty in advertising copies that claim qualities for a product which have not the slightest basis in fact, to the detriment of the field of advertising

Unfortunately, the advertising field has been thus abused. It is no wonder that the attitude of the Indian public towards adver-

tising is peculiar. Most people in India still think that advertisement carries news different from what it ought to carry; in other words, the advertiser spreads an exaggerated story of the product for sale The advertisers, it is true, are chiefly patent medicine vendors and others to whom dishonest methods may seem justifiable to further their short-sighted ends. This class of people also constituted the only well defined group of advertisers in the western countries until approximately 1850; today it has been supplanted by almost the entire commercial fraternity.

In order to bring in or build up reputation that the field of advertising lacks in India there should be some sort of check to the advertising campaigns like the ones in question. It is worthwhile here to mention what a drastic step had been taken by the Federal Trade Commission of the United States of America against one cigarette manufacturer with regard to its irresponsible advertising policy It is pretty nearly a decade that the Federal Trade Commission freed American advertising of the burden it has to bear then by exacting from the manufacturer a promise to "cease and desist" from publication or broadcasting of statements that smoking of his cigarettes "will bring slender figures and cause a reduction of flesh in all instances."

Any way, the advertisers themselves must realize the importance of advertising in an economic organization to elevate its standard. In short, advertising is salesmanship on paper. The enormous increase in production available through the modern machine industry introduced into business the great problems of marketing, the solution of which is hardly possible without advertising as the substitute for increased selling forces. It plays such an important part in economic society that advertising and advertising agencies are sometimes spoken of as important factors in the apportionment of our economic activity. Advertising becomes a necessity, but if not wisely used to depict a product truthfully it becomes as much a boomerang as a poor product, and as a result a hindrance rather than help in creating public confidence towards the field of advertising. In other words, the marketing

problem becomes complicated rather than simple in the sense that a reader of advertisements finds it difficult as to which to believe and which not to believe. There are people, indeed, to whom the idea of advertising is this—honest or dishonest, it pays any way. Then, one can as well say that cheating pays but that can never be a business proposition.

The activities of advertisers have an important bearing on the welfare of the society in which they live. In the estimation of many economists the importance of advertising is measured more by social consequences than by its economical effects. Dr. Edward D. Jones, professor of Commerce and Industry in the University of Michigan, U. S. A., has said,

"Upon the general public there can be no doubt but that the constant sight of announcements of high qualities in goods, and the constant reading of protestations of social service as the motive of business action, exerts an influence in the direction of elevating the standards of taste and of conduct."<sup>1</sup>

If on the other hand, 'high qualities' and 'social service' become phrases of deception the social consequences can easily be imagined. The dishonest practices may be taken as a matter of course, and in the callous acceptance of such deceptions lies a measure of the decline of our intergrity, especially

"when Big Business tells him (a buyer) to purchase some article he feels he must obey. And if he does not happen to have the purchase price, he may be willing to take desperate chances to get it."<sup>2</sup>

In this respect the business ethics as expressed recently in the following American advertisement that is appearing currently in various magazines and newspapers in U. S. A. demonstrates the high standard the advertising has reached:

No person should spend a cent for liquor until necessities of living are provided—and paid for. Bills for groceries, clothes, rent, light, heat, doctors, have the first call on America's pay-roll

We don't want to sell whisky to anyone who buys it at a sacrifice of the necessities of life. Whisky is a luxury and should be treated as such. Fine whisky can play a pleasing part in the scheme of gracious living . . . but only when taken in moderation and only after the bills are paid.

This statement may seem contrary to our self-interest. Actually it is not. As one of America's leading distillers we recognize a definite social responsibility. The very existence of legalized liquor in this country depends upon the civilized manner in which it is consumed. In the long run, we believe, it is good business for us to say, "pay your bills first."<sup>3</sup>

These paragraphs are printed, not in furtherance of the drinking of spirituous liquors, which even "in moderation" we condemn, but only to show how even some liquor-sellers in America advertise their goods

If certain advertisers still think it wise to follow the gleam of profits more than anything else, they should remember that the crime brings its own consequences, in that advertising of an objectionable nature creates an adverse feeling towards the goods rather than a desire to buy them. Finally, the advertisers and advertising agencies in India should at least rid themselves of the fallacy that anything and everything is all right with a publication when it is an advertisement.

In order to give modern advertising its proper prestige and in order to realize its advantages, it is well to mention that the publishers of public organs like newspapers and magazines should feel a sense of responsibility. In many cases, particularly in India, many men still use advertising as a plan to make money easily. A number of advertisements dealing with patent medicines, intoxicating liquors, tempting cures, fortune telling, exciting novels and many other swindles should be refused so that they cannot abuse the field of advertising and cheat the public purse. Unfortunately, from the standpoint of the advertising business, some of those articles which are notoriously associated with misrepresentation are particularly prominent in the advertisement columns of the press. It is all the more unfortunate when it is the case with certain newspapers and magazines which in virtue of their standing, tradition and large circulation are in a better position than others to withstand the pressure of such advertising propagandas. Unless a man has sincerity and wholehearted belief in that which he wants to advertise and desires to merit public confidence he should not be allowed to have space for advertising his product. The *Saturday Evening Post*, a weekly magazine in the United States of America, for instance, rejects nearly as much advertising as it prints owing to the fact that such advertising will not pass the "acid test" which the publisher applies to it. There is, of course, a keen competition among American publishers in selling space for advertisements.

It is evident that the *Saturday Evening Post* does not really become loser of advertisements by refusing them space. As advertising is an economic necessity the advertisers are to send back their copies of advertisements with modifications as required, and they cannot

1. *The Administration of Industrial Enterprises*, N. Y., 1918, p. 382.

2. *Big Business and Banditry*, *The New Republic*, June 10, '31.

3. *The Reader's Digest*, March '38, p. 77.

afford to get cross or get cold feet at the refusal, when they know well that they are to advertise and that their advertisements must be published for obvious reasons, in that particular journal. Thus, in the matter of checking or censorship of advertising columns the Indian publishers can cast off without any loss whatsoever, the bugaboo of "we will lose advertisement" and put in its place "it will come any way". On the other hand, if they are to apprehend anything at all in connection with their relation with advertisements they should mind the offence of irresponsibility and deception on the part of advertisers, for which the publishers are equally, if not more, to blame, because it is they who help the advertisers get their message carried to the public. It is no doubt true that the public gets the benefit of cheap newspapers and magazines because of advertisements, yet it does not follow that the circulation of a journal depends upon them but upon the reading public who are interested

primarily in news, editorial matters and particularly in the honesty and consistency of its policy in regard to many other things which it has to deal with.

Now is the time for the publisher, the advertising agency and the advertiser to appreciate each other's service and to co-operate with each other not only to their own advantage but also to that of the community. It should be remembered that the policy of advertising cannot remain unchanged with the changes ever coming up with the machine industry, in order to help the producer sell his product produced on a large scale. They must, therefore, realize the importance of the field of advertising wisely utilised. It is as well a matter of great concern to all of them when an organization lands into advertising campaign, especially an extensive one, to go so far as to proclaim an attribution like "long life" or "good health" to such things as tea drinking, cigarette smoking and the like.

## WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS

### Our Statement of World Peace Day

*(Anniversary of the signing of the Pact of Paris)*

We heartily congratulate the World Youth Congress, met August 16-24, 1938, at Vassar College, New York, where the spokesmen of the Youth Organizations of fifty-seven countries assembled. The best fruit of this Congress is in the promotion of fellowship among the young men and women of different countries, creeds and cultures.

We are in full accord with the seven points for peace recently proclaimed by the U. S. Secretary, Hon. Cordell Hull, namely (1) Economic reconstruction, (2) treaty observance; (3) non-interference in the affairs of other nations; (4) disarmament; (5) intellectual exchange and collaboration among all peoples; (6) adherence to international law; (7) international cooperation to further this program. We also have strong faith in the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact for the solution of the problem of Peace and War.

We join with the World Youth Congress in maintaining the view that "a new world order could be established in which a lasting peace could be founded on justice and preserved by the cooperation of mankind."

The World Fellowship of Faiths goes still further. It firmly believes that lasting peace must have its beginning with every individual, as charity begins at home. We emphasize that the "development of individual character by practising non-violence, truth,

and love in every little action of everyday life, will bring abiding peace and happiness"

Let us begin with ourselves, so that we may start immediately and not wait for other people and government to take actions, however essential they may be. Unless every individual finds his true relationship with the Supreme Being and realizes the unity of all life, real peace on earth is unattainable. President Wilson rightly observed that "civilization will be wrecked and ruined unless spiritually redeemed." We, therefore, seek individual reform through spiritual regeneration.

The World Fellowship of Faiths has chosen as a general theme "*World Peace Through Spiritual Awakening*" and is inviting the people of all faiths, races and countries to participate in its Fifth International Congress to be held in New York at the time of the great World's Fair and in San Francisco during the Golden Gate Exhibition in 1939.

May He make our efforts fruitful by uniting us inwardly and outwardly in peace and fellowship.

KEDARNATH DAS GUPTA,  
Editor, *Appreciation-Dharma*

Hotel New Yorker,  
New York, N. Y., August 27, 1938

# ANCIENT IMAGES OF BUDDHA

## In the Caves of Gokteik

By BIRESWAR GANGOOLY

ON the Lashio Branch of the Burma Railways, at a distance of 40 miles from Maymyo there is a railway station named Gokteik Viaduct, situated on the verge of a deep gorge, which is spanned by a steel bridge 2,200 feet long. constructed by the Burma Railways.

Across the gorge, and on the opposite side of the Railway Station, the hill-side presents a long line of hard granite rocks rising sheer to a height of some 1,500 feet and containing numerous small caves, crevices and grottoes, now the habitation of birds and bats. There are also the traces of many dried-up springs that in olden days found their way through these crevices.

In 1906, from the aforesaid bridge, a bright light and the glow of a fire were occasionally seen at nights at the side of the rocks. It was impossible that any human being could have access to the places, where the light and fire were seen burning.

This phenomenon was seen by many visitors at Gokteik during the next 5 or 6 years, but no satisfactory explanation was ever found till a Madras station-master employed at Gokteik in 1913 declared that a Hindu "Zawti" (Sadhu), living in one of the caves on the opposite side of the hills, was the person, who was burning the light and fire in front of some of those unknown grottoes. No one however cared to ascertain the grotto where he lived. From about February 1934, the light and the fire were not any more seen at any of the rocks.

In 1934, a Gurkha Sadhu (an old man of 70 years) who had erected, at the side of the Viaduct, a few thatch huts for third class railway passengers to rest, corroborated the statement of the Madras station-master, and said that he had been acquainted with the old Sadhu living in one of the caves about 20 years ago; but the Sadhu, he added, must have been dead, as no one had seen him since 1914.

In 1937, in a June number of *The Sun* and of *The New Light of Burma* there appeared a letter written in Burmese by a correspondent stating that a large number of images of Buddha had been discovered in a cave at

Gokteik, the clue being given in a dream to U Myat, a permanent Way Inspector of Sakantha.

In July 1937, U Myat, being questioned about the images found at Gokteik, made the following statement:

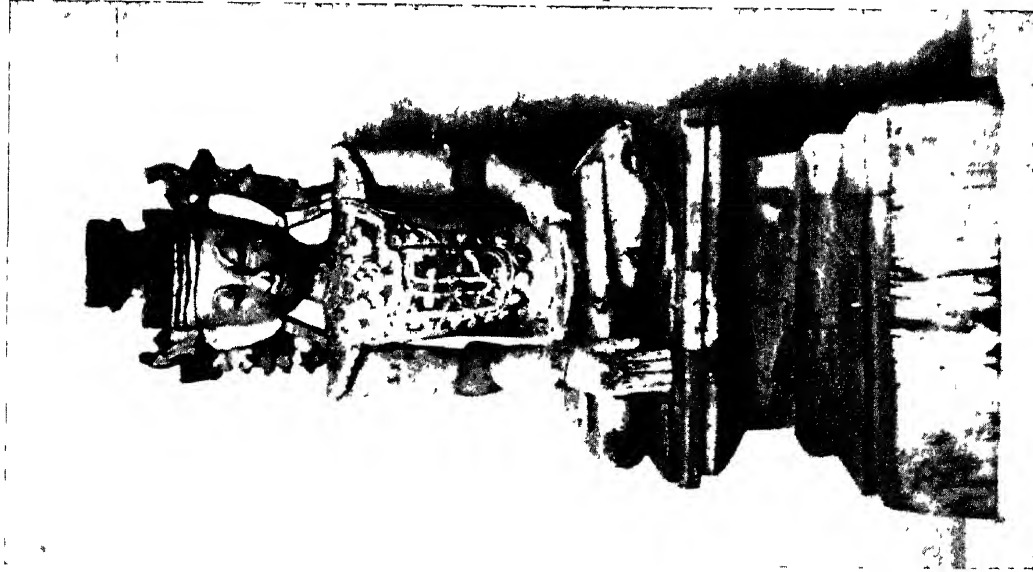
"On the 26th May 1937, while I was in my quarters at Sakantha, I dreamt that there were a number of images of Buddha lying hidden in a cave on the hill just opposite the railway station. I attached no importance to the dream; merely because it was a dream, and because there were no caves known to any one then, where any human beings could have any access.

"On the 29th May, I had to spend the night at the Rest House at Gokteik. In the early hours of the morning, I dreamt that I was on the 4th scaffold of the Viaduct with an old Pouna, dressed in a white Burmese jacket and a dhoti, similar to those worn by the Pounas on ceremonial occasions. He had a bead in his right hand, and stretching his right hand with the bead towards the rock on the other side of the gorge, he pointed out to me a cave and said, 'In that cave lying unknown for many years, are images of Lord Buddha; I bid you go there and take them.'

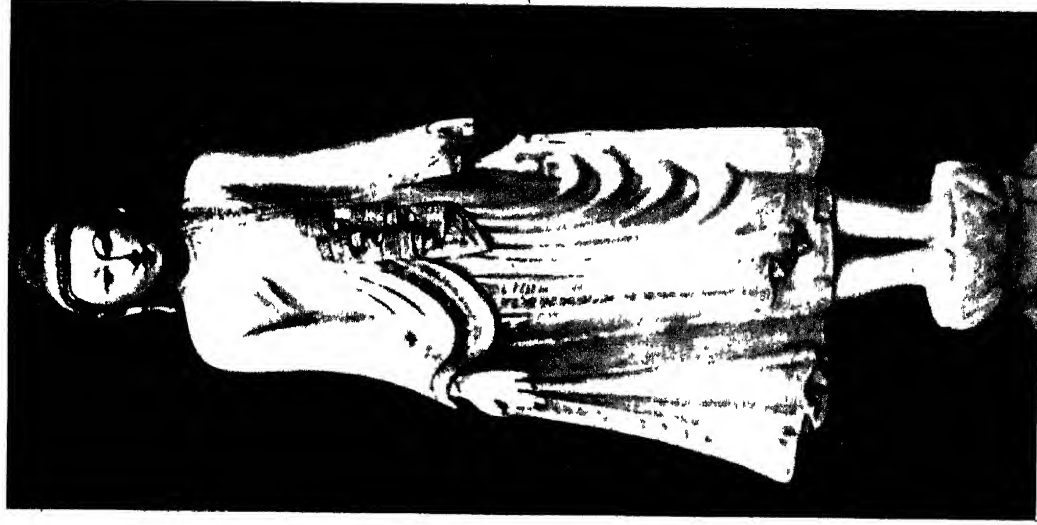
"I saw the images, in my dream, distinctly glittering in the darkness of the cave. I awoke from my sleep, and prayed that my dream might be fulfilled.

"At dawn I went down to the Railway Station and told the station-master S. N. Das, a Bengali Hindu, about my dream. He volunteered to accompany me. With 6 coolies equipped with *dahs*, spades and shovels, we started at once to find out the grotto pointed out to me by the "Pouna." The surroundings as seen in the dream were quite clear in my memory. We made our way across the Viaduct and when within a few yards of the second tunnel, we started to search. After cutting a few trees and a thick tangle of bushes, we managed to reach, by means of a narrow rocky path, the edge of a precipice, where a cave exactly similar to what I had seen in my dream, was found. The mouth of the cave was covered by thick bushes and was almost hidden by

# ANCIENT IMAGES OF BUDDHA IN THE GOKTEIK CAVES



The inscription (No. 2) at the base of this image could not be deciphered

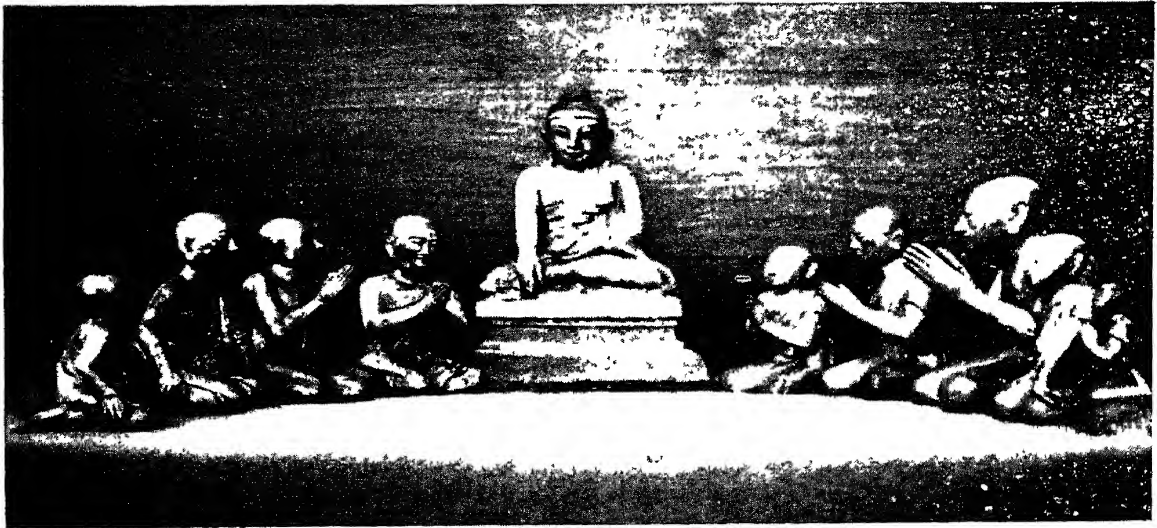


The largest image—about four feet in height. Left arm broken



Another damaged image. This was found carefully kept with the first





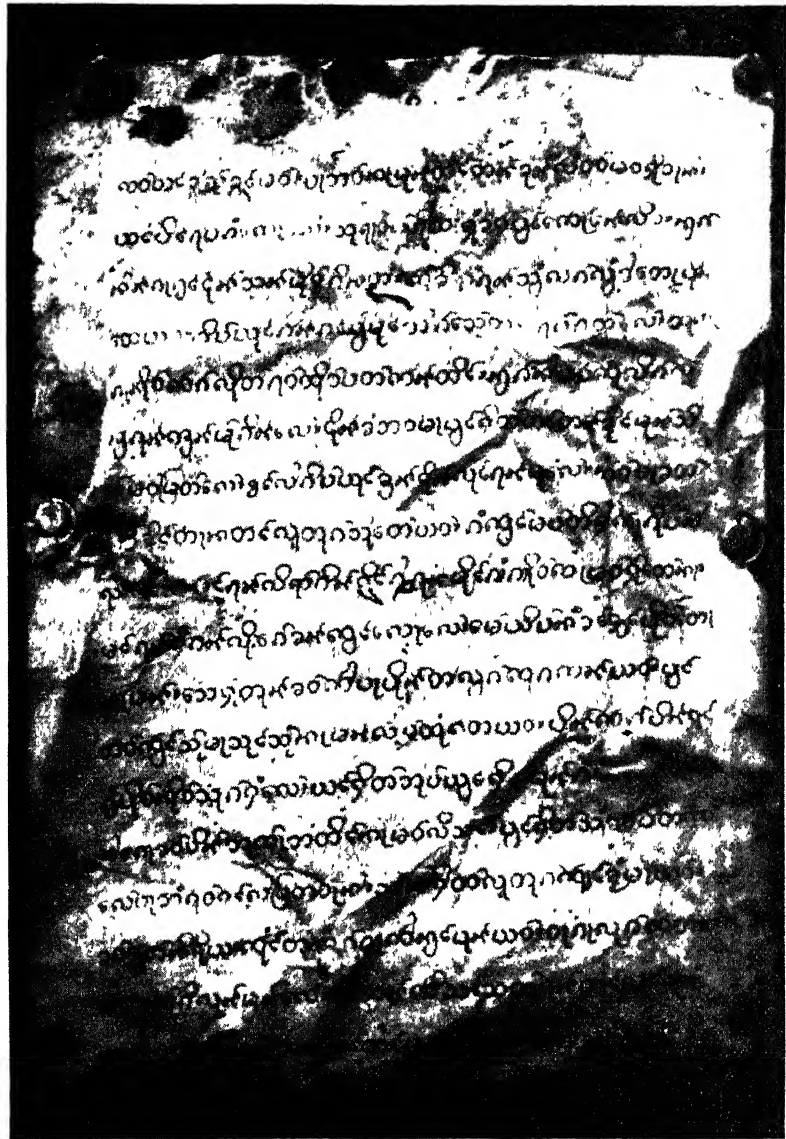
These images, from six inches to four feet, were found in the grotto, arranged in the same way as seen here. Most of these are of lacquer wood and covered with thin gold leaves

undergrowth The skeleton of a cow was found scattered at the entrance of the cave. As it was impossible for cows to come to the cave by the narrow rocky path described above and as there could be no incentive for cows to go there, the only inference that came spontaneously to us, was that the cow must have been killed by a cheeta and brought to the cave. The coolies therefore made loud noises to frighten any beast that might be lurking there; but nothing came out of the grotto except a tortoise about a foot in diameter with a black stony shell on its back, which hurriedly ran down to a narrow little cave just below the grotto. The inner apartment of the grotto was quite clean and seemed as if inhabited by man, though in reality no one was known to have lived there, within the last 80 years. In this cave and in some neighbouring ones, we discovered about sixty old images of Buddha from 6 inches to 4 feet in height, most of them made in lacquer and some of wood covered with thin gold leaves, quite bright and unstained. There were four images of marble stone.

"Without disturbing the position of the images, we shut the mouth of the grotto by a strong fencing of wood and returned to the station

"I then sent a letter describing the discovery to my District Engineer Mr. Gawthorne, who with his wife came the next day to Gokteik and penetrating further inside, they found more images, and also 'a terracotta motif' bearing an inscription. Mrs. Gawthorne took a few photographs of the grotto and some of the images found there. The motif was taken to Mandalay in order to

decipher the writing and glean the past history of the images. The images were then carefully collected and brought to Gokteik station.



A photograph of the inscription No 2

where on the top of a hillock a thatch hut has now been constructed to house them."

Later on, in April last (1938), Mr. and Mrs. Gawthorne gave us the details of these finds at the cave. The inscriptions photographed by them were also shown to us and I am indebted to Mrs. Gawthorne for the photographs now appearing in the pages of *The Modern Review*.

The translation of the inscription No. 2 could not be obtained. It is written in Shan,

but is full of queer words unintelligible even to the old Shan Phongies of the Hsipaw State. Inscription Nos. 1 and 3 were deciphered by Mr. and Mrs. Gawthorne, a translation of which is given below.

#### INSCRIPTION No. 1

This image has been dedicated on the Full Moon day of Tabodwe 1226 B.E., to receive merit (Kuthaw). May the maker of this image also get merit. Thadu, Thadu, Thadu

#### INSCRIPTION No. 3

It was in 1253 B.E.—Thadu, Thadu, Thadu—that this image was dedicated by Mg Sein.

May Mg Sein, his parents, wives, and sons, get "Kuthaw" (Merit), long life, beauty, happiness and health. Let all their wishes be fulfilled. Thadu, Thadu, Thadu.

Now the question is —

Who secreted these images in these inaccessible caves and why and when?

Mr. — believes that "they were concealed by the neighbouring villagers, during one of the Chinese invasions in Burma."

The inscription Nos. 1 and 3 bear the years 1864 and 1891 A.D.

The well-known Chinese invasions to Burma were from Yunnan and usually through Bhamo and Kengtong and not through Hsipaw where Gokteik is and those invasions moreover were made in the years 1445 (Kengtong), 1662 (Bhamo) and 1767 (Lashio) and not in the years mentioned in the inscriptions.

Some old Shans of Nounpung believe that the images were concealed there during the continual war that raged among the ruling Sawbwas of Hsipaw, Monglong and Hsumhsai in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries A.D. (*vide* Chapter VI, *Upper Burma Gazette*, Vol. 1, Part 1) There are however no mention there of any warfare due to differences in religious faith so as to cause the people of Nounpung—the nearest village to Gokteik—to conceal the images of Buddha in these inaccessible caves.

In 1891 (the year mentioned in inscription No. 3) the conditions were quite different. The British Government had already annexed Upper Burma, and the Sawbwa of Hsipaw had already submitted to the British Rule in 1886. The sub-States of Monglong and Hsumhsai (Thonze) were soon subdued and annexed by the Hsipaw Sawbwa to his State with the help of the British. British military forces were then stationed at Lashio and Hsipaw and they were often going out on expeditions to quell rebellions in the unruly States.

It is possible therefore that at this time, the Phongies, to save their images of Buddha from those infidels, concealed them in the caves at Gokteik.

Secondly, from the year 1892, when the construction of the railway line from Mandalay to Lashio was begun, a very large number of Chinese and Pathan coolies and workmen were employed in the construction of the line, tunnels and the steel bridge at Gokteik. They were not Buddhists and it is very possible that the Buddhist priests, through a fear of their Buddha's image being broken down by these greedy non-believers, concealed them in these caves at Gokteik. It was an usual practice in olden times to hide valuable treasures inside the images of Buddha or under the seat of the images in the pagodas. (See Harvey's *History of Burma*, page 107).

During the period 1886-1903 A.D. a number of "rebels and dacoits" unwilling to submit to the British Rule, took refuge in the Mong Long and Hsumhsai States; and they, in the words of Sir George Scott, used to burn and plunder the villages that refused to help them. The Hsipaw State having accepted the British Rule from 1886, it was possible that the villages near Gokteik concealed these images of Buddha in these unknown caves, to save them from being destroyed by these "rebels."

There was, about two miles from the caves at Gokteik, an ancient caravan road leading from China to Burma and used by the Chinese traders. The Buddhist preachers who had established the "Sad-dharma" in the Far East and among the ferocious Nat-worshippers of the Northern Shan States, used the same road for their journey to China and the Lao Shan States. New pagodas were being constructed and new images were therefore naturally required for these pagodas and for their worship. It is therefore also possible that these Buddhist preachers had kept their images concealed in these caves for future transport in peaceful times.

The image on the broken Brick (Photo No. C) is believed by the Burmese scholars to be a very ancient one, dating its existence from the establishment of the Taloing Kingdom at Thaton.

It is now a mystery therefore and nobody can definitely tell us who kept these images there in the caves and why they did so.

Our young Burmese friends are of opinion that some Phongies had kept the images there, with the idea of making this secret cave a shrine for the ignorant Shans.

# THE SHARADASHRAM

## A Research Institute at Yeotmal in Berar

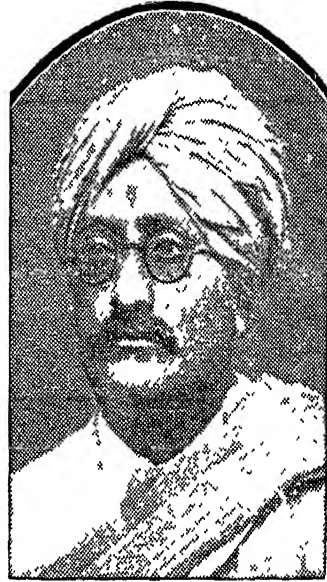
By ANANDRAO JOSHI

It is gratifying to note that there are at present three institutes working in the field of literary and historical research in the three sub-divisions of the Central Provinces and Berar, viz, the 'Sharadashram' in Berar, the 'Madhyaprant Sanshodhan Mandal' in the Marathi C. P. and the 'Mahakosal Historical Research Society,' in the Hindi C.P. The Sharadashram which is the oldest of these three institutes was founded at Yeotmal in the year 1926, after the third session of the 'Vidharba Literary Conference' held there under the presidentship of Mr N. C. Kelkar. Since then this institute in the small town of Yeotmal has given a good account of its activities in the field of literary and historical research, and its fame has not only transgressed the limits of the Maharashtra but has reached to distant Europe as well. The credit for this commendable progress on the part of the Sharadashram is chiefly due to the untiring labour and devotion of its founder and promoter—Mr Yeshwant Khushal Deshpande, M.A., LL. B. pleader of Yeotmal.

Mr Deshpande was born on September 14, 1884 at Papal, a small village in the Akola District. He took his higher education in the Wilson College of Bombay. In 1906 he took his M.A. degree of Bombay University, he being the first Berarian to obtain it with Marathi as his subject. It was during his stay in Bombay that he was profoundly impressed by the historical writings of the late Mr. Rajwade, the most eminent historian of the Maharashtra. In 1908 Mr Deshpande passed his LL. B. Examination and then settled at Yeotmal where he began to practise as a lawyer. For several years he patiently devoted himself to the collection of old manuscripts and historical documents and records which now adorn the shelves of the Sharadashram.

The most outstanding and unique feature of the Sharadashram is the research work that is being assiduously done by it in the field of the old 'Mahanubhava'<sup>1</sup> literature of Marathi—a literature which has entirely revolutionised

our conceptions regarding the early history and growth of the Marathi language. It is remarkable to note that the 'Mathas' of the 'Mahanubhava' sect are found not only in the provinces of the Punjab and Peshawar but in the far-off Afghanistan as well. In 1925 Mr. Deshpande visited several of these 'Mathas' in the Panjab and Peshawar and collected a lot of information regarding the 'Mahanubhava' literature from the manuscripts so carefully preserved in these 'Mathas'. On his return he published his wellknown book, *Mahanubhaviya Marathi*



Y. K. Deshpande

*Vangmaya*<sup>2</sup> which was highly appreciated by eminent Marathi scholars.

In 1932 the Sharadashram was reorganised and a new constitution was framed for its efficient working. At present Mr. M. S. Aney, M.L.A. (Central), is the president of the managing committee of this institute. *Shri Vishnudasachi Kavita*,<sup>3</sup> *Shri Riddhipuravarnan*,<sup>4</sup> *Vidarbhavina*,<sup>5</sup> *Uddhavigita*,<sup>6</sup> *Chakrapani*-

2. 'महानुभाव मठांची वङ्ग'.

3. श्रीविष्णुदसजी की कविता.

4. श्री ऋद्धिपूरवर्णन.

5. विदर्भावना.

6. उद्धवगीता.

1. महानुभाव.



A group photograph: Sir Jadunath Sarkar's visit to Sharadashram  
(second row, second from the left)

*charitra*, 'Adya Marathi Kavayitri' are some of the publications published in the 'Sharadashram Book Series' which includes works both of old and current Marathi literature. In 1933 a *Sharadashram Annual* was published which included several papers contributed by eminent research workers and scholars of the province. Unfortunately, owing to lack of funds the idea of publishing subsequent annuals had to be abandoned.

On 20th August, 1927 Sir Jadunath Sarkar paid a visit to the Sharadashram in company with the wellknown 'Riyasatkar' of the Maharashtra, Mr. G. S. Sardesai and Mr. Y. M. Kale of Buldana (Berar). They paid a glowing tribute to the work undertaken by the Sharadashram in the following words:

"We visited the Sharadashram today and were very much pleased to see the arrangements made for saving old Sanskrit and Marathi manuscripts and historical records from destruction. Such an institution is a national asset at a centre like Yeotmal and we wish it success."

The Government of India also have honoured the institute by appointing Mr. Deshpande as a co-opted member of the Indian

Historical Records Commission which held its sessions at Nagpur, Gwalior and Patna.

Mr. Deshpande has sailed for Europe on 26th July by the Italian Steamer 'Conte Verde' to attend the Eighth International Congress for Historical Sciences to be held at Zurich (Switzerland) from August 28 to September 4, 1938. He is attending the Congress as a representative of the Sharadashram to which an invitation was sent by the Congress some time last year. He has submitted two papers on 'Prehistoric Rock Paintings in India' and 'Indian Iconography' to be read at this Session. From Zurich Mr. Deshpande will start for Brussels to attend the Orientalists' Congress to be held from the 5th to the 10th of September. He will then stay at Paris for about four months with a view to study and collect materials on the history and philology of the Marathi language for his proposed publication in Marathi. The world-renowned scholar and philologist of Paris, Dr. Jules Block has kindly consented to render him all possible help during his stay there. Mr. Deshpande would then spend a couple of months in London, where he would take advantage of the world famous library and the Museum. He then intends to travel on the continent and will return to India early next year.

7. चक्रगणितरिच

8. आद्य मराठी कवयित्री



# STARS OF THE UNDERSEA

AMAZING ILLUMINATED CREATURES OF THE INDIAN AND PACIFIC OCEAN DEEPS

By EWEN K PATTERSON

HALF a century ago it was thought that no living creature could exist the dark deeps of the oceans. Subsequent exploration, however, has revealed otherwise, for fish have been captured from as far down as three miles where no light ever penetrates, and where the water exerts the tremendous pressure of about three tons to the square inch.

It is impossible for any of us to imagine just how dark it is in these silent, unexplored deeps. No man has ever been able to go very far down to find out, the greatest depth any man has ever reached is only half a mile.

This was the noted performance of Dr Beebe, an American scientist, who went down in the Atlantic Ocean four years ago in a big steel ball called a bathysphere. Even at that comparatively shallow depth the darkness was astounding to Dr Beebe, who said:

"It showed as blacker than black. It seemed as if all future nights in the upper world must be considered only relative degrees of twilight. I could never again use the word Black with any conviction."

Just as the darkness of night in our upper world is illuminated by stars, so the inky-black darkness of the undersea is also relieved by stars. But the stars in this case are living, moving stars in the form of some of the weirdest creatures the imagination could devise—strange fishers that are equipped with lights of all colours of the rainbow.

Owing to the inaccessibility of their habitat but few of these illuminated deep-sea fish have been closely studied. The little that has been learned, however, provides a fascinating glimpse of the stupendous and amazing world of life that exists in the unexplored realms of the oceans.

When Dr. Beebe made his descent in the Atlantic Ocean he encountered a remarkable fish which he described as

"a new and gorgeous creature. Almost round, along the sides of its body were five unbelievably beautiful lines of light, one equatorial, with two curved ones above and two below. Each line was composed of a series of large pale yellow lights, and every one of these was surrounded by a semi-circle of very small but intensely purple lights."

Dr Beebe named it the Five-lined Constellation fish, and he said:—"In my memory it will live, as one of the loveliest things I have ever seen."

The strangest of all light-bearing fish are found in the Indian and Pacific Oceans; and one of the queerest of these is a fish, which has headlights exactly like the lamps of a motor-car in miniature!

The striking fact has been responsible for the fish's very appropriate name—the *anomalops* or "headlight-fish". Above each of its eyes the fish has a bright white light, and above each light is a movable flap which the fish can slip over its "lamps" at will, thus cutting off the illumination.

It is believed and is highly probable that the fish uses these "lamps" to attract prey within reach of its jaws.

More remarkable, however, is the lantern face fish of the family *Myctophidae*, which has headlights but no eyes!

The fish, which attains a length of about five feet and lives in the Pacific Ocean below a depth of about 2,000 fathoms, has absolutely no trace of eyes, instead, on top of its head, just above where the eyes are usually situated in other fish, it has a pair of large phosphorescent organs which emit a strong white light.

How the fish obtains food is something of a mystery, but it is believed that the lights, which the fish is able to switch on or off at will, act as a lure for attracting prey within reach of its enormous mouth.

Other illuminated members of the *Myctophidae* family are the lantern fishes, which, in addition to having eyes apparently capable of seeing through the densest blackness, have rows of luminous scales along both sides of the body.

These scale-lights can be switched on or off according to the will of the fish, and they are believed to act solely as aids to feeding. Some species of the lantern fishes also have tail-lights! The light of the male fish is situated on top of the tail and shines upward, while that of the female is underneath the tail and shines downward.



The only fish yet discovered with a red tail-light is the rainbow fish (*Gnosotoma polyphos*) of the Southern Indian Ocean. As its name implies, the fish is one of the most beautiful in the undersea, for its luminous organs display virtually every colour of the rainbow.

Along both sides of its body are many rows of illuminated scales, which emit red, blue, orange, violet and yellow lights of all shades, while the fish has a white "headlight" in the centre of its forehead and two red tail-lights, one on each side of the tail.

The lights produced by these deep-sea fish do not, of course, generate heat; they are cold lights, and, so far as has been ascertained, are used solely for the purpose of procuring food, acting as a lure to attract other fish.

Unique among all illuminated deep-sea fish is the Oceanic Angler fish. Angler fishes of course are well known; they are fairly plentiful throughout the seas of the world and most people are familiar with them (from books, if not by experience) and are aware that they are equipped with a kind of fishing-line and bait with which they angle for prey.

The Oceanic Angler fish, however, is vastly different to its well-known cousin. An inhabitant of the very deep and dark waters of the Pacific Ocean, the Oceanic Angler is unique in that the female only is a normal, free-swimming fish.

She attains a length of anything up to four feet, and, like the common Angler-fish, has a long fishing-line protruding from the top of her head. This line is also equipped with a "bait," which, unlike that of the common fish, is brightly illuminated. The fish flicks this "lamp" to and fro to attract other fish within reach of her jaws.

An unusual feature of the fish's jaws is that they are equipped with large *hinged* teeth! When a victim is seized the teeth fall backwards towards the throat, dragging the victim in, and

when the meal is over they swing back to a vertical position! No other fish known is thus equipped. The fish's stomach is also so distensible that she can actually swallow and digest fish larger than herself.

The female Oceanic Angler is also the most hard-worked wife in the sea in that she is the only female fish known that acts as bread-winner for herself and her husband (or husbands).

The male Oceanic Angler is a dwarfed creature, rarely more than four or five inches in length. Immediately after birth he attaches himself to the body of the first female that comes along and there he remains for the whole of his life.

The male first attaches himself with his mouth, and gradually his lips and tongue become fused with the skin of the female, and he is nourished externally from her bloodstream.

He is sightless and without fishing-line or bait, and his only duty is to ensure the continuance of the species when the time comes for the eggs to be laid. This is the only case known of a male fish being attached to the female as a parasite.

The male settles anywhere on the female's body, and it is on record that as many as half-a-dozen males have been found attached to a single female, joined to her head, body and tail.

The only known deep-sea creature that does not use its illumination for the purpose of procuring food is a giant prawn—an inhabitant of the dark Pacific Ocean depths—which uses its light to escape from enemies.

When attacked by, or in danger from, an enemy, the prawn shoots out from a series of glands clouds of substance which on touching the water bursts into a strong white light. This light so blinds the enemy that the prawn invariably is able to escape in the surrounding darkness.



# LIFE AND WORK OF SIR VITHALDAS THACKERSEY

## An Appreciation

By C L. GHEEVALA

"ABLE, enterprising, restless and gifted with a creative mind, he laboured as unceasingly and enthusiastically for public causes as he did for private benefit and crowded into his comparatively short life a vast amount of work and achievements. As a constructive thinker and worker and a daring organiser, Sir Vithaldas Thackersey must be reckoned as one of the biggest Indians of his time."—M. VISVESVARAYA

It is in the fitness of things that we pay our humble tribute to Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, who played in the first two decades of our century an outstanding part, in the realms of commerce, industry and finance of our country. A man of vision, he was equally alive to the cause of social reform and more particularly to the importance of Female Education. His name shall ever remain associated with the cause of the emancipation of Indian Womanhood.

Born in 1873, by sheer dint of ability and application he made his way into public life. His nomination as a Justice of Peace in 1897 at the early age of 24, heralded the entry of a career in the public life at once full of promise and service to the public. Young Vithaldas was elected to the Corporation the following year, in 1898. He brought his sound instructive judgment and business acumen to bear upon the discussions of various problems, *viz*, the municipalization of the Public Utility Service, like the Tramways, Housing Scheme and Road Improvement. In 1904, he was elected Chairman of the Standing Committee and soon rose to the distinction of the Presidentship of the Corporation in 1907. His activities were no longer confined only to the civic problems. As early as 1903 he was nominated to the Bombay Legislative Council. During the years, he played an important role in the shaping of industrial and commercial policies. He worked hard to free the Cotton Textile Industry from the shackles of the high rate of exchange, cotton excise duty and the danger of Japan's competition.

As a mark of the recognition of his outstanding abilities and public service, the Government conferred on him the honour of Knighthood in 1908. Having worked on the Bombay Council for six years, he was elected

to the Imperial Legislative Council in 1909. During his term of membership till 1913, as his biographer DB Prof H L Kaji observes,

"Sir Vithaldas came to be easily recognised as a stalwart especially in commercial and financial matters with regard to which there was hardly any one to beat him either on official or non-official side."

His speeches during the period make a remarkable contribution to the understanding of the economic problems of the day, revealing a mind which had not only a firm grip of the realities but also a prophetic insight into the future. He was one of the pioneers of the Co-operative Movement in Bombay and helped in the establishing of the Bombay Central Co-operative Institute and the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank. In recognition of his manifold services to the cause, the building has been named after him as the "Sir Vithaldas Thackersey Memorial Building."

This great industrialist, financier and legislator was also a great believer in education as the great solvent of the numerous problems with which our country is confronted. He was an ardent exponent of commercial education and took a very leading part in the establishment of the Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics in Bombay. He was also alive to the larger problem of the spread of elementary education among the masses; nor was he oblivious of the all-important problem of Female Education. With a bold insight he declared in one of his speeches that

'Female Education is the foundation of all Social progress.'

It was such a distinguished and unique personality with whom Prof. Karve, the great visionary educationist, had the good fortune to come in contact in 1917. Inspired and emboldened by the example of the Japan Women's University, Prof. Karve set to work out a suitable scheme for the Higher Education of Women in India. In spite of the heavy odds against him and being confronted with doubting reformists and educationists, Prof. Karve forged ahead, though humbly with the tenacity and zeal of a missionary. The University started its humble career in 1916 with a college

and a school affiliated to it. The University had meagre resources and ever felt hard-pressed for finances, necessary for the expansion of a big institution of the nature of a University.

It was at such a moment that there took place that 'happy fortuitous conjunction of the idealist in Prof Karve and the realist in Sir Vitthaladas' As early as 1917, Sir Vitthaladas evinced interest in the scheme of Prof. Karve and became one of its patrons. In 1919, Sir Vitthaladas and Lady Thackersey started on a world-tour. It was during their stay at Japan that he watched the working of the Japan Women's University with great interest. He thought of starting a similar institution in India, with a view to promote the advancement of Indian Womanhood, a cause noble and glorious in itself.

On his return, he set his heart to the working out of a scheme and made a princely donation of Rs 15 lakhs, in 1920, one of the biggest endowments offered for Female Education in India. The University has been named after his talented and illustrious mother, "The Shreemati Nathibai Damodardas Thackersey Indian Women's University." He took keen and lively interest in the progress and expansion of the University till 1922, during which year he died a premature death on August 12th.

The University has for its basic principles, the recognition of the mother-tongue as the most effective and natural medium of instruction and the acceptance of a wider and more comprehensive scheme of education providing freer and more liberal scope to the personality of woman.

Till 1932, the University made a steady progress in the direction of starting and affiliating colleges and schools at various centres. In 1931, through the exertions of Sir Chunilal

V Mehta, the then Chancellor, and Lady Thackersey a college was started in Bombay with Mr. H. G. Anjama as its Honorary Principal. A crisis developed in the history of the University in 1932, the period till 1935 was a period of great financial distress. But fortunately for the University our Chancellor, Mr S S Patkar, Ex-Judge of the Bombay High Court, by his tact, resourcefulness and strenuous effort succeeded in effecting a compromise and the crisis was overcome. The University being placed in the hands of such an efficient pilot has made rapid progress in all directions since then.

The University has now its headquarters at Bombay, housing both the University office and the College in an admirable quiet locality. Besides the two colleges and the two schools directly run by the University, the number of affiliated colleges and schools at various centres has been steadily increasing, the remarkable increase in the number of students both at the schools and colleges is a testimony to the growing recognition of the utility of the institution to the public. The university now aspires, and quite legitimately to secure Government recognition. I am confident that the present Government will do its best to put the coping stone to the great monumental institution which owes so much to Sir Vitthaladas Thackersey. It is a matter of supreme pride to us that Lady Premila V. Thackersey has been taking a keen and lively interest in our work and has been so nobly devoting herself to furthering the cause, so dear to the heart of Sir Vitthaladas Thackersey.

Let us also dedicate ourselves to the great cause of Indian Womanhood in a spirit of service and humility and in that measure alone we can rightly pay our tribute to the memory of the great merchant-prince Sir Vitthaladas Thackersey.



# CORRUPTION AND THE PUBLIC SERVICES

BY VIKRAM JEET SINGH, M.A.

ONE of the most arduous questions which have hitherto baffled statemanship in India is the eradication of Corruption from among public services. The existence of the evil has never been denied by Government and the practice of illegal gratification has been unequivocally condemned by officials and non-officials alike once and again. The superior services, generally speaking, are above such malpractices and the evil is confined mostly to subordinate ranks. It is, however, true that Corruption like the evil of drink has defied all remedies hitherto applied towards its removal. New brooms, they say, sweep well and it has fallen to the new ministries in the provinces to continue the process of cleaning up till the vermin of Corruption is completely eradicated.

The tiller of the soil is fleeced right and left by a number of half-parasites and above these there are a host of public servants who do not hesitate in shearing the shorn lamb. As Sir Malcolm Hailey (now Lord) when he was Governor of the Punjab observed in one of his speeches:

“The value of the Government depends not only on its good intentions and the goodness of its policy, but on its reputation amongst the people and its reputation depends largely on the work of the subordinates.”

Thus the importance of removing the unjust burdens that weigh upon the cultivator cannot be exaggerated.

## FORMS AND THE EXTENT OF CORRUPTION

Corruption exists in nearly all departments of Government and even the beneficent departments as the Public Health, Medical, Education are not said to be immune from it. Bribes have been offered to vaccinators by simple folk in the rural areas to let them off from being vaccinated. The trouble in the provinces, however, is mostly confined to P. W. D., Police, Excise, Jails, Forests and Judiciary. It is comparatively more rampant in the local bodies and the more curious reader is referred to Mr. Dobson's report on the affairs of Lahore Municipality.

The acceptance of bribery may be in cash or in kind. It may take the shape of unjust levy of supplies, i.e., faggots and corn by tour-

ing officials and their subordinates whose visits have been humorously compared to the “revolving of the planets and their satellites.” It may again be in the form of gifts on the birth of a child or on wedding occasions. Or it may be a case of extortion on a threat of punishment or an adverse judgment. But what is generally prevalent among the subordinate ranks, especially clerks and chaprasis, is the practice of accepting a trifling sum often voluntarily paid to expedite work. It is the former kind of malpractice that needs a strong remedy inasmuch as it often results in serious miscarriage of justice. The latter kind of things though equally condemnable and yet less burdensome is more or less carried on in all spheres of life and Government have rightly maintained that it is almost impossible to eradicate it as long as human nature remains what it is. But the Punjab Government, nevertheless, have always deprecated in strong terms even such innocent practice as the acceptance of *dalis*, i.e., fruits and flowers. The policy dates back to the times when Sir Michael O'Dwyer was the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and it was reiterated by Sir John Maynard, the then Finance Member in the Punjab Legislative Council, in 1926.

## CAUSES OF CORRUPTION

It cannot be denied that these malpractices are rooted in the past and have become a part of the character of the bribe-giver and bribe-taker alike. Such terms as *Salaami*, *Nazar*, *Dastur* are well-known to anybody having even a nodding acquaintance with the ways of litigant masses.

There is little truth in the assertion again, except here and there, that bribery exists because of low salaries of public services. It may be observed that salaries were raised to a scale ranging from 41 per cent to 123.4 per cent in the Punjab just before and after the introduction of the Montford Reforms. They were also raised at the Centre and in other provinces at about the same time. The public services enjoying fixed incomes more or less were gainers during the period of economic depression. It is possible to imagine a general increase in salaries of public servants on a large scale, but that in

itself cannot by any means guarantee clean public service. It is more a question of high and low ideals of life, one's family tradition, the way the society looks at the question of giving and accepting bribes, the fear of action by the State and the promotion or encouragement a public servant is likely to get by remaining thoroughly above-board.

But the question naturally arises who is really to be blamed for the existing state of affairs—the bribe-taker or the bribe-giver? It is a controversial question and it is not easy to lay the blame on one class as a whole. But the fact remains that bribe-givers are not organised to resist the inroads of bribe-takers. As contrasted with this the members of an office have been likened to "a close corporation who do not want one of their members to suffer." Nor can it be denied that it is easier to reform a few thousand public servants in one province than to carry the gospel of No-offering-of-temptation to every home.

The bribe-giver knows that unless he greases the palm of an officer, subordinate or otherwise, the result is likely to be a turning down of the scales, wrongful confinement, loss of *izzat* or at least an extraordinary delay in the procedure of his case. Thus placed he is tempted to offer bribes to straighten out things for himself. The bribe-taker on the other hand, knows that his relatives and friends similarly placed accepted bribes, built beautiful houses, bungalows and orchards with the tainted money. He knows too that they went scot-free. Thus circumstanced, it is no wonder that even a harmless "hare develops a dog or shark's sharp teeth." The attitude of *laissez-faire* on the part of the majority of superior officers worsens matters. It makes it easier for his subordinates to follow the sinful path. The saying goes, when you are in Rome do as the Romans do. It is virtually a case of a blind leader leading a platoon of blind followers and naturally they slip into the same ditch flowing with the turbid waters of Corruption. The Punjab Committee on Corruption which sat in 1922 under the chairmanship of Mr C. M. King attributed this state of affairs either to negligence or over-work on the part of the superior officers.

But the society must come in for its due share of blame for this sad state of things. Both the bribe-giver and the bribe-taker, in general, are true representatives of the society and to impeach them would amount to the impeachment of the whole nation. Isn't it true that society does not look down upon them even if they are hauled up before a court of justice?

Neither of them are thrown out by society, nor left to suffer silently for their sins. More often than not we are faced with the spectacle of influential local personages moving heaven and earth to save the offender in the blessed name of mercy. The offering and acceptance of bribes is considered a spirit of give and take by both parties.

Still another reason for the existing malpractices is the lack of sufficient contact between the rulers and the ruled. We learn that in the days of yore royal personages went incognito and mixed up with their subjects freely to find out their grievances. The Deputy Commissioner wields unlimited power in his district. But he often typifies a strong silent man and has little time to tour on horse back. It is generally true that what little touring the superior officials do is in a car rushing at a great speed and the tendency is to return to headquarters in the evening to play tennis and bridge and be with their wives and children. That there was truth in the statement was frankly admitted by His Excellency Sir Henry Craik in one of his speeches in the old Punjab Legislative Council.

Lastly, whereas Government rewards honest public service in its own haphazard and slow way the reward is not sufficient to stimulate clean practices amongst Government servants. The belief is gaining ground that nothing is gained from hard work and nothing is attained by practising honesty except ridicule. There is undoubtedly exaggeration in this belief but nobody I believe, could say that it is altogether a wrong statement in practice.

It remains to be seen then what steps have Government taken to prevent these malpractices and to penalise offenders. An official or a subordinate notorious for his malpractices or one found to be corrupt is sometimes transferred from one place to another. Such half-hearted measures defeat their very purpose. The incumbent like the field mouse having cut the standing crop in one field shifts to the adjoining field.

The first step that was taken by the Provincial Governments was issuing circulars to all departments containing instructions that endeavour should be made to reduce opportunities of corrupt practices and inflict exemplary punishments on the offenders. We have it on the authority of the United Provinces Committee on Corruption, the report of which was recently published, that these circulars met with little response. Posters were pasted on the walls of Government buildings,

*serais*, *patwarkhanas*, village *chaupals* and other places of public resort as far back as 1917 in the Punjab Declaration to the same effect was made in a public proclamation read out in Durbars in August 1921 and printed copies in English, Urdu, Gurmukhi and Hindi were distributed amongst the public. What has been done since then in regard to the publicity of Government's feelings on the question? The great London Professor Ivor Jennings describes in one of his writings the steps taken by British Government in England to stamp out corruption from among public servants. He has stressed three remedies, i.e., publicity, strong measures and more democracy. The first two of these remedies can well be applied with advantage in our own country, but more doses of democracy under the present slow progress of education will, I doubt, be of much benefit.

Historic occasions as the inauguration of the provincial autonomy, the accession of His Majesty King George VI and again the Vice-regal Durbar at Lahore could have been utilised to express once again the desire of the Government to stamp out corruption. Such a pronouncement should have had a salutary effect on the minds of offenders and would have created an impression on the minds of people that Government is alive to its responsibility in this respect. The question may be asked: Is not the eradication of corruption a beneficent activity? At least the poor cultivator feels much more keenly on this question than on many other less important topics, since it touches his pocket that has many holes. It was observed on behalf of the Punjab Government a few years ago that Government gave the greatest publicity of its intentions inasmuch as it welcomed debates on this question. But it may be asked again: Is it adequate publicity? The poor zamindar, illiterate as he is, does not read these debates and it cannot be maintained that even all the subordinates and superior officers of the Government have the inclination or the time to do so. Again how many of the elected members of the Assembly go back to their constituencies to tell the electorate all that is discussed on the floors of the Council Chamber? It is useless to depend as in the past, on an automatic growth of healthy public opinion for the solution of this problem. It is idle to wait on the progress of education to create these conditions. The services of the Commissioner of Rural Reconstruction and his staff in the provinces could be made use of on every festival, fair and other large gatherings in the rural areas to let the wishes of the Government known.

to the public. Posters printed in vernaculars should be distributed frequently, announcing the action taken against corrupt officials and subordinates during a year. Thus the zamindar would be enabled to appreciate the action taken by the Government. He will take heart to approach superior officers to redress his wrongs. It cannot be too far stressed that Government should take the initiative in the formation of a healthy public opinion against corruption and then only look for a most hearty and complete co-operation of the public. The machinery of panchayats and rural community councils can be also utilised in the crusade against corruption.

#### LESSENING OF OPPORTUNITIES

Officers should pay surprise visits more frequently than heretofore. It is equally important that the Heads of Departments should emphasise on their subordinates a punctual out-turn and a good standard of work. This would certainly minimise opportunities for accepting bribes on the threat of delaying procedure. The members of the bar should not employ as far as possible munshis who function as intermediaries between clients and clerks. Again the munshis should be required to furnish receipt of every pie to the client, spent on the latter's behalf.

#### AGENCY TO DETECT CORRUPTION

The general misunderstanding prevails in the minds of the public that it is the duty of the police to detect cases of corruption. The Punjab Government declared years ago that they were "unwilling to contemplate a system of espionage which would be destructive of the morale and prestige of the services and would create an atmosphere of fear and distrust." Thus there is at present no regular agency functioning to detect corruption and serve as a channel between the aggrieved parties and the Government in most of the provinces. The United Provinces Committee on Corruption recommended the formation of district Corruption Committees consisting of officials and non-officials. But the Punjab Committee on Corruption which sat in 1921, was divided on the point of constitution of district advisory committees on similar lines. The Punjab Government too, have never been convinced of the utility of organising such committees mainly for two reasons. Firstly, these committees unless they include representatives of nearly all classes of people of a certain district cannot be termed as fairly representative bodies and many



cases of corruption to be referred to a committee so constituted are likely to remain undetected. Another inherent weakness in the system is that their establishment is an antithesis in practice of the desire of the Government to promote direct contact between officials and the public. Moreover as observed by Sir John Maynard in 1926:

"Who can say in this somewhat unsatisfactory world that when you have established a committee of that kind, that some of its members will not abuse their influence or their reputation for influence with the authorities."

The danger is of course inherent in all kinds of honorary public services and the doubts expressed by Sir John Maynard twelve years ago are justified in the light of past experience. The best course under the circumstances, would be to appoint a special whole-time experienced officer, social and sociable and enjoying clean reputation, in each district. The heads of different departments should devote at least an hour on each Saturday to hear complaints about corruption. Petition boxes should be hung at convenient places in the corridor of each office to facilitate matters. The special officer should keep himself in touch with all officers in his district as well as mix freely with the people. He shall also act as a co-ordinating authority between rural community councils, Panchayats, bar associations in his district on the one hand and the Civil Secretariat on the other. It now remains to decide whether there should be a full-time Government Officer in the Civil Secretariat also to co-ordinate further the work of the special officers in the districts. The U. P. Committee has recommended the creation of a Central Department assisted by a sufficiently large staff for this purpose. The latter suggestion it is apparent would make the whole scheme rather an expensive one and in the interest of economy the Chief Secretary to the Provincial Government may well be entrusted with this work.

#### DEPARTMENTAL ENQUIRIES

The Government always insist on a fair and just trial of its employees as regards the charge

of accepting illegal gratification. But experience tells us that it is a very difficult task to procure sufficient evidence to bring the offenders to book. Such a position is inevitable as long as we have the principle of jurisprudence and the Evidence Act on the Statute Book and no blame rests on Provincial Governments on this account. The only remedy is to have a more frequent recourse to departmental enquiry in camera.

#### PREMIUM ON HONEST SERVICE

The absence of a definite and direct encouragement to honest public service has stood as a great obstacle in purging Government departments of malpractices. A consistent record of honest public service should be rewarded not only by award of paper certificates but also by promotion, the award of titles, land and jagirs. The U. P. Committee has recommended the award of annual integrity certificates to all classes and grades of Government servants who receive a monthly pay of thirty rupees or more. Further they have said that no Government servant should be allowed to cross an efficiency bar unless he has a clean record for integrity. These are excellent suggestions and deserve consideration at the hands of the Provincial Governments. There has been a great improvement in the selection of officers, still there is room for improvement in the recruitment of subordinates to ensure a better type of incumbent than recruited heretofore.

Superior Officers should be instructed to shake off their repellent reserve and the subordinate ranks should be more courteous in their dealings with the public. The need for a greater degree of accessibility of the superior officers to the people has been recognized in the past. Thus it will be seen that the task before the Government in stamping out corruption is a manifold one and there is no short road to progress. Attention should be focussed on building a tradition of incorruptible public service. The solution of this problem is closely bound up with public welfare and no effort will be too great to achieve this end.



# MUSIC AND EDUCATION

By J. M. DESOUZA, B.A., L.T.C.L., S.T.C.

For an adequate treatment of the subject in hand, we need, in the first place, a well considered, clear and definite statement as regards the aim of education. We shall then see how musical study can be used as a means of realizing that aim. We all are aware of the hue and cry that is now being raised in this country against the present system of education which is held to be old and unpractical. We also know that a new and more practical system is now on the anvil. For a really reliable and up-to-date utterance of the aim of education, therefore, we can do no better than turn to the Hon. Mr. B. G. Kher, the Premier of Bombay, who the other day in a terse but meaningful statement observed :

1. That the aim of education was to develop *personality* and *character*, *mind* and *body*, *emotion* and *will*, according to the individual's potentiality.

2. That the aim of reconstructing the educative system was to create in the pupil a *wider outlook on life*.

3. And that the new social order to be evolved should be based on *co-operation* and not competition as the principle of life.

We shall now see how the study of music can and does yield the results expressed or implied in the statement of Mr. Kher we have just quoted.

Without any exaggeration it may be asserted that there is no better builder of personality than music. What is personality if not the sum and substance of one's individuality? And what is musical education if not one sincere and sustained effort to help the pupil to express himself—to exhibit his interpretative skill, his personality? The real task of a music teacher does not lie in governing the pupil but in helping him to *govern himself*. With this ideal in view, the teacher starts from the *pupil's point of view* and then proceeds, by dint of the warmth of instruction and encouragement, in his endeavour to unfold, develop and expand all the best points in the student entrusted to his care.

In character formation too the influence of music is inestimably great. In the words of Robert Schumann, "the laws of morals are the

laws of art." Music is the language of the soul and cannot but stir the noblest and sublimest in human breast. There is no doubt that ethical and cultural activities will yield the highest results only when backed and boned by the giant inspirational force of music. According to Plutarch's analysis of the Greek conception of musical education, whoever be he that shall give his mind to the study of music in his youth, if he meet with the musical education proper for the forming and regulating of his inclinations, he will be sure to applaud and embrace that which is noble and generous, and to rebuke and blame the contrary, as well in other things as in what belongs to music. Cervantes, the immortal author, was emphatically of the opinion that where there is music there is no mischief; and Sydney Smith, a never forgotten British wit, when seventy-three years of age remarked : "If I were to begin life again, I would devote it to music. It is the only cheap and *unpunished rapture* on earth."

That music provides ample food for the development of mind need not be doubted. Music is as profound as Philosophy and as intricate as Mathematics. The musician needs the feeling and imagination of a poet, the skill and imagery of an artist, the grasp and subtlety of a critic, the precision of a scientist, the accuracy of a mathematician, and should we not say, the energy of a giant?

In the domain of physical development, the training of the eye, ear and hand, the supreme value of music must be admitted. In the course of musical training, a co-operation and co-ordination of these organs is secured in a most astonishing manner with the result that they are led on to assimilate many things at once in perfect harmony and with utmost ease and exactness.

With regard to the proper development and guidance of emotion, we may state on the authority of Maxwell Hess that there is no other force which can socialize, energize and guide the emotions of masses, from childhood to maturity, like good music.

As for the training of the will, it is enough to say that musical study from the very start,

carries with it the clarion call of the message of "Work!" In music as in everything else, the greatest of wonders have been done by those who worked the hardest. Dogged tenacity of purpose, patience and conscious perseverance, are ceaseless demands on the constitution of a musician.

In broadening the outlook on life, music goes a long way. Music is a universal language—all that of heaven we have on earth, a common platform for all the nations of the world. It is the only weapon that will break down the colossal barriers of colour, caste and creed, and unite the world into one Universal Brotherhood.

If we must educate the individual according to his potentiality, there is no reason why we should allow those of our pupils who are particularly musical to die with all the music in them. When all is said, we cannot but assert that a sound system of education must prepare one for the right use of leisure. And in this respect too we cannot find a better recommendation than music, for the art of music has the power of snatching away an idle hour from the hands of the devil and changing it into a period of healthy pursuit, a moment of joy. Good music, more than good literature, will "elevate us into a region of disinterested thought where personal objects fade into insignificance and the troubles and anxieties of life are almost forgotten."

As regards the inculcation of the principle of co-operation, what will accomplish the task better than a "Practice Ensemble," an "Operatic Society" or a "Symphony Orchestra" where personal factors are placed in the shade and one works for all and all work for one? All the other arts, as a writer has put it, are lonely. We paint alone. My picture. My interpretation of the sky. My poem. My novel. But in ensemble music—we share.

It must not be supposed, however, that musical training is necessarily a preparation for a musical career. The chief aim of musical education is not to make the child a musician but to make him musical. In the words of Paderewski, the world-famous pianist, music should be studied for itself without any great aim in view, except in the cases of marvellously gifted children. Moreover, musical accomplishments do not debar a person from taking to any other profession of his choice. One can well be a doctor, a lawyer or a salesman, and at the same time be a first class vocalist or instrumentalist. Many of the most distinguished exponents of Indian music have been men be-

longing to other professions. Premier Paderewski of Poland whom we have just quoted, is one of the greatest pianists of all time. Benito Mussolini, the present dictator of Italy, Eduard Herriot, former Premier of France, and many other distinguished statesmen of the world have had musical training. Leopold Prince, the founder and conductor of the "City Amateur Symphony Orchestra" of New York is a judge by profession. And the performers under his baton who delight as far as twenty thousand music lovers per night include a doctor, a dentist, a barber, a butcher, clerks, salesmen and store employees.

Ancient Greeks as well as the teachers of ancient India had realized the supreme importance of music and had given it a place in elementary education. The Greeks held that life itself was a work of art and that harmony was essential to make man harmonious and rhythm to make him rhythmical. It was their solemn belief that gentleness, grace, elegance and harmony were among the greatest benefits to be derived from the study of music. Plato, for instance, remarks that musical training is a more portent instrument than any other, because rhythm and harmony find their way into the inward places of the soul, on which they mightily fasten, imparting grace and making the soul of him who is rightly educated graceful.

Music today occupies a foremost place in the leading universities and schools of Europe and America. Besides the provision made for the pursuit of musical study in schools and colleges, they have special institutions known as "Academies" or "Conservatoires" whose sole function is to impart regular and systematic training in all the branches of the science and art of music. In India, strange to say, music has not yet received the welcome it deserves. It is lamentable indeed that only a couple of years ago a responsible body of eminent men brushed aside music as "unworthy of academical pursuit." Right enough, music has so far remained conspicuous by its absence in our educational system. Perhaps the only school of Indian music is the Morris College of Music, Lucknow. And isn't the Calcutta School of Music the first and the last that has taught European music in India?

The reason for this indifference is not far to seek. "To music," says a Philosopher, "we must remain inattentive altogether or become altogether enslaved." So far therefore we have remained inattentive. The "psychological moment," however, seems to have come when

we can no longer ignore the claims of music. The Universities of Calcutta and Madras have already extended their patronage to music. And we are happy to learn that the Academic Council of the University of Bombay has appointed a committee to draw up courses for Indian and European music right from the Matriculation up to the Degree examination.

This praiseworthy step of the Bombay University ought to dispell from our mind any fear we might have had of the supposed antagonism between Indian and European music. After all they are not two different arts but two systems of one and the same art. Eastern or western, it is music after all, and nothing is so degrading as to import the monstrous elements of prejudice and antagonism in its blissful domain. Indian and European music are like the lotus and the lily; and while we admire the loveliness and tenderness of the one, we must not forget the stateliness and the magnificence of the other. According to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore:—The world by day is like European music: a flowing concourse of vast harmony composed of concord and discord and many

disconnected fragments. And the night world is our Indian music, one pure, deep and tender Raga. They both stir us, yet the two are contradictory in spirit. But that cannot be helped. At the very root, nature is divided into two, day and night, unity and variety, finite and the infinite. Music is universal in its appeal, and it may truly be said in regard to it that

East is West, and West is East  
And ever the twains shall meet

It is right and proper to conclude with the hope that our country will soon be "strewn with first grade musical institutions supported by the state," that the masses will henceforward be educated from a very high standpoint, and that music in immediate future will be an integral part of the curricula of every school and university in India. For, music is the *utterance and expression of the soul* no race can live without, and

"Our race goes bravely forward,  
Head erect, and clean and strong,  
In the fellowship of music  
And the brotherhood of song."

## LABOUR UNREST IN INDIA

By PROFESSOR H. D. MOOKERJEE

*Department of Mining and Metallurgy, Hindu University, Benares*

THE struggle between capital and labour in India is of recent origin. In western countries the labourer had to fight hard against the capitalist to be in a position to enjoy the benefits of his own labour. However that may be, there is no denying the truth that the capitalist has for a long time utilised the labourer as a means of producing commodities at a cheap rate and placing the same in the market at a high rate, thereby earning a good return from his investment. We do not grudge him for his enormous profits. He is perfectly entitled to the gains but unfortunately he has not paid as much attention to the bare needs of the worker. The condition under which the latter has to live is very often pitiable. Under years of subjection a consciousness grew in the worker of his potent contribution to the employer. When he saw before his very eyes his employer enjoying all the privileges accruing from his honest and prolonged efforts, his mind

naturally revolted against him. This mental unrest gradually spread from worker to worker until they learnt to combine in a body and place there joint grievances to their employer. The latter being givers of job, naturally felt arrogant and would not easily concede the workman's demands.

I am of the opinion that a little humanitarian and philosophic touch in the employer could have avoided many of the ills that have resulted from labour troubles. But that is not to be found in the world such as it is. Of course, there are sympathetic employers but their number is few and far between. Turning our attention to the immediate problem we find in the industrial world the growth of trade unions, workers league, etc., in order to put in forceful fight against the Employers' Associations and to safeguard their own interests. The continued discontent of the workers result in the adoption of coercive:

measures affecting the normal and peaceful activities of the loyal workers and compelling the Government to appear in the field to restore normal working conditions and to prevent further troubles. So we find how the social structure is seriously affected by labour lockouts, strikes, etc. In all western countries both the capitalist and the Government have realized the strength of the labour force and all trade disputes are now referred to conciliation or Arbitration Boards, Wage Fixation Boards, etc. Also a Labour Commissioner is appointed to settle minor disputes. The labourer wants to have more share in the profit of the capitalist and if this is willingly conceded so much the better, if not organized strike is resorted to and the whole organization is brought to a standstill. I can easily appreciate the endeavour of the worker to secure his minimum and more urgent needs by peaceful methods but to adopt means that produce unpleasant situation at the instigation of interested persons is certainly not desirable. During the last two decades the worker has gained his points to an extent which has made him more optimistic and also realise his own status in the industrial organization. The employer has also understood the importance of the worker who is treated in a much better way. In all leading industries more care is devoted to the housing, welfare, education and sanitation work of the labourer and to other details so as to attract him to the industries and to make him as much happy as he is entitled to. But even after achieving all these benefits, if he is not satisfied he will be a source of constant mischief harassing both his employer and his fellow-workers who may be deprived of their legitimate wages and bring ruin on themselves. I should call him to halt and not to proceed further because that would ultimately affect the peace of the society.

The labour unrest in India became more pronounced probably after the publication of the report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India. Although the Commission has taken good care to appraise the work done for labour in some industrial spheres, in the vast majority of cases fault has been deplorably found with the management for its apathy towards the working class. Strong recommendations have been made for ameliorating the conditions of labourers in India. But unfortunately these recommendations were not given effect to by the management in the true spirit and as a result we find that the major

industries e.g., the textile industry, the jute industry, iron and steel industry, mining industry and tea industry have been affected one after the other. Other concerns like electric supply corporations, Dockyards, etc., have also experienced similar troubles at times. The labour unrest had usually its origin in those industries where exploitation has been maximum. I think that the subsequent unrest in other industries has been more or less sympathetic. Where the labourer was successful in achieving his ends in one industry, those working in others naturally reciprocated their feelings to their employers and when they were repulsed, a tense situation was evident. Triumphs of the labourer in one industry have naturally emboldened those in others and in this way the whole of industrial India is today affected by labour troubles. If the problem is approached in a peaceful and legitimate manner more tangible gains can be achieved than if intimidation and mischievous methods are resorted to. Of course in many cases the employers have not implemented the recommendations mutually arrived at between the representatives of labourers and employers. The present deadlock at Hiraipur Iron and Steel Works and Mosabani Copper Mines is due to this cause. However the matter has now been referred to a Conciliation Board appointed by the Government and let us hope for a permanent settlement of the dispute. But in the case of those companies which have always sympathetically dealt with the workers, there should not be any question of strike. For instance, Messrs. Tata Steel & Iron Co. have been paying a bonus equivalent to 2½ months' salary to all employees and yet there was a threat of a strike which the company very wisely avoided by increasing the bonus from 2½ months' salary to 3 months' salary. Labourers can expect such gains only when the companies make huge profits but in the business cycle there is boom and depression. The labourer can not therefore under the circumstances hold fast to their dogmas for long. On the other hand, the capitalist who has put his vast wealth at stake has to safeguard it against periods of depression and so even when there is good profit he has to set aside a fair amount to form a reserve and to meet depreciation charges. Therefore the relation between the capitalist and the labourer can be promoted only on a profit sharing basis. If the employer makes a profit in any particular year, the labourer will have a certain percentage to his credit. But when the former has to run

the show at a loss, certainly the latter can not claim any gains. For the same reason the question of fixation of minimum wage for the labourer cannot be entertained because the profit in any particular year can not be guaranteed unless the Government wants that the public be taxed by higher prices of

commodities for the immediate benefit of the labourer. India is on the threshold of vast industrial development and it is highly desirable that cordial relations between the employer and the employed be maintained. A little give and take policy on either side will go a long way to achieve this end.

## NEW INDUSTRIAL PROGRAMME FOR WOMEN IN CHINA AT WAR

FROM CHINA INFORMATION COMMITTEE, HANKOW

WOMEN'S place in China at war is in the rear. As able-bodied men are drafted and sent to the battlefields, their wives and sisters stay behind to keep production going. That, in effect, is the slogan of the Productive Affairs Department of the Women's Guidance Committee of the New Life Movement Association.

Guided by this slogan, this department confronts the stupendous task of providing work for thousands upon thousands. Women, driven to strange parts by war and stranded there, are found in multitudes everywhere throughout the vast country. They are for a long time fed and sheltered in refugee camps, but they must be given work as a basic solution of their problem of livelihood.

Work they shall all have, if the ambitious new industrial programme for women mapped out by Miss Yu Ching-tang, head of the department, following consultation with Madame Chiang Kai-shek, directress of the Women's Guidance Committee, should materialise. With many years' experience in promotion of industries among women in Kiangsi Province under the Women's Department of the New Life Movement Association, Miss Yu should find herself equal to the present task of carrying out this comprehensive industrial programme for women in China at war.

Humbly to begin with, she is now equipped with a 20-spindle spinning machine. In this miniature machine which is now displayed in her office in Hankow, she foresees the humming of light industries that would keep all available women busy in factory or at home throughout the rear of China's all-front resistance against Japanese aggression.

Such machines will be used in the first of

a network of experimental stations to be established in Chungking, in Szechuan, and other centres in the provinces of Hunan, Kweichow, Yunnan and Kwangsi. Besides the cotton-spinning factory, other plants for making soldiers' sandals, raincoats and salty vegetables will be set up in the Chungking experimental station.

In these factories of handicrafts and light industries will the thousands upon thousands of women refugees throughout the country find work and, therefore, solution of their problem of livelihood. These industries, tested and proven successful in the factories, will soon find their way to the homes where women are still clinging to the age-old methods of spinning, weaving, sewing and stitching by the toil of their hands.

Co-operative societies which will spring into existence with the factories will extend the poor women in the homes financial aid to buy the necessary machines and raw material.

Their men away on the war front, women have also to work on the farm. So the Department also plans to establish experimental farms in various places to train the farmwives in improved methods of agriculture and supply them better seeds and modern implements.

All done, Chinese women, thanks to the Productive Affairs Department of the Women's Guidance Committee, will have fulfilled their mission in this country at war which is one of keeping the production in the rear at its full speed.

[The 20-spindle spinning machines used in China should be introduced in our country, too.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]



# MOUNT KAMET

## Second Highest Peak in the Empire

By GOVIND PRASAD NAUTIYAL

'THE Himalaya must be approached humbly. Respect their beauty, their majesty, and their power, and they will treat you as you deserve. approach them ignorantly or in a spirit of bravado, and they will destroy you. Other mountains forgive mistakes, but not the Himalaya,' so says Mr. F S Smythe, the famous British climber who has explored the Himalaya as extensively as none else has probably done.

Mount Kamet, 25,447 feet, is situated at east longitude  $79^{\circ}35'$  and north latitude  $30^{\circ}55'$

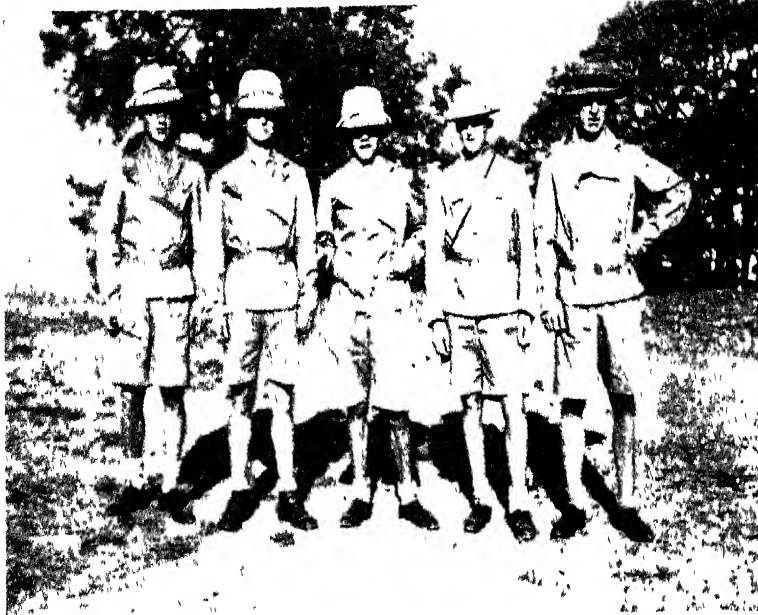
the hot-bed of mountaineers. Previous to Smythe's successful onslaught in 1931, Kamet had repulsed ten determined attempts by famous mountaineers. No other great Himalayan peak has received so much attention.

It was in 1848 that Richard Strachey determined trigonometrically for the first time the height and position of this peak. In the year 1855 the brothers Adolphe and Robert

Schlagintweit of the magnetic survey of India made resolute attempt to climb it from the Tibetan side. The highest camp of the party was pitched at 19,325 feet and from this they reached a height of 22,239 feet, after bivouacking continuously for ten days at altitudes over 17,000 feet. It was a remarkable feat as at that time many of the great Alpine peaks had not been climbed, and not for another nine years was this altitude surpassed.

In 1877 Kamet was again accurately fixed both for position and height by E. C. Ryall of the Survey of India.

No further attempt on Kamet was made until 1907, when Doctor T. G. Longstaff, Major



The East Surrey Regiment Kamet Expedition at Ranikhet prior to the start of the venture

in the extreme north of British Garhwal, one mile south of the Tibetan border between the Mana and Niti passes. It is the second highest peak in the British Empire and is the highest mountain in a northern branch of the Himalaya called the Zaskar range and is the culminating point of the range that forms the water-parting between the Vishnuganga and the Dhauli river. It is the first of the seventy peaks of over 25,000 feet in height that has been conquered in 1931 by a strong party of climbers consisting of Mr. F S Smythe and his companions.

Kamet, as the crow flies, is about ninety miles from Ranikhet. Being a formidable peak in the Central Himalayas which dominates the ranges of Northern Garhwal, it has ever been

C. G. Bruce and Mr. A. L. Mumm first proceeded from Niti, taking with them the Italian guides Alexis and Henri Brocherel, six Gurkhas, and ten coolies, in the Dhauli valley up the Raikana Glacier. From there they turned off to the east along the course of a smaller glacier rising below the summit itself and reached a height of over 20,000 feet on the left side of the glacier. Further progress was found to be impossible; the Upper Kamet glacier lies in so narrow a gorge that it would be impossible to escape the ice avalanches that constantly fall into it. Reconnaissances were also made without success from the west up the Ghastoli and Khiam Glaciers, above Mana.

Captain A Morris Slingsby accompanied by H C Crespigny made a determined attack in 1911 with eighty coolies, carrying stores for two and a half months, and climbed about 22,000 feet. He again returned to the attack in 1913 and a severe snow storm put an end to his climb at a height of over 23,000 feet. On both the occasions he had difficulty in persuading the local porters to accompany him at high altitudes.

In 1910 Mr C F Meade, with the Italian guide Alexis Brocherel and the French guide Pierre Blanc, prospected the western side of Kamet, in 1912 Meade returned to the attack this time with four Alpine guides, Pierre Blanc, Franz Lochmatter, Justin Blanc and Jean Perrin, and struggled on to a height of over 23,000 feet. During July, he thoroughly explored the Raikana Glacier system to the east of Kamet and was convinced that the only solution of the problem of ascending Kamet was to traverse the East Kamet Glacier.

In 1913 Meade proceeded with Pierre Blanc, established his base camp on the Raikana

Eastern Ibi Gamun but were unable to pitch a camp there. Retreat was imminent as they were beaten by the weather and the terrible snow conditions. Meade had accomplished great work; he had discovered the only practical route up Kamet. From his highest point he



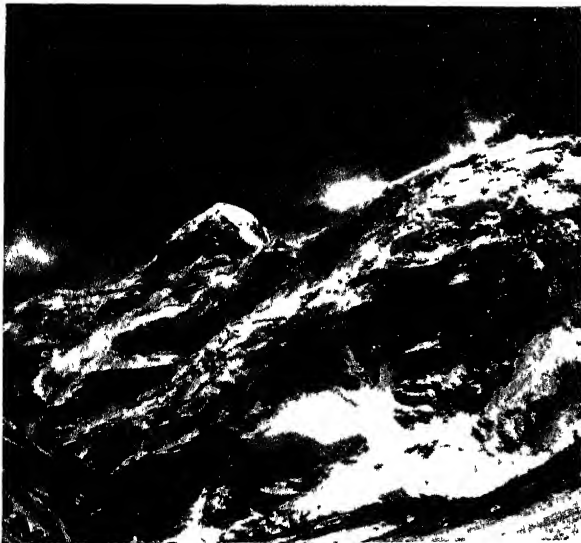
Camp one (16,000 ft)

saw that no insuperable obstacle intervened between him and the summit.

After the Great War, Doctor A. M. Kellas and Colonel H. T. Morshead came to assault the mountain, and engaged twenty-one Yaks and forty porters and ascended to Meade's Col and pitched camp there with three Mana porters. From the Col, they pushed on for a short distance up the final slope of Kamet and attained an altitude of 23,600 feet but the coolies flatly refused to continue on the summit.

#### SUMMIT ATTAINED

The credit of successfully scaling the mountain, however, rested with the expedition of 1931 which consisted of six British members, namely, Shipton, Birnie, Greene, Holdsworth, Beauman with Mr F. S. Smythe as their leader. The expedition managed with only seventy porters and these included ten men carrying cinematographic and photographic apparatus. The party followed the route taken up by Meade and established their base camp at an elevation of 15,500 feet on June 6. Camp one was established on East Kamet Glacier at 16,600 feet, Camp two at 18,600 feet, Camp three at 20,600 feet, Camp four at 22,000 feet and Camp



The Mana Wall

Glacier and pitched its highest camp at about 22,000 feet, and reached the Col, 23,500 feet, now known as Meade's Col, between Kamet and

five at 23,300 feet. On account of the unexpected physical fitness and acclimatisation, the party progressed wonderfully well on their onward march. Smythe, Shipton and Holdsworth with Sardar Lewa, the Sherpa porter,



Climbing to Camp four

climbed the summit on June 21 under most arduous conditions, which was not hitherto trodden by the foot of man; followed by Birnie, Greene and a Mana porter Keshar Singh. The first party left Camp five at 8 a.m. and arrived on the summit at 4-30 p.m.; eight and a half hours work for about 2,300 feet of ascent. The first 500 feet had been climbed in a little over an hour, the ascent of the last 1,500 feet had taken no less than 7½ hours. Snow conditions rather than altitude, had been responsible for this slow progress.

Describing the view from the summit, Mr. Smythe says

'It is difficult to render any account of it. We were too far above the world. Our gaze passed almost contemptuously over mighty range upon mighty range . . . The breeze fanning us was deathly cold, the silence and sense of isolation almost terrible . . . Thousands of feet beneath curved the glacier flowing south-wards of Kamet, ribbed and girded with moraines like some monstrous dragon crawling from one cloudy cavern to another. Our sole link with the world

was the Camp we had left, now a mere blob on the snow of Meade's Col . . . Nanda Devi was buried in clouds and there was naught to challenge Kamet with the exception of Gurla Mandhata's massif, 110 miles away . . . Only in the north was relief to be found from a savage mountain world: there, barren hills, streaked untidily in snow, fell away into the golden plains of Tibetan plateau tessellated with blue cloud shadows . . . At our feet we could see the East Kamet glacier curving in a serene arc through its gorge of peaks'

Adds Captain Brinie:

'To the north the vast brown plateaux of Tibet stood out in contrast to the snow clad peaks to the south, dominated by Nanda Devi. Far away to the north-west, a magnificent range of mountains must surely have been the Karakoram, over 250 miles away'

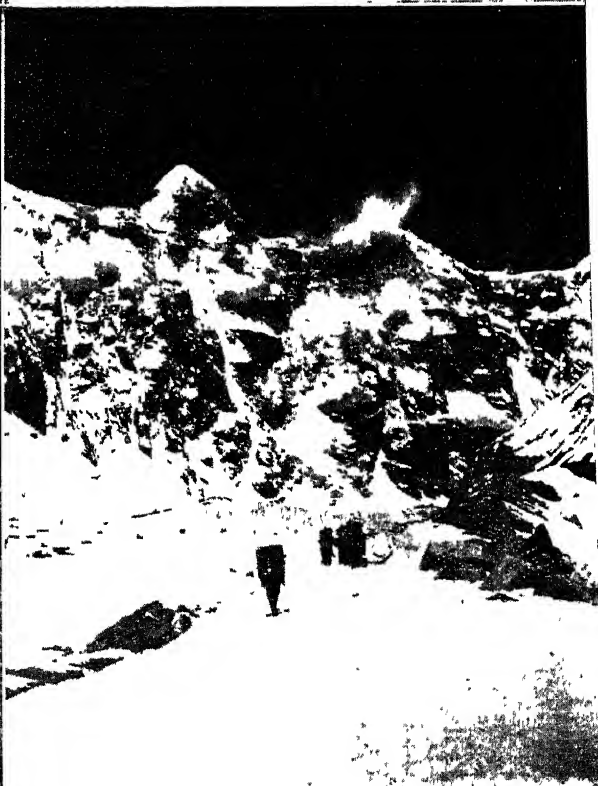
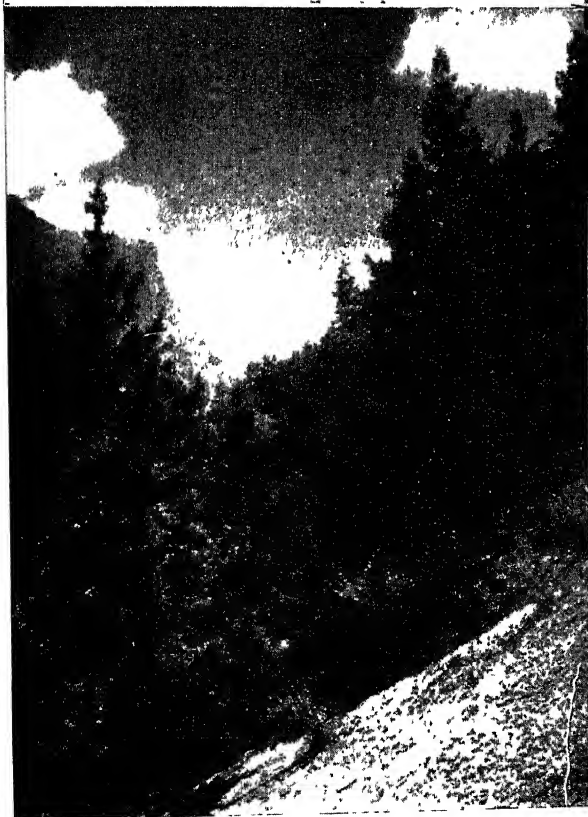
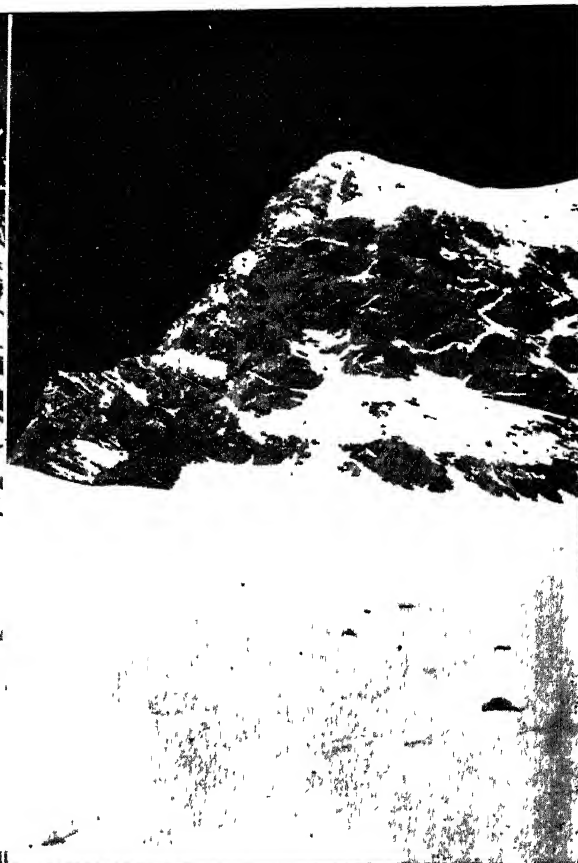
#### EAST SURREY'S VENTURE

Last summer, a party consisting of Corporals R. Ridley, J. Williams, J. Bull, L. Hamilton, and Private S. Hillier of the 1st Battalion, East Surrey Regiment, set out to



Camp four (21,000 ft.)

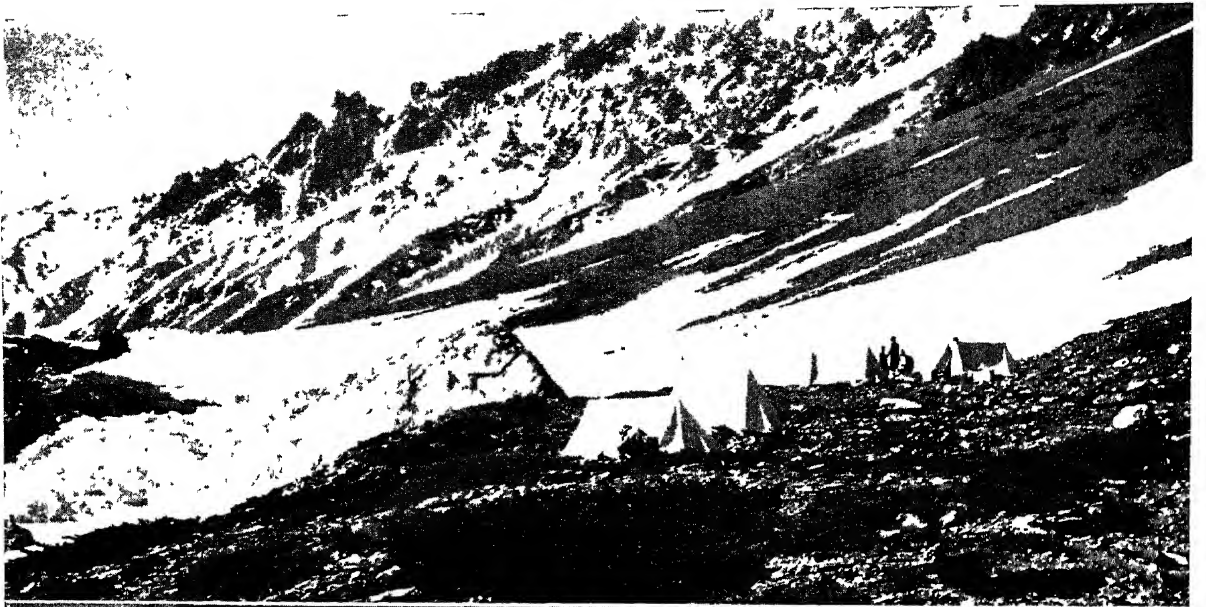
attempt the ascent of Kamet. Blizzards, avalanches and a mistake in tactics compelled the party to return after reaching a height of 23,500 feet on the final slope of the summit but



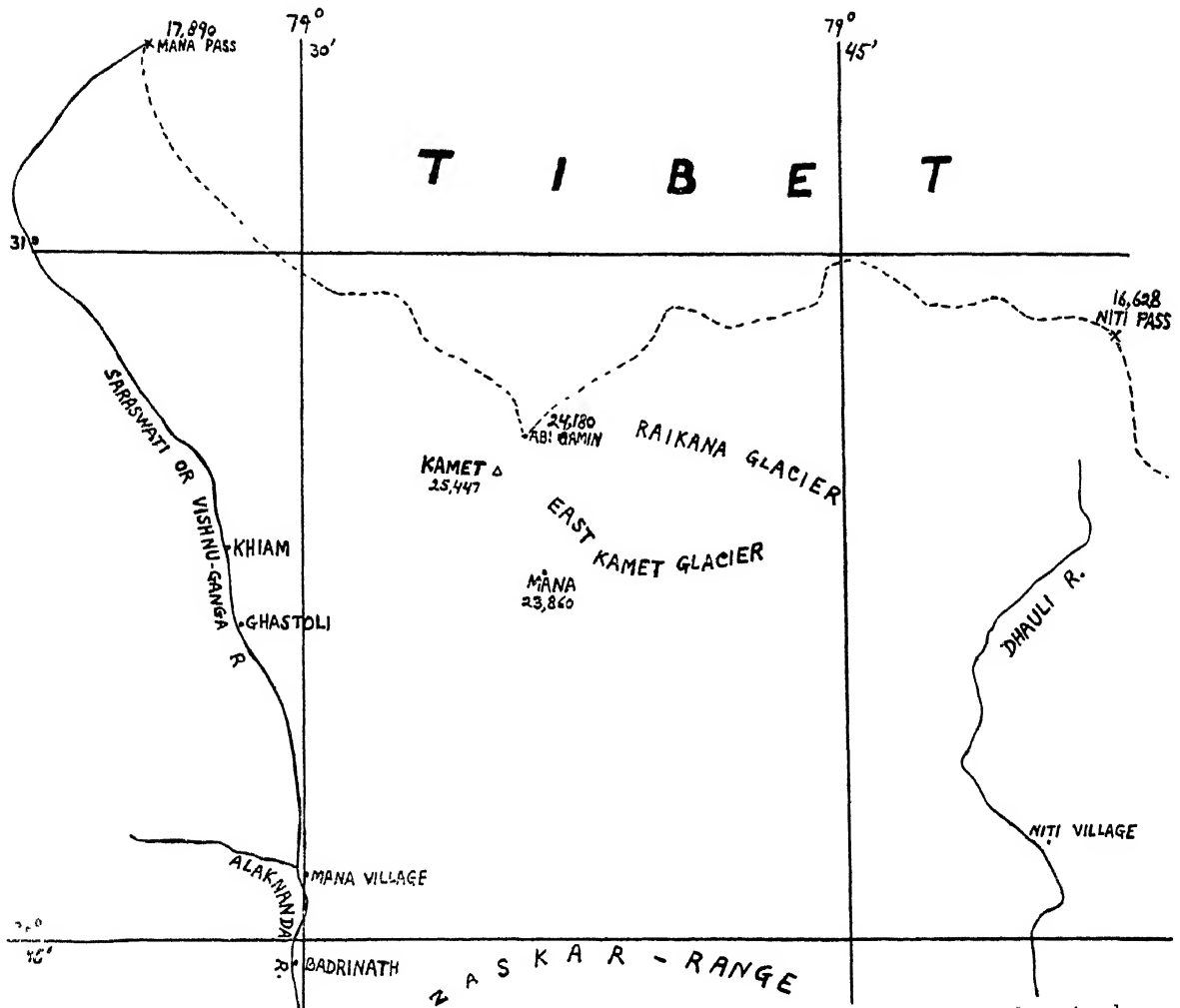
*Top : Left : Towards Camp one  
Bottom : Left : Subsidiary Valley of the Dhaul*

*Right : Kamet from Camp four  
Right : On the East Kamet Glacier toward Camp three*





*Top :* Base Camp in the midst of snow-clad peaks  
*Middle :* The East Kamet Glacier from the Couloir above camp four  
*Bottom :* South from Camp one



Scale 1 inch to 4 miles

it was a magnificent effort against heavy odds, and was unique in many respects.

The party decided to work without the aid of porters beyond the head of the East Kamet Glacier, and therefore they had to keep the weight of stores and other articles down to a minimum. Under such conditions, large supplies of food and fuel were not possible. The party in fact did not require such, for long besieging tactics were no part of their plan. The smallness of the party did not allow for any system of communication between the various camps. The party was reluctant to return from any point they had reached if there was a prolonged spell of bad weather or an illness among the party. One advantage of such a plan was the relay system of carrying kit and stores made necessary, which ensures proper acclimatisation at each stage of the climb.

In considering the equipment they were to use, the party were forced to act in accordance

with the limited funds at their disposal. The type of sleeping bags used consisted of two separate eiderdown-filled bags, with an outer covering of a light waterproof material. The total weight of each complete bed was only six and half pounds, a great advantage where weight must be reduced as much as possible. These bags gave every satisfaction throughout the trip. Practically all their warm clothing was service kit. The following articles were taken by each member of the party for use at high altitudes:—two Balaclava helmets, two flannel shirts, two cardigans, two pairs woollen underpants, three pair socks, one pair woollen gloves, one pair leather gloves and a light over-all of rain and windproof material. Climbing boots were made to their design by the Regimental Mochi; they were made large enough to allow for three pairs of socks. These boots were made of strong waterproof leather and lined with felt. On the heavy side they



gave excellent service and kept the feet warm the whole time. Ordinary sun glasses obtainable in any bazar were used for snow glasses, taking a reserve pair for each member



The heavy porters used to head off  
East Kamet Glacier

and the porters who also were provided with the necessary warm clothing and boots. The only tents used were the small army twenty-one pounders of which they took six. These tents



Above the Coulour and on the south slopes  
leading to Meade's Col

can not be described as suitable for use at high altitude, but as Meade's or similar pattern tents were not possible, they just had to make the best of things.



Niti Gorge beyond Niti on the way to the base

Beyond the Base Camp cooking was simplified and the high altitude ration to serve one man for one day consisted of Horlick's Malted Milk—4 ozs, chocolate—4 ozs, biscuits—8 ozs, tinned meats—4 ozs, Bovril—1 oz., sugar—3 ozs. The cooking utensils used beyond the Base Camp were two primus stoves, two aluminium cooking pots and enamel plates and mugs. Spoons were taken but no knives or forks. Arranging the menu in this manner meant cooking was reduced to merely heating water. As things turned out it was fortunate that the meals required such little preparation, for at times even this simple arrangement was very difficult to carry out.

#### BASE CAMP

Situated as Kamet is, on the Indian border, a march of nearly two hundred miles from Ranikhet brought them to the Base Camp which they established on the Raikana Glacier at a height of 15,000 feet. Beyond the Base Camp, two camps on the East Kamet Glacier and a further three higher camps were necessitated. It was also found necessary to establish

an additional camp on the East Kamet Glacier. Over the last four stages of the march to the base, kit and stores had to be carried in relays. The track had not been repaired after the ravages of the winter snow, and the party had to make a path for their porters themselves, by cutting steps by pick-axes to ensure proper footing.

Camp one was pitched at the junction of the Raikana and East Kamet Glaciers at a height of 16,000 feet. The distance from the base to this point was only about six miles, but the maze of moraine mounds covering the area made the journey very trying. The party carried heavy loads as they used only four porters.

The most hazardous part of the route has been between Camps two and four. Between



Climbers taking rest in the Pindar Valley during their march to the foothills



The climbers approaching Niti Gorge

Camps two and three, the party had to traverse a section of the East Kamet Glacier which was

more like a narrow trench. The snow was sodden and they sank down in it up to their wastes. The southern wall of the glacier rose above them in a ridge of peaks, ending in the Mana Peak (23,000 feet). From the precipitous sides, hanging glaciers of snow and ice, hundreds of feet thick, threatened them with destruction. It took them over seven hours to cover a distance of five miles.

Between Camps three and four, they had to ascend a gully of snow and ice for some three thousand feet. They were forced to kick and cut steps nearly the whole day. Above them they could hear ominous rumblings of sliding snow and ice, and as the gully was a natural chute for any avalanches that fell into it, it made this part of the route very dangerous. After some three hours toil, they safely reached the ledge at the head of the East Kamet Glacier at a height of 21,000 feet and pitched Camp four there.

For twelve days the party was encamped at 21,000 feet. Unaided by porters they moved their kit by a succession of relays across the great glaciers and precipices of this formidable peak.

#### A BRILLIANT FAILURE

Commenting on the result, Corporal Ridley states:

'Our failure to reach the summit must be attributed to a mistake in tactics. Those who are familiar with the topography of Kamet are aware that the crux of the climb is the ice precipice leading from the glacier

plateau above East Kamet to the snow slopes ascending to Meade's Col.

'Encamped at the foot of this precipice we made the mistake of attempting a route directly over its face in preference to a steep snow couloir on the right, for the risk of avalanches falling into the couloir from the vertical cliffs of East Ibri Gamin appeared great. Although we actually reached the top of the precipice we found it impossible to get the kit up to establish a camp.

'We now decided to risk the couloir. Our efforts on the ice wall had weakened us and instead of attempting the essential higher camp we decided to climb unloaded and reach as far as we could from our present position. Although the climb up the couloir was by no means easy the risk of avalanches did not appear as great as we anticipated.

'We reached our final point 23,500 feet at 4 P.M. and after taking photographs began to descend. Thus ended our attempt on Kamet. Naturally we feel disappointed at not reaching the summit and deeply regret our mistake in tactics. Excepting for two days when we experienced snow blizzards, the weather has been perfect. The modest equipment that we used, the non-employment of porters above the glacier camps and the fact that this was our first serious attempt at mountaineering combine to make the result a satisfactory one.'

To climb Kamet, or even to fail in the attempt is a glorious feat and a great adventure. It reflects nothing but credit upon the battalion

that its soldiers should have been encouraged to make this notable climb. The party spent three weeks beyond the Base Camp. The greatest height which the expedition reached was 23,500 feet on the last slope of the mountain above Meade's Col. The merits of the undertaking may be better appraised when it is considered that apart from Mr. Symthe's successful ascent in 1931 only one of the ten previous expeditions succeeded in reaching above the Col. The result must rank as an object lesson in what can be achieved by a very moderately equipped party with only limited means. The total expenses of the party came to a little over Rs. 2,000.

#### KAMET AGAIN

A party of East Surreys, under the leadership of Corporal Ridley, was coming to make another effort this year all the way from England by car but the latest intimation received in India indicates that the expedition was abandoned owing to lack of funds by the members at Home and leave not being obtainable for those in Palestine. So Kamet will repose in peace for a while!

## CHINESE MOSLEM LEADER BACK FROM PUBLICITY TOUR ABROAD

FROM CHINA INFORMATION COMMITTEE, HANKOW

"ALL Mohammedan countries in the Near East support China and her righteous cause against Japan," declared Mr. Ta Pu-sheng, Mohammedan priest from Shanghai, when interviewed upon his arrival in Hankow from his recent publicity and lecture tour abroad.

The Moslem leader left Shanghai on his publicity tour immediately after the withdrawal of the Chinese forces from that sector. Before that, he had been most actively engaged in refugee relief work and in pushing the sales of the Liberty Bonds among his brethren-in-faith. On the pulpit in his mosque, he preached the righteousness of China's resistance, citing the Koran in which Mohammed, the Prophet, said, "Kill thy enemy that encroaches upon thy rights, and yield thou not one inch of thy territory."

Moved to action by Japan's false propaganda in foreign countries alleging that the Mohammedans in China are disloyal to the

Central Government and at loggerheads with the other sects of the Chinese race, Mr. Ta left Shanghai and travelled at his own expense on his self-imposed mission of revealing the true state of affairs in China.

He arrived in Egypt early in January. On very many occasions he had the opportunity of interpreting China's all-front resistance against Japanese aggression as one solidly backed up by all sects of the Chinese race. He attended the royal wedding ceremony on January 21 when he offered the Egyptian King his greetings on behalf of China.

Following the wedding, the King granted a special interview during which Mr. Ta explained in details the struggle of his fatherland against Japan's aggression.

"I was very cordially received during the interview, and my travel throughout Egypt and contacts with the people of that country in

general were very encouraging," Mr. Ta stated during the interview in Hankow.

The relations between China and Egypt, the Chinese Mohammedan leader added, have always been very cordial. In Egypt, he said, is the world's best Mohammedan institution of higher learning to which China sent her first group of Mohammedan students in 1931. Mohammedan students from China joining this institution have been increasing in numbers year after year.

During his lecture tour in Egypt, Mr. Ta distributed tens of thousands of copies of a circular letter entitled "An Admonition to Mohammedans All Over the World" which he had written in Arabic.

From Egypt, Mr. Ta proceeded to India

and Bombay. There he lectured in many centers and attended nine mass meetings. Mohammedan leaders in India promised to translate the circular letter into the Indian language for circulation with a view to intensifying the China-aid campaign which had been afoot at that time.

"Plans were started by various Moslem groups in India," Mr. Ta said, "to send a goodwill delegation to China."

At a recent reception given by various Mohammedan groups in Hankow, the Mohammedan priest was honoured for the well-wishes and assurances of sympathy and support of Mohammedan countries for China's righteous cause which he brought back from his patriotic tour.

## INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Srimati Shakuntala Diwanjee of Allahabad, who is the first lady graduate of the Sathodara Nagar Caste, is a painter of merit



Srimati Shakuntala Diwanjee

and has exhibited her paintings in different art exhibitions at Bombay and Madras. She is also an adept in dancing and music.

Srimati Prema Johari, M.A., L.T., Lady Principal of the Municipal Girls' School,



Srimati Prema Johari

Bareilly, has been awarded by the Indian Women's Education Association, London, a scholarship to study abroad the methods of training.

## NOGUCHI'S LETTERS TO TAGORE AND GANDHI AND TAGORE'S REPLY

### Letter to Rabindranath Tagore

DEAR RABINDRANATH,

When I visited you at Santiniketan a few years ago, you were troubled with the Ethiopian question, and vehemently condemned Italy. Retiring into your guest chamber that night, I wondered whether you would say the same thing on Japan, if she were equally situated like Italy. I perfectly agreed with your opinion and admired your courage of speaking, when in Tokyo, 1916, you censured the westernization of Japan from a public platform. Not answering back to your words, the intellectual people of my country were conscious of its possible consequence, for, not only staying as unpleasant spectacle, the westernization had every chance for becoming anything awful.

But if you take the present war in China for the criminal outcome of Japan's surrender to the west, you are wrong, because, not being a slaughtering madness, it is, I believe, the inevitable means, terrible it is though, for establishing a new great world in the Asiatic continent, where the "principle of live-and-let-live," has to be realized. Believe me, it is the war of "Asia for Asia." With a crusader's determination and with a sense of sacrifice that belongs to a martyr, our young soldiers go to the front. Their minds are light and happy, because the war is not for conquest, but the correction of mistaken idea of China, I mean Kuomintang government, and for uplifting her simple but ignorant masses to better life and wisdom. Borrowing from other countries neither money nor blood, Japan is undertaking this tremendous work single-handed and alone. I do not know why we cannot be praised by your countrymen. But we are terribly blamed by them, as it seems, for our heroism and aim.

Not long ago the Chinese army defeated in Huntung province by Hwang-ho River had cut from desperate madness several places of the river bank; not keeping in check the advancing Japanese army, it only made thirty hundred thousand people drown in the flood and one hundred thousand village houses destroyed. Defending the welfare of its own kinsmen or killing them?—which is the object of the Chinese army, I wonder? It is strange that such an atrocious inhuman conduct ever known in the world history did not become in the west a target of condemnation. Oh where are your humanitarians who profess to be a guardian of humanity? Are they deaf and blind? Besides the Chinese soldiers, miserably paid and poorly clothed, are a habitual criminal of robbery, and then an everlasting menace to the honest hard-working people who cling to the ground. Therefore the Japanese soldiers are followed by them with the paper flags of the Rising Sun in their hands; to a soldiery work we have to add one more endeavour in the relief work of them. You can imagine how expensive is this war for Japan. Putting expenditure out of the question, we are determined to use up our last cent for the final victory that would ensure in the future a great peace of many hundred years.

I received the other day a letter from my western friend, denouncing the world that had gone to Hell. I replied him, saying: "Oh my friend, you should cover your ears, when a war bugle rings too wild. Shut your

eyes against a picture of your martial cousins becoming a fish salad! Be patient, my friend, for a war is only spasmodic matter that cannot last long, but will adjust one's condition better in the end. You are a coward if you are afraid of it. Nothing worthy will be done unless you pass through a severe trial. And the peace that follows after a war is most important." For this peace we Japanese are ready to exhaust our resources of money and blood.

Today we are called under the flag of "Service-making," each person of the country doing his own bit for the realization of idealism. There was no time as today in the whole history of Japan, when all the people, from the Emperor to a rag-picker in the street, consolidated together with one mind. And there is no more foolish supposition as that our financial bankruptcy is a thing settled if the war drags on. Since the best part of the Chinese continent is already with us in friendly terms, we are not fighting with the whole of China. Our enemy is only the Kuomintang government, a miserable puppet of the west. If Chiang Kai-shek wishes a long war, we are quite ready for it. Five years? Ten years? Twenty years?—as long as he desires my friend. Now one year has passed since the first bullet was exchanged between China and Japan; but with a fresh mind as if it sees that the war has just begun, we are now looking the event in the face. After the fall of Hankow, the Kuomintang government will retire to a remote place of her country; but until the western countries change this attitude towards China, we will keep up fighting with fists or wisdom.

The Japanese poverty is widely advertised in the west, though I do not know how it was started. Japan is poor beyond doubt,—well, according to the measure you wish to apply to. But I think that the Japanese poverty is a fabricated story as much as richness of China. There is no country in the world like Japan, where money is equally divided among the people. Supposing that we are poor, I will say that we are trained to stand the pain of poverty. Japan is very strong in adversity.

But you will be surprised to know that the postal saving of people comes up now to five thousand million yen; responding to the government's propagation of economy. For going on, surmounting every difficulty that the war brings in, we are saving every cent and even making good use of waste scraps. Since the war began, we grew spiritually strong and true ten times more than before. There is nothing hard to accomplish to a young man. Yes, Japan is the land of young men. According to nature's law, the old has to retire while the young advances. Behold, the sun is arising, be gone all the sickly bats and dirty vermins! Cursed be one's intrigue and empty pride that sin against nature's rule and justice!

China could very well avoid the war, of course, if Chiang Kai-shek was more sensible with insight. Listening to an irresponsible third party of the west a long way off, thinking too highly of his own strength, he turned at last his own country, as she is today, into a ruined desert to which fifty years would not be enough for recovery. He never happened to think for a moment



that the friendship of western countries was but a trick of their monetary interest itself in his country. And it is too late now for Chiang to reproach them for the faithlessness of their words of promise.

For a long time we had been watching with doubt at Chiang's programme, the consolidation of the country, because the Chinese history had no period when the country was unified in the real meaning, and the subjugation of various war-lords under his flag was nothing. Until all the people took an oath of co-operation with him, we thought, his programme was no more than a table talk. Being hasty and thoughtless, Chiang began to popularize the anti-Japanese movement among the students who were pigmy politicians in some meaning because he deemed it to be a method for the speedy realization of his programme; but he never thought that he was erring from the Oriental ethics that preached on one's friendship with the neighbours. Seeing that his propagation had too great effect on his young followers, he had no way, to keep in check their wild jingoism, and then finally made his country roll down along the slope of destruction. Chiang is a living example who sold his country to the west for nothing, and smeared his skin with the crime of westernization. Dear Rabindranath, what will you say about this Chiang Kai-shek?

Dear poet, today we have to turn our deaf ears towards a lesson of freedom that may come from America, because the people there already ceased to practice it. The ledger-book diplomacy of England is too well-known through the world. I am old enough to know from experience that no man is better than others, while our country being no more worse than others. Though I admit that Japan is today ruled by militarism, natural to the actual condition of the country, I am glad that enough freedom of speaking and acting is allowed to one like myself. Japan is fairly liberal in spite of the war time. So I can say without fear to be locked up that those service-crazy people are drunken, and that a thing in the world, great and true, because of its connection with the future, only comes from one who hates to be a common human unit, stepping aside so that he can unite himself with Eternity. I believe that such one who withdraws into a snail's shell for the quest of life's hopeful future, will be in the end a true patriot, worthy of his own nation. Therefore I am able not to disgrace the name of poet, and, to try to live up to the words of Browning who made the Grammarian exclaim: "Leave Now for dogs and apes! Man has Forever"

Yours very sincerely,  
Yone Noguchi

41 Sakurayama, Nakano,  
Tokyo, July 23, 1938

P. S.—Some days ago I presented you one copy of *The Ganges Calls Me* with remembrances old and new.

### Rabindranath Tagore's Reply

"Uttarayan"  
Santiniketan, Bengal,  
September 1, 1938,

DEAR NOGUCHI,

I am profoundly surprised by the letter that you have written to me: neither its temper nor its contents harmonize with the spirit of Japan which I learnt to admire in your writings and came to love through my personal contacts with you. It is sad to think that the passion of collective militarism may on occasion helplessly overwhelm even the creative artists, that genuine intellectual power should be led to offer its dignity and truth to be sacrificed at the shrine of the dark gods of war.

You seem to agree with me in your condemnation of the massacre of Ethiopia by Fascist Italy—but you would reserve the murderous attack on Chinese millions for judgment under a different category.

But surely judgments are based on principle, and no amount of special pleading can change the fact that in launching a ravaging war on Chinese humanity, with all the deadly methods learnt from the West, Japan is infringing every moral principle on which civilization is based. You claim that Japan's situation was unique, forgetting that military situations are always unique, and that pious war-lords, convinced of peculiarly individual justification for their atrocities have never failed to arrange for special alliances with divinity for annihilation and torture on a large-scale

Humanity, in spite of its many failures, has believed in a fundamental moral structure of society. When you speak, therefore, of "the inevitable means, terrible it is though, for establishing a new great world in the Asiatic continent"—signifying, I suppose, the bombing of Chinese women and children and the desecration of ancient temples and Universities as a means of saving China for Asia—you are ascribing to humanity a way of life which is not even inevitable among the animals and would certainly not apply to the East, in spite of her occasional aberrations

You are building your conception of an Asia which would be raised on a tower of skulls. I have, as you rightly point out, believed in the message of Asia, but I never dreamt that this message could be identified with deeds which brought exaltation to the heart of Tamer Lane at his terrible efficiency in manslaughter.

When I protested against "Westernization" in my lectures in Japan, I contrasted the rapacious Imperialism which some of the 'Nations' of Europe were cultivating with the ideal of perfection preached by Buddha and Christ, with the great heritages of culture and good neighbourliness that went to the making of Asiatic and other civilizations. I felt it to be my duty to warn the land of Bushido, of great Art and traditions of noble heroism, that this phase of scientific savagery which victimised Western humanity and had led their helpless masses to a moral cannibalism was never to be imitated by a virile people who had entered upon a glorious renaissance and had every promise of a creative future before them.

The doctrine of "Asia for Asia" which you enunciate in your letter, as an instrument of political blackmail, has all the virtues of the lesser Europe which I repudiate and nothing of the larger humanity that makes us one across the barriers of political labels and divisions.

I was amused to read the recent statement of a Tokyo politician that the military alliance of Japan with Italy and Germany was made for "highly spiritual and moral reasons" and "had no materialistic considerations behind them." Quite so. What is not amusing is that artists and thinkers should echo such remarkable sentiments that translate military swagger into a spiritual bravado. In the West, even in the critical days of war-madness there is never any dearth of great spirits who can raise their voice above the din of battle, and defy their own war-mongers in the name of humanity. Such men have suffered, but never betrayed the conscience of their peoples which they represented. Asia will not be Westernised if she can learn from such men: I still believe that there are such souls in Japan, though we do not hear of them in those newspapers that are compelled at the cost of their extinction to reproduce their military masters' voice.

"The betrayal of intellectuals" of which the great



French writer spoke after the European war, is a dangerous symptom of our age. You speak of the savings of the poor people of Japan, their silent sacrifice and suffering, and take pride in betraying that this pathetic sacrifice is being exploited for gun running and invasion of a neighbour's hearth and home, that human wealth of greatness is pillaged for inhuman purposes. Propaganda, I know, has been reduced to a fine art, and it is almost impossible for people in non-democratic countries to resist hourly doses of poison, but one had imagined that at least the men of intellect and imagination would themselves retain their gift of independent judgment.

Evidently such is not always the case; behind sophisticated arguments seem to lie a mentality of perverted nationalism which makes the "intellectuals" of today go blustering about their "ideologies" dragooning their own "masses" into paths of dissolution.

I have known your people and I hate to believe that they could deliberately participate in the organized drugging of Chinese men and women by opium and heroin, but they do not know; in the meanwhile, representatives of Japanese culture in China are busy practising their craft on the multitude caught in the grip of an organization of a wholesale human pollution. Proofs of such forcible drugging in Manchukuo and China have been adduced by unimpeachable authorities. But from Japan there has come no protest, not even from her poets.

Holding such opinion as many of your intellectuals do, I am not surprised that they are left "free" by your Government to express themselves. I hope they enjoy their freedom. Retiring from such freedom into "a snail's shell" in order to savour the bliss of meditation "on life's hopeful future," appears to me to be an unnecessary act, even though you advise Japanese artists to do so by way of change. I cannot accept such separation between an artist's function and his moral conscience. The luxury of enjoying special favouritism by virtue of identity with a Government which is engaged in demolition, in its neighbourhood, of all salient bases of life, and of escaping, at the time, from any direct responsibility by a philosophy of escapism, seem to me to be another authentic symptom of the modern intellectual's betrayal of humanity.

Unfortunately the rest of the world is almost cowardly in any adequate expression of its judgment owing to ugly possibilities that it may be hatching for its own future and those who are bent upon doing mischief are left alone to defile their history and blacken their reputation for all time to come. But such impunity in the long run bodes disaster, like unconsciousness of disease in its painless progress of ravage.

I speak with utter sorrow for your people, your letter has hurt me to the depths of my being. I know that one day the disillusionment of your people will be complete, and through laborious centuries they will have to clear the debris of their civilization wrought to ruin by their own war-lords run amok. They will realise that the aggressive war on China is insignificant as compared to the destruction of the inner spirit of chivalry of Japan which is proceeding with a ferocious severity.

China is unconquerable, her civilization, under the dauntless leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, is displaying marvellous resources; the desperate loyalty of her peoples, united as never before, is creating a new age for that land. Caught unprepared by a gigantic machinery of war hurled upon her peoples, China is holding her own; no temporary defeats can ever crush her fully aroused spirit.

Faced by the borrowed science of Japanese militarism, which is crudely western in character, China's stand

reveals an inherently superior moral stature. And today I understand more than ever before the meaning of the enthusiasm with which the big-hearted Japanese thinker Okakura assured me that "China is great."

You do not realise that you are glorifying your neighbour at your own cost. But these are considerations on another plane; the sorrow remains that Japan, in the words of Madame Chiang Kai-shek which you must have read in the *Spectator*, is creating so many ghosts. Ghosts of immemorial works of Chinese art, of irreplaceable Chinese institutions, of great peace-loving communities drugged, tortured, and destroyed. "Who will lay the ghosts?" she asks. Japanese and Chinese people, let us hope, will join hands together, in no distant future, in wiping off memories of a bitter past. True Asian humanity will be reborn. Poets will raise their song and be unshamed, one believes, to declare their faith again in a human destiny which cannot admit of a scientific mass production of fratricide.

Yours sincerely,  
Rabindranath Tagore

P.S.—I find that you have already released your letter to the Press, I take it that you want me to publish my answer in the same manner.

#### Letter to the Mahatma

DEAR MAHATMA,

It is difficult to a Japanese today to write a letter, not touching the present conflict with China. Though I think I can understand why your people are in sympathy with the Chinese, it is very sad that my own country's standpoint is not equally well studied in India. Being a believer in silence, in action before words, Japan is no propagandist. I myself kept silence towards my Indian friends, because I know that their minds will soon become composed and thoughtful to see a great cause for which Japan is exhausting herself today. Japan is indifferent to criticism of the third party, for she thinks that talking is a foolish business of a dog and monkey. It is pity, however, that being backed by the west with commercial purpose, China, I mean the Kuomintang government, became arrogant from flattery or her own pride, and broke a neighbourly friendship; taking up an anti-Japanese campaign as the nation's only programme, she never stopped to think even for a moment what a strong fist her small island neighbour was hiding.

The results to a country will be plain and clear to see, when she only depended on the west for her existence; and if she cannot fight without a western adviser, she is already defeated before she appears in the field. The bigness of the country is something in the peaceful day; but the most important thing of war is one's heroism and sense of justice that supports his cause. The huge money that the Chinese government borrowed from the west in the past was foolishly spent for fire-arms, but not for her own people who were suffering from poverty and ignorance. I should like to know where in the world history is a similar case to the present war, for we have to help the masses of China besides defeating their government. Wherever one goes in the place of the Japanese occupation, he will be surprised to see how the Chinese co-operate with our soldiers in mending the houses that bullets damaged, and in rebuilding a railroad bridge that the Chinese soldiers ruined before they ran away. The Chinese masses are with us, because they know that our enemy is only their misguided government.

No one can deny truth in the survival of the fittest. One who is morally strong only manages to prosper.

The high officials in China, who grow fat and selfish from bribe-taking and intrigue, have now to answer to god's impeachment. When I say that the present war is a declaration towards the west to leave hands from Asia, I believe that there are many people in India, who will approve of us.

Dear Mahatma, this letter may sound to you to be something that you do not expect from a poet; but I trust on your noble sense of justice, for the generally unkind atmosphere towards Japan in India made us impatient. But believe me, I myself still keep enough amount of aloofness to deny the foolishness of mutability

and to adapt myself to optimism that fits to my age. If the optimism of my choice has something of martyrdom, that is because I am patriotic in the good old fashion.

And if you open *The Ganges Calls Me*, a book of my Indian poems, that I sent you a few days ago, you will see a Japanese soul in response to nature and life of your country, that uplifted me to a higher spiritual status. Will you accept my sincere greeting in "Mahatma Gandhi"?

Yours very sincerely,  
Yone Noguchi

July 20, 1938

## THE EUROPEAN TANGLE

By MAJOR D GRAHAM POLE

ENGLAND is working might and main to prevent Germany going to war with Czecho-Slovakia over the Sudeten German issue. Acting in the closest possible association with her is France. All over Europe the nations are looking to France and England to save them from the threatened beginning of a world war. And in the United States President Roosevelt and the bulk of the American people are lending their powerful moral support.

Nothing in fact has been more striking, during the present crisis, than the way in which Germany's prestige has declined. Her violent propaganda against the Czechs has over-reached itself: it has created the opinion that in this quarrel it is the Germans and not the Czechs who are irreconcilable. Lawless behaviour on the part of Nazis in other foreign countries strengthens this opinion. Such behaviour has indeed undone much of Herr Hitler's careful diplomacy. His famous Non-Aggression Pact with Poland, thanks to Nazi outrages in Poland and above all in Danzig, has now very little value in Polish eyes. Poland instead is turning once more to Geneva and is sending her Foreign Minister to the forthcoming meeting of the League of Nations Assembly. Even Hungary, though her Regent went to be feted in Berlin, took care at the same time to hold one finger out to the Little Entente at Bled. The most, it is said, that she will promise is benevolent neutrality.

If Germany were to make war tomorrow, it is doubtful whether she would have a single important ally except perhaps Italy—and Italy, impoverished by her wars in Abyssinia and

Spain, might well prove a liability rather than an asset. In the Far East, no doubt, Japan is at the end of the Berlin-Rome-Tokio triangle. But if Japan were to come to the aid of her German ally she would have to fight two wars: her present war with China and war again with Soviet Russia. And it is interesting to remember that in the recent boundary dispute between Russia and Japan all that Germany would offer Japan, in the event of a war, was "moral" support.

At the moment of writing, the week-end before the Nazi Congress opens at Nuremberg, there is a lull in the political atmosphere. This too in spite of rumours that Herr Hitler, when he saw Herr Henlein yesterday, rejected the Czech proposals for a solution after the Swiss model of cantons—rejected, that is, the third solution which the Czechs have proposed and which is said to go to the extreme limit of concession. Instead he is said to have drawn up his own plan and attached to it a time limit. In the absence of course of definitive news any sort of rumour arises. And one wishes there were more solid grounds for optimism other than the mere fact that fireworks are unlikely until after the Congress has opened. Incidentally a great part of the present campaign is due to a ruse yesterday on the part of the newspapers. They came out with posters proclaiming *Hitler's Message of Peace*. Everyone thought of course that it had immediate relevance to the Sudeten question—and prices on the Stock Exchange firmed up! Actually it was only the report of an interview which Herr Hitler had given *some time ago* to a distinguished

French writer, was in general terms and chiefly addressed to France, and had no special message for Czecho-Slovakia. Or rather, if it had any message at all, it was an unwelcome one. For it ended with the usual animadversions against Russia—Russia who is the especial ally, the eternal question mark, behind Czecho-Slovakia.

Still if it was a ruse it was a well-intentioned one. And if we want Herr Hitler to speak peace to the nations, we must do all we tactfully can to make it easy for him. He will get no help from the kind of Germans whom he and Dr. Goebbels, his Propaganda Minister, have raised up. They will have to eat so many of their words! What indeed is to be done with a man like Dr. Robert Ley, the leader of the Nazi Labour Front, who has been saying the wildest things to the Conference of Germans Living Abroad which has just been meeting at Stuttgart. An audience of 20,000 men received with "thunderous applause" (says *Reuter*) his assertion that "Geneva no longer exists and Germany has the best army in the world." Dr. Ley glories in brute force, is drunk with it.

"Come what may, we will not yield in anything. A victorious army is never weary. Our fanaticism does not abate, but is becoming daily even greater. The Swastika has crooked hooks that never let loose, but dig ever deeper into the people. The German people have put away their slippers and put on marching boots."

It is appalling to think that these words were spoken by the Leader of the Labour Front to Germans gathered from abroad. So wide a range for such terrible words. Incidentally, the part about the Swastika sticking ever deeper into the people, is the kind of sadistic fantasy that makes people outside apprehensive because they realise that they have in fact to deal with men who are not quite normal.

It is not surprising perhaps that German propaganda has not only alienated foreigners but is even antagonising some of the Sudetens themselves. That Germany should want to incorporate them in the Reich, even though it can only be done after a war in which the Sudeten Germans themselves will be the chief sufferers, losing their homes and most probably their lives, is asking too much of the times. If it could have been done by superior might, by merely threatening war, well and good. But since it cannot—since if she is invaded Czecho-Slovakia will fight to preserve her territorial integrity, and France will come to her aid, and Russia, and finally England—~~now is the time to parley.~~ Germany should

throw her weight into obtaining the best possible terms for the Sudetens. But instead, hitherto, she has talked nothing but war. Her press and her wireless and her spokesmen have all been engaged in working up feeling against Czecho-Slovakia. On the Czech frontiers, in the prolonged manoeuvres, German guns thunder as if war had already begun. On the French frontiers work on the fortifications goes on apace, and Herr Hitler visits them to see how near they are to completion, as if the French Army were already on the march. No wonder there is talk of divisions amongst the Sudetens, of increasing accessions to the "moderates." No wonder many of them are beginning to doubt whether they are so much an end in German eyes as the means to an end—the end being German hegemony in Europe. (Why all this pother about *them*? Why doesn't Germany worry about those other Germans, similarly stranded and far more repressed, in the Italian Tyrol?).

Quite a number of people believe that there will be no war now because Germany could never have succeeded except in a short war, and all these delays have made such a war impossible. France has had time to decide on her line of action. England has made it perfectly clear that she will not allow France to be defeated. Russia is already credited with gun-running. America, in spite of her Neutrality Acts and her Jonson Acts, would lend her powerful aid if Germany made this war which is unnecessary on all counts and denounced by general opinion the whole world over. It is not as if the Czechs were unwilling to make concessions. They have proposed concessions which they will be hard put to it to justify to their own peoples. It is not as if there were no third party on the spot, as there is in Lord Runciman, to formulate an agreement which is honourable to all parties. No, if Germany makes war now it will be because she *wants* war—and everyone knows that and knows what the verdict if history will be on the Nazis.

It would indeed be a reckless gamble if Germany were to begin this war. Times have changed since Italy was able to annex Abyssinia, since Germany over-ran Austria. Even since both Italy and Germany began to intervene in Spain! They thought that England was decadent and they could do as they liked. (They have done as they liked in the matter of bombing British ships trading to Spain and that, no doubt, misled them.) But if they had reflected a little more deeply on the course of English history they would have noted that

England can never afford to allow any one Power to become too strong on the continent. There always comes a time when she realises that a stand will have to be made. France, also, for that matter, and whatever the odds against her—and in the present situation in Spain and the Mediterranean there are odds to reckon with—is of the same opinion. Indeed few things have been more impressive than France's calm and clear pronouncement on her present case. Said M. Daladier:

"Two possible courses, were open to France. One was to ensure respect of her undertakings and continue to appear before the world as a great nation. The other was to draw back into a sort of neutrality and take no interest in outside events. The first of these courses was the one he had chosen and intended to follow."

Could the issue be better expressed?

All things considered, and contradictory and paradoxical as it may be, we are back in the world of Mr. Eden though Mr. Chamberlain (and the Cliveden set) might not subscribe to that conclusion! Mr. Eden was thrown to the wolves because he believed and said that the time had come to stand up to the Dictators. Because he believed that if such a stand were at Geneva, the nations would rally behind France and England. Everything he said is coming true. As the Americans, who as onlookers see most of the game, are remarking:

"The aggressor nations have profited by hesitancy and divided counsels among other Powers. They have been able to pick off their victims one by one, because it was plain that no hand would restrain them. *Now a new concept seems to be dawning—or rather, the betrayed principle of collective security is being resuscitated . . .*"

All the same, if and when the present crisis passes, can we hope for a revival of the League idea? The logic of events may have resuscitated it for a moment, but the same men who betrayed it—the Chamberlains and the Simons—will still be in power. In their desire to let the Dictators down gently, will they not send it into cold storage again? One can only hope that events will continue to keep the idea alive. Perhaps France, who in her time has made good use and bad use of the League, will see to it that the present opportunity is not allowed to pass.

It would be a tragic waste of the moment, of an *affirmative* moment in which all peoples of goodwill are on the side of the democracies, if a determined effort were not made now to bring the Spanish Civil War to a conclusion. Once the threat of a German-provoked world war is passed no reason can remain for in-

difference to this other war, especially since, with its German and Italian intervention, it has admittedly been largely a dress-rehearsal for the possible world war. Or rather it has been not so much a dress-rehearsal as a preliminary campaign. In this campaign Germany and Italy hoped to obtain such strategic positions as would (taken in conjunction with the re-fortification of the Rhineland) tie up the French army at her frontiers and in the Mediterranean make the convoy of troops difficult for both France and England. So successful have they imagined themselves to be, so delighted at the way in which Mr. Chamberlain has turned a blind eye to their wave after wave of intervention, that they had come to believe that the world war would not be necessary. England, so determinedly their "friend," even to the extent of refusing to protect her own merchantmen against their cynical depredations, would never have the courage to stand up to them in their next phase. England and France (since in their foreign policy they act as one) would stand aside and let a triumphant Germany trample as she chose over Eastern Europe. Such was the general impression. As a Hungarian, for instance, picked on by a news correspondent to give the impression of the man in the street, remarked the other day:

"We thought for some years that Britain was in decay. We don't think so now."

(For how long have they thought Britain in decay? Is it since the present National Government came into power, and betrayed successively China, Abyssinia, and Spain?).

Mr. Chamberlain must be as sick of the word Spain as ever Mr. Baldwin was sick of the word Coal. He has only one and a *fixed idea* on that subject, that nothing must be done to displease Italy there and so interfere with his Anglo-Italian Agreement. Because Mr. Eden believed that any Anglo-Italian Agreement should be negotiated after Italy had ceased to intervene in Spain, rather than as a bribe while she was still intervening, Mr. Chamberlain got rid of Mr. Eden. To confound Mr. Eden in the House of Commons, he triumphantly assured the House that he had just heard that Signor Mussolini had agreed to the British plan for the withdrawal of the "volunteers" in Spain. To-day, weeks and weeks after the departure of Mr. Eden and that assurance, we know that General Franco has rejected the British plan on the instructions of Signor Mussolini. We know more, that Signor Mussolini has shown himself capable of the utmost perfidy. He no

longer pretends to conceal his intervention in Spain. He sends his reinforcements and, when questioned in the matter, replies that this is no new intervention, it is merely *filling up the gaps made* in his troops

So the coming into force of the Anglo-Italian Agreement is as far off as ever, but the price of it has been staggering. The Committee of British Shipowners Trading to Spain have just issued some figures. Fifty British seamen have been killed by Franco's aeroplanes and a hundred and twenty seriously wounded. During the last six months alone eighty-six British ships have been attacked. In hard cash the losses are estimated at £3,500,000

But the worst feature of it all, of course, is the injustice to Republican Spain. While Germany and Italy have been free to intervene with their aeroplanes and their men and their guns, the Spanish Government have had to fend for themselves unable even to buy arms from France and England—since France and England have scrupulously observed their so-called Non-Intervention undertaking. And, ultimate injustice, they have not been able even to buy arms elsewhere latterly, since, on the representations of England, anxious as ever to do nothing to displease Italy, the French Government has closed its Spanish frontier

Surely no expediency can justify such injustices! Wrongs like that will one day like chickens come home to roost. But the Chamberlains, with their fixed idea about Italy, seem even now to close their eyes to what they are doing in Spain. Only the other day, it was reported, Lady (Austen) Chamberlain had been feted at Burgos, the headquarters of General Franco's Government.

Yet Italy's mischief making, and mischief making which has no other object than to make things difficult for England, shows no signs of abating. Her latest crime is, of course, her decrees outlawing all the Jews who have settled in Italy since the war and, as regards Jews in general in Italy, excluding them from Italian schools, whether as teachers or pupils, and from all "academic, literary and artistic councils." The first reaction to this with most people was that this was but one more proof of Italy's growing subservience to Germany, a subservience she could not avoid from the moment when Herr Hitler marched into Austria and became her powerful neighbour. But it is not as simple as that. The Jews as ever are but a scapegoat. This latest move on the part of Italy is meant to have far-reaching effects. And the real Powers struck at are France in

North Africa and Britain and America in Palestine.

Signor Mussolini, we know, has lost prestige in his own and in Italian eyes through the long delay in implementing the Anglo-Italian Agreement. It does not become a Dictator to be kept waiting in this fashion. Accordingly a few weeks ago he began to press for a conclusion of the Agreement without this waiting for a "settlement" in Spain. But on this point, at least, opinion in England is too strong for Mr. Chamberlain. So Signor Mussolini thereupon began to use threats as to what Britain might expect if she remained in this mood. He might, he said, "be obliged to resume his liberty of action" in the Moslem world. *And this is exactly what he is now doing.*

For some years now Signor Mussolini, the Dictator who once claimed the gratitude of Catholics everywhere for making peace between the Italian State and the Papacy, has assumed the role of Protector of the Moslem World. He saw that by playing such a role in North Africa he could eat away at the French interest there. He saw that by championing the Arabs in Palestine, by subsidising terrorism, he could make things difficult for Britain who has to administer the Mandate. One Arab leader is reported to have stated that they have available in Palestine an enrolled force of some 15,000 men and all the arms they require and that they can get more! Thanks largely to the mischievous Italian activities, matters are coming to a head in Palestine. Partition may come and with it the setting up of an independent Jewish State. That Jewish State will be on good terms with Britain and the United States—and so it suits the Italian Dictator to make trouble for it in advance by swelling the numbers of Jewish refugees. Indeed, the new Jewish State will be of the utmost strategic importance and a perpetual irritant to the Italian Dictator who would like to rule the waves each end of the Mediterranean.

It only remains to point out that a contingent of Arabs is attending the Nazi Congress at Nuremberg . . . And so, however the present war scare resolves itself, there are webs and webs of German and Italian scheming spun across the path of France and Britain and America.

But the democracies hold all the cards if only they had the wit to realise it! The smaller States in Europe cannot stand on their own feet. That has been proved over and over again. They must revolve around some Great Power. But that arouses the rivalry of some



other Great Power—and there seems no end to the tug-of-war, no end to the restlessness and scheming. A Little Entente may form itself in Europe and for a time create the impression that as a bloc of some 50,000,000 peoples it can control its own future. But soon it is revolving around France. Then a Balkan Entente arises, with the same laudable intention in the beginning of casting off the yoke of the Great Powers. It is actually originated by one of the members of the Little Entente. But soon it also is revolving around a Great Power—this time the Berlin-Rome axis. And so what does the poor remains of the Little Entente, or to be more exact its most vulnerable member, Czecho-Slovakia, do? It draws closer to Russia. And the only result of these ententes is that the small States are back where they started: with Germany and Russia glaring across them at each other.

France must surely have awakened to the fact that there is no lasting security to be had through the method of ententes. There is no security but *collective security*.

If France and Britain, with the moral support of the United States, begin a back-to-the-League movement, they will show themselves able to grasp the present opportunity—and opportunity that may not come again. If we cannot bring to an end now the German and Italian war menace in Central Europe and the Mediterranean, we will have scotch'd the snake, not killed it, even though we may prevent it from striking for the moment.

The democracies hold all the cards for two reasons. In the first place, world opinion is on their side. In the second, they have all the resources. Italy may make war on Abyssinia; Japan may make war on China; Germany may dream of her hegemony in Europe. But Italy cannot develop Abyssinia without credits; nor Japan develop China; nor Germany make war (some critics say) for more than a *few weeks* in the present state of her finances.

The German hegemony of Europe is a nightmare to all the Eastern States in Europe. None of them really cares for Germany. The Nazis with their jack boots and their persecution of everyone who thinks differently, whether it be Jew or Christian, have seen to that. Nor are Nazi methods of obtaining economic control anything but repellent. They have no money with which to make loans to Balkan countries. But they have devised a clever system of manipulating their clearing arrangements in

such a way as to tie these unfortunate people indefinitely to their chariot wheels. One trick, perhaps the meanest and the cleverest, is this. Germany buys far more from a Balkan State than such a State could buy from her. It sounds a good idea to the Balkan State. But when the Balkan exporters ask for payment they are told there is not enough money in the clearing account to pay them. The Balkan State must go on buying German goods until the discrepancy is wiped out! According to Mr Vernon Bartlett in fact Governments have had to intervene in order to pay their exporters—and Rumania even had to inflate in order to do so.

There seems a field then in the Balkans for British and French and any other proper loans. And especially, it appears, in Rumania. There is a lot to be said, on every count, for giving assistance to Rumania. Situated as she is, it is the easiest thing in the world for reactionaries in that country to raise the Bolshevik bogey. Nothing might bring such an access to Balkan stability as a prosperous Rumania. It is said that she is potentially one of the richest countries in Europe. "According to geologists, no more than 10 per cent of her mineral wealth has yet been tapped."

It is Rumania, or economic control of Rumania, that Germany is out for. That is why she is so hostile to Czecho-Slovakia. Czecho-Slovakia has the temerity to bar her way—and to call in Russia to help bar the way. In the coming days it will be interesting to see what becomes of this Russian protection. Will Czecho-Slovakia be forced or beguiled into giving it up? The Germans themselves make no secret of their determination to get rid of Russian "interference." It is the Russian question which has induced the Sudeten Germans, or the extremists amongst them, to assert that they must have a voice (and they mean a determining voice) in Czecho-Slovakia's foreign policy. They will, if they can, make Czecho-Slovakia revolve round Germany. This was nakedly stated the other day in the German paper *Boersen Zeitung*. It complains:

"Czecho-Slovakia has usurped the functions of pointer on the scales of the European balance of power and attempted to be a bulwark against the so-called German 'Drang nach Osten'."

We will not quarrel with this description of Czecho-Slovakia's tragedy.

Westminster, London  
September 3, 1938





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—EDITOR, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

**THE STATUTE OF WESTMINSTER AND DOMINION STATUS:** By *K. C. Wheare*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, Calcutta, Bombay Price 10s. net.

In this volume the author has not attempted an exhaustive examination of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, or of Dominion Status. He has performed the narrower task of explaining what are the effects of the Statute of Westminster upon Dominion Status, which "have often been exaggerated and are occasionally the subject of controversy." So far as India is concerned the subject, though deserving of study and can with advantage be studied from this book, is at present merely of academic interest. For, it is clear from the parliamentary debates and Blue Books preceding the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935, as well as from that Act itself, that it is not the intention of the British Parliament and politicians that India should have the status of the Dominions, not to speak of the status of fully independent countries. There is only one sentence in the book, page 90, in which the word India occurs with reference to the classes of persons who can become members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The book contains a table of cases and a table of statutes, and chapters on law and convention, Dominion Status in 1926 (I & II), the special case of the Irish Free State, the scope of the Statute, the Statute and the United Kingdom Parliament, and separate chapters on the Statute and the legal status of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Newfoundland, South Africa and the Irish Free State respectively, a chapter on the Statute and the Monarchy. There is a concluding chapter, in which the author's summing up is that "The Statute of Westminster forms a part and not the whole of the body of rules, legal and non-legal, which define Dominion Status." There are four appendixes containing—The Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865; The Statute of Westminster, 1931; The Status of the Union Act, 1934; and The Statute of Westminster Adoption Bill 1937, (Australia).

**EMPIRE SOCIAL HYGIENE YEAR-BOOK, 1938-39.** Preface by *Mrs. C. Neville-Rolfe, O.B.E., and Dr T. Drummond Shiels, M. C.* Prepared by the *British Social Hygiene Council Inc.* London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 15s. net.

This is the fifth edition of this useful year-book. In addition to relevant statistics and other information drawn from official sources, the United Kingdom section (occupying the greater portion of the volume) is amplified by a series of authoritative articles on health services,

illegitimacy, blind and deaf persons, cripples, maternity and child welfare, housing, marriage laws, juvenile delinquency and probation, prostitution and venereal disease, mental illness, mental defectives, tuberculosis, education, training in citizenship, and the like. As many aspects of social hygiene cannot be satisfactorily portrayed without reference to their international setting, there is a special section outlining international action in regard to the welfare of the mercantile marine, the campaign against traffic in women, the work of the health and labour organizations, the film, etc.

For England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland statistics are given on all the heads for all counties and county boroughs. Infant mortality rates are given separately for legitimate and illegitimate births. This indicates that unmarried motherhood is rather common, but it also is a proof of the humanity which takes care of illegitimate children. They are not secretly got rid of or seriously neglected.

The information given for other parts of the Empire, including India, is not of course as elaborate as that for the United Kingdom.

The following figures of the incidence of venereal diseases in the British Army and the Indian Army in India for the year 1935 (the latest given for both), are instructive: British Army—gonorrhoea 25.8 per thousand, syphilis 6 per thousand, soft chancre 6.8 per thousand. Indian Army—gonorrhoea 4.6 per thousand, syphilis 3.6 per thousand, soft chancre 1.8 per thousand.

**UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII CATALOGUE:** *Being the University of Hawaii Bulletin for April 1938.* Pp. 253.

It contains the Register of Faculty and Students for 1937-1938 and Announcement of Courses for 1938-1939. For a comparatively new University like that of Hawaii the variety and number of courses in various subjects are truly surprising to those who know how few are the courses in Indian universities, relatively speaking.

**GIRLS' EDUCATION IN INDIA** (*In the Secondary and Collegiate Stages*). By *Miss Jyotiprabha Dasgupta, M.A., B.T., T.D.* (London), *Viharilal Mitra Fellow.* Published by the University of Calcutta.

Miss Jyotiprabha Dasgupta was entrusted by the Calcutta University with the work of visiting the important institutions for the education of girls in the different provinces and the more important Indian States, and was asked to submit a report thereafter. Her report is before us. She did her duty with assiduity. The report is lucid, interesting and informative. It shows clarity of judgment and the power of sober criticism. Clear printing and a number of illustrations add to the attractions of the volume. Those who intend to start new institutions for

girls' education, as well as those who have been conducting institutions already in existence may read this report with advantage

**MASARYK ON THOUGHT AND LIFE:** *Conversations with Karel Capek. Translated from the Czech by M. & R. Weatherall. George Allen and Unwin, London 7s 6d. net.*

Readers of *The Modern Review* know who Masaryk was and what he did. Son of a coachman, apprenticed in boyhood to a blacksmith, he received the advantage of university education and became university professor of philosophy. But he was also a realist idealist. He took a prominent part in the struggle for the independence of his country, and was the liberator, father and creator of Czechoslovakian Republic. He was its first President. In the conversations with Karel Capek the late President Masaryk speaks with simplicity and intimacy of his own faith and philosophy which guided him throughout his long and active life. They cover a wide range of subjects—theory of knowledge, metaphysics, religion, christianity, the so-called cultural conflict, politics, nation. Those who are of a philosophical or religious turn of mind will prize the majority of chapters, printed first. The chapters on politics and "nation" will appeal to others most. But in them also Masaryk appears as an idealist-realist who had faith in the core of religion. *His insistence on both political and cultural endeavours should convey a lesson to our leading political speakers and workers and their followers.*

**IDENTIFICATION OF HAWAIIAN PLANTS:** *A key to the Families of Dicotyledons of the Hawaiian Islands, Descriptions of the Families, and List of the Genera. By Harold St. John and F. Raymond Fosberg, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.*

The title of the booklet is a sufficient indication of its contents. It will undoubtedly be of considerable use to students of botany in the Hawaii Islands. There ought to be similar publications by Indian universities for regional use.

**FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE'S INDIAN LETTERS.** *Edited by Priyaranjan Sen. Illustrated, and with notes and appendix. Pp. 67 duodecimo. Published by Mihir Kumar Sen, 1, Dover Lane, Calcutta.*

Florence Nightingale deservedly enjoys world-wide fame for her work for the relief and treatment of the wounded in the Crimean war and as having assisted in founding the Red Cross Society. She formed an institution for the training of nurses and gave valuable help in the reform of army hospitals. So far as India is concerned she had been hitherto known as the authoress of *Life or Death in India*. The letters under notice reveal a hitherto unknown aspect of her personality, namely, her deep interest in the welfare of the poverty-stricken peasants of India. The sub-title of the book indicates that it gives "a glimpse into the agitation for tenancy reform, Bengal, 1878-1882." The letters show her shrewdness, integrity, practical compassion, and understanding of the condition of the peasants. In a full introduction the editor discusses the problems with which the letters deal.

**CAPITAL (KARL MARX'S FAMOUS WORK):** *A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production, translated from the third German edition by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling and edited by Frederick Engels. A photographic reprint of the stereotyped edition of 1889, with a supplement including changes made by Engels in the fourth German edition, and his preface to that edition, with notes, Marx's preface to the French edition, and*

*notes on the English edition; edited and translated by Dona Torr. Medium 8vo., pp. xxxi+882. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 8s. 6d. net.*

Karl Marx, the founder of international socialism, requires no introduction. The name of his epoch-making book *Kapital* is known to many by repute who have not read or even seen it. The publishers have brought it within their reach in a handy form and at a moderate price. The translation given in the volume is the only one edited by Engels. For the first time the translation has a complete List of Authorities, based on that prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute of Moscow.

"Since the beginning of literature few books have been written like the first volume of Marx's *Kapital*. It is premature to offer any definitive judgment on his work as revolutionary thinker and agitator, because that is still very far from completion. There need, however, be no hesitation in saying that he, incomparably more than any other man, has influenced the labour movement all over the civilized world; his theories have in a thousand ways already penetrated the different strata of society, even the highest, but most of all the working classes. It may also be safely said that his views can have any hope of realization only after very extensive modification. In many respects the analysis of the economic development of modern society has been justified by subsequent events, but in many also it has been falsified; and it could be shown that he has left out of account some of the decisive factors in social development."

Marx tells us in his preface that the final aim of his great work is to reveal the economic law that moves modern society. He was a man of uncommon knowledge, which he used with masterly skill. To those who understand his terminology, his style is lucid and powerful, though also sometimes tedious owing to the minuteness of his exposition. The march of his thought is enlivened by humour, severe invective, and flashes of light from the most unexpected quarters.

D.

**THE SNAKES OF INDIA:** *By Lieut.-Colonel K. G. Chatterjee, I.M.S. Published by The Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Grant Road, Bombay 7. Pages 165. Price Rs. 3.*

A book like this should have been reviewed by an expert on snakes, though we are not sure if such a reviewer could be easily found. A lay man sees in it a description of the physiology and habits of life of snakes, specially those of India. There is a chapter at the end of the book on 'A World Survey of Dangerous Snakes' from the pen of another writer. We have a classification of snakes into land-snakes, tree-snakes, sea-snakes, &c. There is also a chapter on the treatment of snake-bite and another on protection against snakes. These chapters contain useful, though not absolutely new, information for people living in snake-infested areas. When one remembers that about 20,000 people die every year of snake-bite in British India alone, the value of such information cannot be over-estimated.

There are several illustrations in the book. These, however, as the author himself admits, are not always very clear, 'as they represent specimens of snakes preserved in spirit' (p. ii).

While giving some general information about snakes, the author says: "Nearly all snakes are *cannibals*, that is, they eat other snakes and even those of their own kind" (p. 4; Cf. also p. 129). Ordinarily, a cannibal is 'one who eats human flesh'. An animal feeding on its own species is also sometimes called cannibal; but is this use really very common?

Snakes, we are told, have no external ear, and hence, 'sounds conducted through the air are not heard by them' (p. 7). And we are further told that one Col. Wall, I.M.S. has conclusively proved this (p. 50). But sounds conducted through solids are heard by snakes. The proposition laid down here is not free from ambiguity. What is sound, after all? Is any vibration that reaches the body sound? And are snakes really unable to hear the flute of the charmer?

Chapter XXXIV (Hindu Mythology: Snakes and Folklore) is rather scanty and could be considerably enriched by more copious references to the ancient literature on snakes, Sanskrit as well as vernacular. Snakes and their controlling deity occupy a considerable section of early Bengali literature.

No one can deny that the Seducer of Eve and the sinister enemy of man deserves study. We congratulate the author on his venture. He has given us an interesting book.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

**INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE IN INDIA:** By *Nabagopal Das, Ph.D. (Econ.) (London), I.C.S. Published by Oxford University Press, 1938. Pages 174. Price Rs. 7.*

During the last few years, the problem of industrial development in India has loomed large in all public discussions and the facts and factors that have been found to stand in the way of progress have been widely studied by economists and businessmen. The book under review by Dr. N. G. Das of the Indian Civil Service critically analyses the points of defects and drawbacks that have so far retarded industrial progress in India. The author at the outset deals with the various defects in Indian money conditions in its relation to the financing of industries. He very rightly points out the hindrances in our "System" of Government domination over the money market owing to their rigid control of currency and credit, resulting in a lack of elasticity and stability of the monetary conditions. The establishment of the Reserve Bank of India to a certain extent improved the position, but still, it has much to depend on the Governmental policy. Author's study of the English, American and German system of banking and industrial finance and his suggestions towards reforming the Indian system, deserves careful consideration. In dealing with the system of managing agency, although the author has very little to say, he has nevertheless studied the whole problem from economic and objective point of view. He has also pointed out at great length the very many malpractices in our industrial system. Dr. Das has emphasized, which will be subscribed by all sound thinking men, that economic welfare of a nation depends not so much on the quantity of progress as on the quality of the economic organisations. The book will undoubtedly prove useful.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

**INDIAN STATES AND THE NEW REGIME:** By *Maharaj-Kumar Raghur Singh, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt., with a Foreword by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, K.C.I.E. Published by Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons, and Co., Cloth bound, Pp. xxviii + 469. Price Rs. 10.*

The learned author of the book is no other than the heir-apparent of the Sitamau State in Central India. A work on the new federal constitution of India from the pen of a member of the princely order itself is bound to be of considerable interest to all students of Indian constitutional history. The author has given a masterly survey of the developments relating to the Indian States prior to the passing of the Government of India Act

of 1935; and it is refreshing to find that he has taken a sober and dispassionate attitude in his analysis of the part played by the Indian Princes in the final shaping of the federal constitution. The commentary on the new Government of India Act is detailed as well as critical, and gives evidence of the writer's grasp of the legal and political implications of the federal idea embodied in the new constitution. The author has shown commendable judgment and breadth of view in his bold criticism of the attitude of the so-called smaller Princes who have managed to capture the Chamber today; and his scheme for strengthening and reorganizing the Chamber is exceedingly interesting, and deserves close attention of everyone concerned. We cordially welcome this valuable addition to the literature on the Indian States.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

**THE MALERS OF THE RAJMAHAL HILLS:** By *Sasanka Sekhar Sarkar. Published by The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta. 1938. Pp. XI+129.*

This is a short monograph on the Malers, a Dravidian speaking tribe living in the Rajmahal, Pakur and Godda sub-divisions of the Santal Parganas district in Bihar. The Malers appear to have moved away from their original moorings in these parts in comparatively recent times and their contacts with the Hindu population in the neighbourhood have introduced significant changes in their social and economic organization. There are six short but readable chapters on general considerations, appearance, domestic life, social organization, ceremonials, religious and magical practices, besides an introduction which sets forth many of the author's conclusions and four brief appendices which complete the account.

The author points out the cultural differences between the Oraons and the Malers and concludes that "the Malers and the Oraons are two independent Dravidian speaking people and they never came into contact with one another and that the Malers are the autochthonous inhabitants of these hills to which place they are still confined to in the face of their gradual extinction and are one of the earliest remnants of the pre-Dravidians in this region." The evidences he has put forward do not however support his conclusion. He says that "the first thing that strikes one is that the Oraon religion is essentially communal or tribal whereas the Maler religion is purely individualistic (p. 10)." In page 11, commenting on the Maler religion, he says, "the communal worship is done by the village headman (Manjhee) and in case of individual calamity the person himself performs the worship." The absence of the clan system among the Malers has been cited by the author as proof of cultural difference between them and the Oraons who possess the clan system. In page 55, he writes, "there is a prevailing belief among some of these Paharias that Samria is their clan. Particularly the Munshi of Karambi explained to the author that the Paharias are divided into Samria, Malpaharia and Kumarbagh sections—these he claimed to be divisions like the Santal clans." Writing about the changed cultural outlook of the Malers the author was uncertain 'whether the same sort of disintegration has also occurred with the clan system of these people.' Any one who has lived with primitive groups for any length of time knows how fast social institutions are being disintegrated among them.

The territorial organization found among the Malers, their love of finery and flowers, the excessive bride-price which make it difficult for people to marry and settle down, the customs and rites connected with birth, name giving,

marriage and death, the institution of village dormitory among them and the agricultural practices commonly met with, unmistakably affiliates them to the Munda-Dravidian cultural pattern. It is only in their religious life that the Malers show some divergent practices but knowing as we do, the contacts these people have with neighbouring Hindu and Hinduised tribal groups, it is no wonder that foreign names have been adopted by them to designate their clan and tribal deities. The evidences provided by the author do not justify the assumption of independent origin of religious traits, for whatever rites and customs may have been borrowed by the Malers, their attitude to these, in other words, the configuration of their culture has not been tremendously upset.

From 1901 to 1931, the Malers have increased from 47,066 to 59,891. Does it show that 'the tribe is becoming gradually extinct'? 'The fecundity of the Paharia women seem to be low when compared with those residing in the plains,' p. 71. This statement is important and is expected in a dying tribe, but no data have been cited by the author in support of this conclusion. The 11 genealogical charts do not make a representative sample on which to base the generalization. Investigations into size of families and the fertility rates are necessary before we can accept this. In one passage (p. 8) the author writes, "They (Oraons) are thoroughly an agricultural people and the temporary interment of the dead bodies are due to the lands being under the crops." Does he mean that the custom of burial is a fertility rite or does he mean that land for burial is not available when lands are under crops? He says that 'unmarried girls above the age of 20 are met with among the Malers' but during the long experience of the author, he could get only three cases and these were either deformed, decrepit or guilty of social lapses.

Malers are not a primitive people. They represent a blended culture where rites and customs introduced from highly organized societies have mixed with those of primitive or infantile character. It is not a closed unit either as interpenetration of culture traits is still going on. It is therefore difficult to distinguish the alien traits from the indigenous ones. Many of the new traits referred to as characteristic of the Maler culture are introduced from alien sources and grafted on their indigenous stem. These are, however the limitations of the monographic method applied to a study of blended cultures and we sympathise with the author in his difficulties. A study of the cultural changes that have taken place would be an important contribution to our knowledge of culture contacts and acculturation. The author may take it up with advantage as he is eminently qualified to do so.

The book is otherwise well written and the author has given evidence of his earnest and careful investigations.

D. N. MAJUMDAR

#### THE EVOLUTION OF THE RIGVEDIC PANTHEON:

By *Srimati Akhsaya Kumari Devi*. Published by *Bijaya Krishna Brothers* 31, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Pages 212. Price Re. 1.

In this book, as its name implies, the authoress has traced the origin and evolution of as many as 86 deities of the pantheon of the Rigveda, including Buddha, Rishava and Mahavir. To the Vedic people the stars also were objects of adoration like the sun and the moon; so a majority of Rigvedic divinities were deified stars.

The study is based on comparative philology and mythology. It is interesting to know how the conceptions

of the gods have evolved through different stages from time to time. Brahman, for example, meant praise, prayer or priest in the Samhita. More than two hundred times this word has been used as prayer or praise in the Rigveda. In the *Autereya Brahman* it means Holmes; and in the Upanishad only it has been identified with the Ultimate Reality.

It must be said to the credit of the authoress that she has succeeded in discovering similar conceptions of Babylonian, Egyptian and Avestic gods thus pointing out clearly the cultural intercourse that must have existed among the ancient nations.

One conclusion of the authoress will, I am afraid, appear startling to a section of the readers. In her opinion, the genesis of *Om*, the sound-symbol of Reality, is not Vedic or Indian but Egyptian for she says that *Om* is not even once found in the Rigveda. There in the sacred Gayatri too is without *Om* which has been added to it much later. As there is an Egyptian god called *Om* representing eternity and immortality, it is very likely, observes the authoress, that *Om* has been adopted from Egyptian mythology.

Original references to the Rigveda and other Vedic literature have enhanced the value and the importance of the book.

We congratulate the learned authoress on her success in this new publication which seems to have surpassed all her previous works in many respects. Few Hindu women of our times have produced such a scholarly book as the one under review.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

VEDA AND VEDANTA: By *Ernest P. Horowitz*. Published by the *Advaita Ashrama*. Price Rs. 2.

In this book the author has embodied a series of his lectures delivered at the University of Bombay. In some of the lectures the author has sought to construct a history of the Aryans in the Arctic region as well as of their expansion; while, in the rest, he dealt with the Indian religion and philosophy. His treatment of philosophy consists in vague generalisations clothed in a grandiose style; and his history is based chiefly on philological assumptions. The account of the *Narasimhas*, mighty heroes possessing lion's strength and engaged in bloody battles with the (seven) great polar bears, as well as the story of the exodus of the heroes from the ice-bound north to the Himalayan region, full of Jujube (Badari) trees, are instances to the point.

In order probably to show his originality the author has often done violence to established tradition. Badarayana, we are told, was not originally the name of an acharya but of a school at Badara; Gaudapada is made one of the band of the Gauda Brahmins, who smuggled the 'Buddhist heresy' into the Vedanta; while his disciple, Acharya Govinda, is named Bhagabatpada. These and similar other uncorroborated statements naturally raise doubts in the minds of the readers as to the competency of the author to speak on the philosophy and religion of India. The irrelevant references to Vivekananda are apt illustrations of what is known as the fallacy of *Argumentum ad Hominem*.

SIVA-MAHIMNA STOTRAM: Edited by *Swami Pabitranaanda*. Published by the *Advaita Ashrama*, 4, Wellington Lane, Calcutta. Price annas five only.

This is a nice edition of the famous hymn, with word notes and English translation. The printing is good and the translation fairly accurate.

ISANCHANDRA RAY

THE INDIAN INCOME-TAX (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1938 : ITS SCOPE AND EFFECT. By *Raghupati Ghatak, M.A., M.L. Calcutta, 1938. Price Rs. 3.*

This timely publication provides a running commentary, clause by clause, on the Income Tax Amendment Bill now before the Central Legislature. Mr. Ghatak's book deserves to be widely read, both in view of the great changes contemplated in the Bill and on its own merits. The author has referred, in appropriate places, to the relevant provisions of English law and practice, on which a number of the contemplated changes are based, and has very cogently commented, where necessary, on the differences between England and this country in these matters. The book contains, besides, references to the case-law on the subject and to those court decisions in view of which it has become incumbent to make revisions in the existing law. On the important issue relating to the vesting of Income-Tax officers with wide powers for penalising assesseees who fail to make the statutory return of income, Mr. Ghatak points out that the Bill goes much beyond the English law, and that it would involve an amount of trouble to tax-payers and to the administrative authorities, hardly commensurate with the financial results likely to be achieved. His comments on these inquisitorial provisions are indeed mildly worded. We cannot however, agree with his view that "To define 'Income' by an enumeration of particular cases, inconsistent with the fundamental principles of English Jurisprudence, as developed by great jurists, is sure to lead to difficulties in future," for, in the first place, there is no practicable alternative to it, and, in the second place, this is the usual practice in most countries. In fact, difficulties would of course arise, but they are unavoidable. Mr. Ghatak's observations on the provision for the joint assessment of husband and wife on their individual incomes deserve careful consideration by the legislators. He points out that the proposed amendment goes against the Law of *Stridhan* in Hindu Law, the Law of Dower in Mahomedan Law, and the Married Women's Property Act, 1883, and he cites the British Royal Commission on the Income Tax, 1920, against too sweeping an application of the joint assessment principle. Mr. Ghatak doubts whether any advantage will result from the 'carrying forward of losses' contemplated in the Bill, but he does not seem to have dealt with the question adequately. The need for such a provision was recognized by the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee, 1925, and the present Bill has been worded so as to extend the benefit to the income from professions and vocations, the reservations embodied being necessitated by practical considerations. The general public would have welcomed a more extended discussion of the "Slab" system.

On the whole, the author is to be complimented on his able discussion of the Bill, written in such a short span of time.

P. CHAKRABARTY

THE ARYA MARRIAGE VALIDATION ACT, XIX of 1937, with appendices. By *C. L. Mathur, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab), B.Sc. (Panj.). Barrister-at-Law, Reader, Law College, Lahore. Published by The University Book Agency, Law Book-sellers, Kacheri Road, Lahore Price Re. 1.*

This Act has been placed on the Statute Book in order to legalise inter-caste marriages among Arya Samajists and to confer validity on such marriages celebrated prior to the Act.

During the last seventy years Social Reformers have been waging a ceaseless war against the Institution of

Caste and as the out-come of this movement several Acts have been passed by the Indian Legislature for facilitating inter-caste marriages amongst the Hindus, and the last Act of the series is the Arya Marriage Validation Act of 1937. The question of inter-marriages amongst various castes has for some time been seriously agitating the minds of the younger generation. Tradition and to some extent public opinion amongst Hindus of the older generation have been fighting against this innovation, but the greatest obstacle was the legal one. This difficulty has now been completely removed in the case of Arya Samajists by the Act of 1937. This Act has clearly defined the position of the Arya Samajists in the Hindu social system by giving statutory recognition of the same by the said Act. According to this Act, the Arya Samajists have been classed as Hindus.

The learned author has very clearly dealt with the whole subject in a very able manner and has reproduced all the Acts relating to this subject in the book under review. We thank the learned author for giving a historical summary of the legislation from the very beginning.

JITENDRANATH BOSE

LOVE SONNETS AND OTHER POEMS : By *M. Krishnamurti. Published by Basil Blackwell, Oxford. Pp. 56. Price not stated.*

This neatly got-up little book contains a sequence of unrhymed sonnets followed by a number of other poems. One wonders why a poet who chooses such an inelastic verse-form as the sonnet shies at the lesser bondage of rhyme, especially as Mr. Krishnamurti does seem to obtain quite pleasing effects with his verses even though the theme is often slight enough and the conclusions even banal sometimes. Only occasionally a startling figure or an unusual but apt simile calls forth in us that poignant delight which is, or should be, the *raison d'être* of lyrical poetry.

It is satisfying to realize that though writing in English Mr. Krishnamurti is thoroughly Indian in spirit. It is the virgin simplicity of a Hindu faith as well as a Hindu charity that gives a touch of pathos to many of his poems. Perhaps the best example of his poetry is his shortest poem 'Quest':

I came to seek my love  
My love has found me  
My morning dream clouds are chased  
By the blue of eternity.

THIS CIVILIZATION : By *P. R. Kalkini. Published by New Book Company, Kitab Mahal, Bombay. Pages 44. Price 1-8.*

The dominant colour in this little collection of pastels is a murky grey. Most of the poems affect a very belated disillusionment of the postwar type, and some also take on the diagrammatic form in which the European post-war generation sought to piece together its shattered emotional apparatus. Michael Roberts speaks, with implied approbation, of Kalkini's verse as being 'different from most of the Indian poetry I have seen': the difference lies in the fact that there is precious little here that is characteristically Indian, except the author's passionate sense of right and wrong and his intense moral horror at the ruthlessness of modern civilization—neither of which, by the way, accord very well with the pose of cynical detachment which he inherits from his western predecessors. Not only the thought but even the imagery is often foreign—the peasant girl takes 'bacon and bread and butter and tea' and talks brave love-words after D. H. Lawrence.

The sophisticated, however, will respond enthusiastically.



cally to some of the poems—*Slaughter House, The Pit, and Workshop* expressing the dazed confusion of modern life; *Arab Woman* with its forceful epigrammatic conclusion :

In return  
She receives  
Devoted protection  
Enough food  
Enough work  
Unremitting love  
And a child every summer—

and one or two other pieces.

S. H. V.

### BENGALI

SHISHU-BHARATI: *Eight Volumes, from Volume one to Volume eight. To be completed in two more Volumes. Edited by Jogendranath Gupta. Indian Publishing House, 22/1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4 per Volume.*

The Indian Publishing House has added substantially to the joy of Bengali-reading children and to their means of acquiring knowledge by the publication of *Shishu-Bharati*. It began to be published serially in monthly numbers priced 12 annas each several years back and will soon be complete. It may be called the children's encyclopædia or the children's treasure-house of knowledge. The editor has shown considerable resource and enterprise in getting together articles on a great variety of subjects and illustrating them profusely. The illustrations include many printed in many colours. The eight Volumes so far published contain 3,200 pages of the size of *The Modern Review* printed neatly on thicker paper than is ordinarily used in monthly magazines in India. A list of all the subjects on which articles are included in these Volumes would be too long for this brief notice. The first Volume alone contains Sections devoted to the lives of great men, astronomy, primitive man, our country India, light, photography, history, life of plants, select poems, cereals, legends and stories, water, national songs, animals, life as chemical activity, foreign lands, the shape and location of the earth, ages of the world, the air, introduction to science, world-literature, course of human life, sound, art, development of art, music and crafts, selections, and literature

SENJUTI ("The Evening Lamp"): *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price one rupee.*

This is the first edition of the latest book of poems by Rabindranath Tagore. It is dedicated in a fine poem to Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar under whose and whose colleagues' treatment he was during last serious illness. The first poem, "Janma-din" (Birthday), was written on his first birthday after recovery from that illness. It is a great poem, in which the poet sings mostly of things of all time, laughing to scorn at the same time man's hungry inhumanity to man. There is another poem on Birthday in this book in which the poet longs to be included among those who are unknown to fame. Lovers of his poetry will welcome this volume for its own sake as well as because it is a sure earnest of more poems to come.

BIDAYA-ABHISHAP ("Curse at Farewell"): *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price three annas.*

This is the fourth reprint of the poet's famous poem on the mythological story of Kacha and Devayani. Kacha, son of Vrihaspati, the preceptor of

the gods, came to the hermitage of Shukra, the preceptor of the Daityas, to learn from him the art of restoring life. With the help of Devayani, Shukra's daughter, whose favour he had won, he succeeded in learning the art. The conversation between him and her which is the theme of the poem, takes place on his coming to bid farewell to her. He does so like one entirely fancy-free, as it were. Devayani is deeply mortified and curses him that he will not be able to apply the art he has learnt. The story is an illustration, hoary with antiquity, of the dictum,

"Man's love is of man's life a thing apart,  
'Tis woman's whole existence."

VISVA-PARICHAYA ("Introduction to the Universe"): *By Rabindranath Tagore. Third edition, revised and enlarged, and fourth reprint. Illustrated. Visva-bharati Bookshop. Price Re. 1.*

This book, which we have noticed thrice already, has been printed four times in the course of one year. In this edition the author has corrected certain errors pointed out by Professor Bibhutibhusan Sen of Krishnanagar College and Sriyukta Indramohan Som of Bombay, to whom he has expressed his great gratitude.

SHYAMALI: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Second reprint. Visva-bharati Bookshop. Price Re. 1.*

This is a volume of prose-poems, which we have noticed before. The only poem in verse in it is the dedication addressed to Srimati Rani Mahalanobis. Reading over again some of the stanzas of some poems in this volume we felt that true poets are endowed with youth everlasting.

D.

CHALAR PATH (THE WAY): *By Dr. Nishi Kanta Ganguly, M.A. Saraswati Library, Calcutta. Re. 1.*

This Bengali book of 115 pages is worthy of note for certain reasons. The author, we are told, was in-charge of a Vedantic Monastery of Bengal, arrested and detained for seven years in jails and detention camps. Out of his experience was born this book—his thoughts on 'The Way of Life' on its four stages, that of Brahmacharya, Vivaha, Samaj and Mukti (i.e., Training Period, Married Life, Social Life, and generally, the Life of Emancipation). The division is not orthodox, neither is the treatment orthodox, as would be expected from a member of a monastic order. He sets quite sane and rational value on the common life of the ordinary citizen who marries and settles down and fights his way through life in joy and sorrow among his own dear and near ones. It does not deny life, it accepts that, and then tries to raise it to a higher level by an application to it of the scientific knowledge of the modern times and of the spiritual heritage of India. It reveals a fair attempt at a synthesis of the old thought and the new challenge, and deserves serious study by all—old or new.

"ACHAL"

### HINDI

LONDON MEN BHARATIYA VIDYARTHI: *By Rajkumar Man Singh, Vidyabhushan, Bar-at-Law. Published by the Rajasthan Sahitya Mandal, Ajmer. Pp. 250. Price Re. 1-4.*

This is no book of travels and impressions in the ordinary sense. The life of an Indian student in London is depicted in story form, which will be found to be interesting and instructive. The author has ably drawn the picture of extra-university life of an average Indian student, which is not without pathos, humour and romance. The book may be an eye-opener to many.

RAMES BASU



## GUJARATI

**RAGHUVAMSHA :** By *Nagandas Amarji Pandya*, B.A. Printed at the *Yashwant Printing Press, Joravarnagar, (Wadhwan)*. Illustrated. Cloth bound Pp. 292. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1937).

So far as we know this is the first attempt to render into Gujarati verse (*Samasholaki* translation) the very well-known Sanskrit poem of Kalidas. It is at all times a difficult task to render such poems into a vernacular so as to bring out and preserve the beauty and charm of the original classical text: it is rendered more difficult when one has to deal with classics of such acknowledged superiority as the one under notice. By means of illustrations and footnotes the translator has tried his best to bring home to the reader the underlying beauty of the original verses but as he himself candidly admits, it is but a dim picture that he has been able to paint. The reader can merely have a "peep" at the original through his rendering. We agree with him. A scholarly introduction from the pen of Shastri Durgashankar Kevalram on the time when Kalidas flourished is a welcome feature of the book.

## ELEVEN BOOKS

The Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad has presented its members with eleven books brought out during the course of 1937 which comprise:

(1) **DARSHANIK KOSHA:** By *Chhotalal Narbheram Bhatta*. Price Re. 1-0-0.

It is the first part, and displays the very intimate knowledge that the compiler of the Kosha possesses of the Darshan philosophical works in Sanskrit. It is the first of its kind.

(2) **PRAJA JIVAN NI DRISHTIYE DUDHA ANE GHEE** (Milk and Ghee viewed from the popular eye): By *Dr. Hariprasad V. Desai*. Price 0-2-0.

A most useful work as it treats the subject both from the popular and scientific point of view.

(3) **LIMBU ANE TENI JATNAN FALO NO UDYOG** (Lemon and other fruits belonging to the same species, such as oranges, sweet limes and grape fruit): By *Maganlal Gajjar*. Price 0-4-0.

In a small compass the writer has treated the subject of the growth and rearing of these fruits successfully from the grower's and the trader's as well as the householder's point of view.

(4) **GUJARATIOYE HINDI SAHITYAMAN APELO FALO** (Contribution of Gujarati writers to Hindi Literature): By *D. P. Derasari, Barrister-at-Law*. Price 0-4-0.

It is a most informative work. Vra, or Hindi was always studied by Gujarati scholars of old, mediæval and even modern times, as much of religious and devotional literature was found in it, and it was this literature which was the staple food of the poets. Beginning from Bhalan, of the fifteenth century and Mira Bai, right up to the present times, a large number of Gujaratis have written in Hindi, and a collection of their efforts such as is to be found here, is bound to prove impressive, showing as it does, that Gujarati writers were as much at home in Hindi as in their mother tongue. It must have cost much labour to Mr. Derasari to collect all these materials and put them together.

(5) **NITISHAHSTRA :** By *Prahlad A. Dhruva, B.A., LL.B. Advocate*. Price 0-12-0.

It is a translation of Prof. Moore's Book *Ethics* from the series "The Home University Library of Modern

Knowledge." The translation, looking to the difficult nature of the subject, is indeed well done.

(6) **TUSKEGA ANE TENA MANASO :** By *Amratal Chumal Modi, B.A.* Price 0-10-0.

Bocker T. Washington's practical methods to bring about the uplift of the American Negroes are known by this time all over the world. They have been described in a volume written by A. J. Scott, Secretary of the Tuskegee Institute, that looks after the welfare of Negro community. The contents of the book are very interesting and furnish a good guide to those who desire to work in the same direction.

(7) **PLATONUN ADARSHA NAGAR**, Vol. I, Parts 1 to 5. By *Pranjiwan V. Pathak, M.A.* Price Re. 1-0-0

Prof. Javett's translation of Plato's Republic (*literally* City States)—has been taken as his text by Mr. P. V. Pathak, a distinguished student of Philosophy. He has done his work, because of his great familiarity with the subject, very intelligently and ably and when the time comes to study such subjects in one's own mother tongue, the book will surely prove of much use.

(8) **GUJARATNO MADHYAKALIN RAJPUT ITIHAS :** By *Durgashankar Kevalram Shastri*. Price Re. 1-0-0.

The chronicles of the mediæval Rajputs of Gujarat, Part I, begin from the Vedic times, when the Aryas had not penetrated as far as Gujarat, and traversing the later period, come up in this volume to the reign of Siddharaj Jayasinh. The chronicles are based on authentic sources, and certainly throw a flood of light on a subject which has not yet shed its obscurity. It is an addition of great value to the old historical literature of the province.

(9) **MANO MUKUR**, Vol. III: By *the late Narsinhrao Bholanath Divatia, B.A.* Price Re. 1-0-0.

It is a collection of sixteen essays written by that veteran poet and critic at different times on literary and other subjects. They required to be preserved in a collective form and that has been done. Thanks to the G. V. Society.

(10) **GRANTH ANE GRANTHAKAR**, PART VIII, and (11) **ARVACHIN GUJARAT NUN REKHADARSHAN :** By *Hiralal T. Parekh, B.A., the Assistant Secretary of the Society*. Price each Re. 1.

Mr. Parekh comprises in him the unique qualities of an ambitious thinker and a practical person putting the thoughts thought out by him into execution. He conceived the idea of collecting and printing the biographies of *all* writers in Gujarati and has been able to carry it out and spread it over eight volumes.

In each volume appears also an essay on a literary or allied subject and a classified list of books and useful magazine articles published during the past year. The volumes therefore prove useful not only for contemporary reference but also for reference to future generations. This time there is an erudite contribution on the present state of novel writing in Gujarati by Surendra Pandya and 40 pages of selected poems written in 1936. Outlines of Modern Gujarat (No. 11) is an equally useful and praiseworthy work betraying the writer's deep love of research and facility to marshal intelligently the facts resulting from the research. All that one wants to know about Gujarat, its literature, its domestic and social conditions, its educational activities and particulars of the lives of those who have worked or are working for the uplift of

the Province, are to be found in this small but encyclopædic hand-book. It is styled, *Vyaktitwa*, the individuality of Gujarat. The contents justify the title. It deals with the period 1908-1936

K. M. J.

### TELUGU

MEGHA SANDESAM : By M. M. Venkatachari, B.A., Tirupati. Pages 67. Price annas eight. Can be had of the author

A Telugu rendering of Kalidas's immortal classic *Meghadutam*.

JATAKA RAJAM : By Singayarya No. 1 of *Daivagna Grandhamala*, Tenali. Pages VIII+244. Price Rs. 2

A treatise on astrology comprising of over six hundred slokas in Sanskrit, with Telugu commentaries by Messrs Sridhara Venkayya Sidhanti and Viswanatha Sastri.

S U B H A S CHANDRA BOSE : LIFE AND LECTURES : By Komaduri Satagopachari, M.A., B.L. Pages 107. Price annas six. Can be had of the author, Coconada.

The work records the landmarks in the life of Babu

Subhas Chandra Bose, the young President of the Indian National Congress. The personality of the foremost politician of the younger generation is presented in an intimate way throughout these pages.

NEHRU CHARITRAM : By Komanduri Satagopachari, M.A., B.L. Pages 192. Price annas eight. Can be had of the author, Coconada.

The work records the biography of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru. This edition is commendably revised, enlarged and illustrated.

RAJATVA POURATVAMULU : (SOVEREIGN POWER AND CITIZENSHIP) : By 'I. Sivasankaram, with a foreword by Sir K. V. Reddi Naidu. Pages 109. Price Re. 1. Sadhana Press, Anantapur.

The work is an attempt at presentation of both sides of the shield, State and Citizenship. The limitations and obligations of each are fully dealt with. The author deplors the lack of civic sense among us in all walks of life. His criticism of the nationalistic arguments should be toned down. The work on the whole is commendable, though it suffers much from the use of local idiom.

R. S. BHARADWAJ

## WORLD AFFAIRS

THESE are fateful days for Europe. The "hour of decision" for people and their leaders is about to arrive—decision for war or peace. May be it is being forced on nations by the will of a single man in whom a mass frenzy finds its long-denied focal point of suppressed nationalist expression. In bated breath the world awaits the Nuremberg speech of the Fuehrer. Legions stand by for the word of command. The vigil for the Czecho-Slovak liberty is long and painful as the future grows more and more uncertain. The people require self-control more than ever. But it is become increasingly difficult. For nerves have been tried by a continuously long process of provocation. Tempers are frayed and it makes the position gloomier in the Central Europe. All Europe is reacting to its affairs in the same way. The French army is prepared. Silently it goes to the fateful fortifications of the Maginot line; across the Mediterranean the coloured forces are drawn for the probable danger that threatens France on the Rhine. The British fleet is ready as well, and the Cabinet meets in anxious mood to know the developments from hour to hour, and to repeat appeals and counsels, which it realizes have very little effect on the peoples and parties at the hour. Naturally even the Fascist dictator and the Japanese militarists no longer occupy the world-stage. They are being denied today the blaze of political foot-

light which they still could claim with equal force. In these first days of September they have all paled into insignificance—the Russo-Japanese frontier clash is almost forgotten; the reply of General Franco, practically refusing to fulfil the agreement for evacuation of volunteers from Spain, is no longer worthy of remark; of course, the Palestine of Arab guerillas, or the French Moroccan Arab restlessness is in comparison with things about to happen of no account. The Mexican expropriation of British and American oil interests by Cardenas, or the Japanese exclusion of the foreign trade and commercial interests from the Chinese territories occupied by them fail to raise the issues to the plane that in other times they would do easily. For, even as the Japanese are now battering one Chinese line of defence after another around Hankow, the Central European unrest is reaching a climax; the barometers there record a rise and fall incalculable to all except to Herr Hitler, the Dictator of Europe. Important as it was, the Balkan Entente that struck an agreement with Bulgaria, removing the disability regarding rearmament imposed on her so long by the treaty of Neuilly, fails to secure the notice that is its due as a practical demonstration of peaceful diplomatic settlement in presentday Europe. The defensive alliance entered into by the Little Entente with the Hungarians, who have nursed

their war-wounds,—or peacewounds,—imposed by these powers, was the only break in an ever-deepening gloom around the Danubian states, in particular as the Entente has Czecho-Slovakia as one of the members. For it is the fate of Czecho-Slovakia that now hangs by a narrow thread which the breath of a Fuehrer can blow away or the rising temper of an over-wrought people can snap at any hour. Emotional tension of the Germans and the Czechs is at the breaking point now. A declaration for a plebiscite in the Sudeten areas may bring matters to a head. For, the result is foregone—Germans would no longer desire full autonomy in the State, but merger in the Third Reich. Events have emboldened them to claim nothing less even though Henlein programme, drawn in April, it should be remembered, was more moderate. So, the world may be said to be gathered at Nuremberg as the Fuehrer would pass his decree on Czecho-Slovakia. The hour is drawing near. Lives and fortunes of millions besides the Czech or the Sudeten Deutsch are about to be affected in course of the next few days.

#### CZECH CONCESSIONS

Lord Runciman's mission of mediation has progressed almost as foretold by the critics of British policy. The Czech authorities have produced at least four schemes of concessions in succession, each more liberal than the other. With the advice of the mediator to guide them and the vast war preparations of the Nazi Dictator to launch a *putsch* if the independent and disinterested counsels of the British mediator do not accomplish the Nazi end there, the Czecho-Slovak authorities could not afford to be in any other frame of mind. The threat of a *putsch* and the pressure of advice for a peaceful solution has had their weight in framing these last proposals (September 7, '38).

The latest Czech proposals to the Sudetens contain the following points:

Firstly, recommendation of the principle of proportional employment of officials, according to population;

Secondly, employment of officials in districts of their own nationality;

Thirdly, division of security services so that local regions may have police of their own nationality;

Fourthly, a new linguistic law based on complete equality of language;

Fifthly, assistance to industrial life in German districts, which are most affected by the crisis, including a loan of 700,000,000 crowns on advantageous terms;

Sixthly, the creation of equality of national status on the basis of national autonomy by the introduction of the system of cantons, whereby Germans are in the majority. All questions not concerning national unity

to be dealt with locally. The integrity of the frontier and unity of the state to be effectively guaranteed,

Seventhly, special sections for cantons to be created in all central administrations, which can be run by nationals, who will deal with matters affecting their own nationality;

Eightly, national right of citizens to be protected by special laws, and the elected representatives of various nationalities in various representative bodies to have the right to complain against any interference with rights or interests of their nationals. A special register to be established for each nationality,

Ninthly, immediate steps to be taken to reach agreement on those points which do not require legislation.

In effect this would mean cantonal Government, only the frontier and defence and finance being reserved for the centre. In other times, in other circumstances, terms like these would satisfy the Sudeten Germans easily. For they go certainly a long way to meet the Carlsbad demands put forward by Henlein on April 24 last. We may repeat them for comparison as the Sudeten Deutsch representatives in their negotiation with the Czecho-Slovak authorities have stuck to these as their basic conditions, to be guaranteed at any cost.

The eight demands are:—

1. Full equality of status for the Czechs and Germans.

2. A guarantee for this equality by the recognition of the Sudeten Germans as a legal body incorporated

3. Determination and legal recognition of the German area within the State.

4. Full recognition of the German areas.

5. Legal protection for every citizen living outside the area of his own nationality.

6. Removal of injustices inflicted since 1918 and reparation of the damages thereby caused.

7. Recognition of the principle: within the German area German officials.

8. Full liberty to profess German nationality and German political philosophy.

Perhaps the world outside would subscribe to the Czech and French view that the limit of concessions has been reached, if, of course, it maintains that the Czecho-Slovakia State has the right to exist as sovereign power and retain its territorial integrity by refusing to create a 'state within a state.' That however, we know, is the very intention of the Sudeten German movement, which contemplates a final merging in the Third Reich. For the present however the proposals fail to satisfy the Germans as they hold that these grant only local rights and no power to make decision over the important questions, in the Central Government. This is not the German conception of autonomy—at this moment at any rate. The withdrawal of the Czechs from the Sudeten services is to be spread over a decade, as the Government contemplate; over the police and

the postal departments German control is not conceded; the right to profess Nazi philosophy is not, it is said, refused, but neither is it explicitly recognized. It is unknown therefore how far the proposals grant the three main demands *viz.*, full equality of status between the Czechs and Germans, guarantee for the same by a recognition of the Sudeten Germans as the legal body incorporate, and recognition principle within the German areas German officials. Naturally, Herr Kundt and Herr Hebekowski and the Sudeten German leaders replied with the curt *communiqué*: 'All reports go to show that the dispute can be settled only by comprehensive and rapid realization of the Carlsbad demands.'

#### RUNCIMAN MISSION

It is evident that the Czecho-Slovak State of Masaryk is in danger of slow dismemberment. For, the dread is growing into a certainty. After three hundred years of long agony and the brief and glorious twenty years of liberty and reconstruction, of days of proud achievement and noble promise—of democratic advancement and progress, when Fascist reaction engulfs the peoples around it—the Czechs may fail to keep their heads cool when they know what they are about to lose, and, especially, as they know what the powers that advise patience and reasonableness and sacrifice mean by that. The new terms were in the hands of the Sudeten representatives, and the British mediator was in Prague to persuade the Czecho-Slovak authorities to concede, and still to concede, when *The Times* suggested (Sept. 7.) in a leading article the secession of the Sudeten Districts as possible solution of the problem.

The paper says that if the Sudetens now ask for more than the Czech Government are apparently ready to give, it can only be inferred that the Germans are going beyond the mere removal of disabilities and will not find themselves at ease within the Czechoslovak Republic.

In that case it might be worth while for the Czech Government to consider whether they should exclude altogether the project, which has found favour in some quarters of making Czechoslovakia a more homogeneous State by the secession of the Sudeten Districts.

The paper adds that in any case, the wishes of the population concerned, would seem to be a decisively important element in any solution that can be regarded as permanent.

The official circles in Britain disclaimed any such plan, or to have tendered any such advice, but a suggestion from *The Times* at the very hour betrayed probably the inner thought of the well-known group of British ruling class that gathers at the Cleveland House

and among them the editor of *The Times* and the British Premier and the Foreign Secretary are counted as prominent members. No wonder if the official denial was not believed in Prague, which remembered the Halifax visit of friendship to Berlin, the Wiedeman mission of goodwill to Halifax, the British ruling class admiration for the Fuehrer as the saviour of their class interests which might be swept off by new and popular socio-economic forces. This might serve at least as a feeler for a plebiscite in the area to be proposed by Britain if the Fuehrer is bent on military aggression. The practical result of such a plebiscite would be satisfying to all except to the Czechs—Hitler will get all he wants; the British avoid a war which was likely to bring them on the side of France and Soviet Russia, against Hitler and Mussolini—and possibly Japan (her Chinese engagements would permit this only partially). Only the Czechs will be thrown to the wolf. The Czecho-Slovak spokesman had to admit, probably not referring merely to the activities in Germany, "The new proposals have only been made because of foreign pressure, urged to a degree that has surprised, and even pained us." The Runciman mission is apparently succeeding and *The Times* spoke not merely for itself. Much as the Britisher would see the Czecho-Slovak State to live—of course away from the Moscow contagion—as a bulwark against a German *Mittleuropa*, he is neither in a position to displease the Nazi warlord nor willing to question his ends and means. As a mediator Britain is to give Hitler what he wants and keep her friend France too away from a war against Germany that may involve Britain.

#### THE CZECH TEMPER

Nerves have been set at edge for too long a time for the Czechs to maintain quiet. The Sudeten and Nazi challenges are intended to provoke them to deeds of violence. The foreign pressure must have sent them to despair and desperation. Every day 'incidents'—a memorable word in the modern world since the Japanese meant it to signify their 'stabilization' efforts in China—incidents, however, 'occur in a bigger scale and ever widening field', as we are told. Following the Maehrish-chostrau incident (in which two Sudeten German deputies were alleged to have been shot by the Czech police) the Sudeten Deputies were about to break off the negotiations when the terms were being offered. The Czech Premier promised immediate inquiry. Quick

steps have been taken in anxiety to appease the Sudetens and to demonstrate that Prague can guarantee peace and order. For, the German press utilized the occasion, and every other imaginary and actual occurrence, to play the old card it showed on the eve of the Austrian *coup*—the state is too weak to cope with the trouble and to protect the German minorities. The Third Reich alone can guarantee that as the Third Reich is the natural destiny of the German people everywhere "Blood was stronger than enemy power and that which was German must belong to Germany," significantly declared Herr Hitler at the German youth parade at Nuremberg. And in the Sudeten areas the Germans similarly declared their will. While their leaders still openly professed themselves to be not separatists or Nazis, the people sang the forbidden Horst Wessel song, shouted 'We want our Fuehrer', and cried, as at the Nazi occupation of Austria, 'Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Fuehrer.' What is there in the whole Czecho-Slovak situation to help the long tried Czech temper not to rise into desperation and fury as their days of liberty appear to be numbered through a conspiracy of the mighty powers of Europe? Other minorities, they know, are only waiting—the Slovaks, the Magyars, the Poles, and even the Rumanians. The Czech, therefore, are in no peaceful mood. Yet this is not likely to save their State. It is feared that the concessions announced, if accepted by the Sudeten Germans, would bring a fall of the present Czech Government in their Parliament.

In the face of all this the broadcast of Dr. Benes has more than its moral value. A note of dignified calm worthy of a tragic character—worthy of the man and scholar, who helped to make twenty years ago the State out of the debris of the Hapsburg Empire—runs through the brief report that the News Service offers.

Dr. Benes broadcast an appeal for a calm and dispassionate judgment on the international crisis at Prague today.

He described the present international difficulties as "the most serious since the war," and added:

"For 20 years the Republic has developed quietly and progressively. Political democracy, freedom, economic prosperity, religious tolerance and social justice have been achieved without crises, upheavals or revolutions.

"What in other countries caused dangerous upheavals, was in our country reasonably, dispassionately and practically resolved.

"This is a sincere and fruitful effort on our part to achieve as great a degree of political justice as is politically and practically possible. This must be done in the spirit of true and sincere democracy.

"In this spirit we opened negotiations with different nationalities of our Republic. We have begun with the

Sudeten Germans as the most important group but the proposals apply to all citizens of the State."

The Czech President expressed the belief that the proposals would be beneficial to the State and its future and also by renewing co-operation between all nationalities. Even in the present period of difficulties nothing could threaten their unity and integrity.

"We want" he said, "to contribute to a settlement of the European problems generally and the establishment of good relations with all our neighbours, especially Greater Germany."

"We want to prove to Europe and America, and above all to England and France, that we understand the duties imposed upon us and we shall fulfil these as far as the needs of the State allow us."

As the President of the Republic Dr. Benes recommended the solution to the population, although, he said, it entailed heavy sacrifice.

Dr. Benes concluded: "We must re-establish full confidence and co-operation between the two great nationalities of the Republic, and thus ensure internal calm, peace and peaceful development."

Still unrest is abroad and incidents are daily occurrences. A serious incident may be feared in such circumstances.

The possibility of some serious incident between the Sudeten Germans and Czechs and the animosities fanned by the weeks and months of constant propaganda by the Reich newspapers and broadcasts cannot be overlooked.

Ever since the Sudeten leaders withdrew the orders to their followers not to offend or be provocative, says a Prague message, a complete change has come over the Sudetens who almost go out of their way to be offensive.

And an incident would serve to offer Hitler the occasion for "intervention" (Berlin distinguishes between 'intervention' and 'invasion'. The world has already known in the Spanish affairs that 'non-intervention' meant 'invasion,' in Czecho-Slovak affairs 'intervention' may come to mean, however, the same thing). He, it is thought, considers that to be the Nazi solution of the problem. Consequences are being carefully weighed no doubt. The manoeuvres have left in his hands the German army ready for action. The temper of the people is warlike. The press has whipped them into a frenzy. The last Austrian success has intoxicated the nation, and the little Prague 'pigmies' are considered too insignificant to raise any trouble to the Fuehrer's people. Have they not the best army, the biggest air fleet, the most disciplined people organised under a totalitarian State on basis of autarchy (though that may be no sure foundation as the Bourse proves, its very cracks require to be set off by a foreign adventure now. Trouble at home is best met by big adventures abroad)?

The rejection of the Czech plan is therefore most probable though the negotiations have been resumed.

## FRENCH AND BRITISH ATTITUDE

Three hundred thousand French troops moving to man the Frontier, hundreds of reservists arriving at Metz daily, thousands in the subterranean burrows of the Maginot line, in the rear, in the huts and camps of the forests nearby, the Atlantic fleet of more than 60 ships ready (Sept 9) to put to sea with munitions and supplies—behind the apparent calm of French life these movements leave no doubt that France would not allow Berlin to decide the fate of Prague and simply look on. It is apparent that, if necessity arises, she will act alone. This strong stand on the part of France will go a long way to determine the British attitude too. There has been a lack of determination in that quarters in this respect with a desire to see the Czechs peacefully yield to the Fuehrer what would satisfy him. Peacefully—for war would mean the French intervention on behalf of the Czechs and an obligation as we said, on the part of Britain to follow France. For, the British frontier is on the Rhine now. In the present state of warfare and defence France forms practically the first line of strategic stand for Britain. So, the pro-German and pro-Fascist British foreign policy is on its trial. It is going to be unmasked, or, fall in a line with France after exhausting all efforts at persuasion in Prague for peaceful submission and appeal in Berlin against the aggressive line of solution. Downing Street is busy and the diplomatic correspondents speak of the decision of Britain not to stand away from Czecho-Slovakia if Hitler disregards the warning. But to think of Britain throwing herself in a fight against the Fascists and that on the side of Soviet Russia! Can the British Cabinet do it?

The situation is recognized as serious, and, naturally, anxiety is evident, pending Herr Hitler's declaration tomorrow (Sept. 13).

It is felt that it is of first importance that the Reich Government should not assume that a brief, successful campaign against Czechoslovakia could safely be embarked on without danger of the intervention, first of France, and, later, of Britain.

The Government have taken special pains to keep in the closest touch with the Dominions.

The gap between the Sudeten and Czech Government is considered to have been appreciably narrowed by the latest Czech proposals. It is considered that, although it may be necessary for a good many more negotiations to take place for the elucidation and modification of the proposals, there could be no justification now for the abandonment of the negotiations in favour of a more violent solution.

It is realized that there may be further setbacks

to the negotiations, though the British view is that there is no reason why efforts by mediation, or, otherwise, to find a peaceful solution should be abandoned.

Any great European conflict is regarded as a tragic disaster, which is avoidable, and British Ministers will spare no effort to avert it.

## ON THE WAR-PATH ?

So the question of opening the Pyrenees is put aside by France to the disadvantage of the Spanish republicans. In the Ebro sector they are being forced to abandon the territories they won. Silently therefore Mussolini's plans are succeeding. In the present crisis the Italian voice was heard only once—Signor Gayda advising the Germans to accept the fourth offer of the Czechs. Naturally. For, 'Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Fuehrer' is not a delightful music to the ear of the Fascist dictator, all whose efforts at Italianization of the 2,30,000 Germans in Tyrol have not succeeded and must one day be accounted for when the Fuehrer is freed from the Sudeten and other eastern complications. As yet Mussolini is silent and secure, his ambitions in Spain promise to mature without French murmurs. Similarly, the Palestine situation, which is nothing short of an open revolt now, is passed by and the fierce fight around Hankow in which the toll of war on both sides was heavy, can not be adequately appraised to see the full significance of these. A more dreadful chapter is about to open in Europe. The Continent is being pushed to the edge of a precipice. A man like Lord Grey might say again, "The lamps are going out all over Europe; they will not be lit again in our time." Mankind is about to plunge again in the maelstrom of death and destruction, but it could still be saved from the calamity. As the gathering darkness is shot by sinister flashes of lightnings, man feels more and more a victim to forces before which he is helpless. Yet this catastrophe is by no means unavoidable or inevitable. Could not the situation be straightened? If not, is it but a proof that in the texture of the life of humanity passions and interests have been so blindly woven into wild and planless patches that our reason and intelligence are left helpless to bring design of pattern into it. We are blind enough to be victims of the blind destiny—victims to our racial pride and prejudice, our garbled self-interests and group-interests, and to the fever of our hate and the hunger of gold and power.

G H.

September 12, 1938





# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## The Mahatma's Creed and "Hind Swaraj"

In making an estimate of Gandhiji's creed and of his book *Hind Swaraj*, the English edition of which is a translation of the original in Gujarati, Hugh I.A. Fausset observes in *The Aryan Path*:

*Hind Swaraj* was written in 1908 in answer to those Indians who preached violence as a remedy for their country's ills. It was published serially in *Indian Opinion* and later in book form. But for some years it has been out of print. It is now issued in Mr. Gandhi's own English translation at a price within the reach of everyone and at a time when we in the West are more ready to listen to its revolutionary message than we were when it originally appeared. Our self-complacency has received some rude shocks since then and we are being compelled by events to recognize the truth of Mr. Gandhi's claim that civilization requires the use of a different and higher weapon for self-protection than that of brute-force. This in fact is a profoundly revolutionary little book and the fact that it is addressed to Indians and concerned with their specific problems does not make it less relevant to Englishmen, though it may be harder for them to accept it. *For the whole purpose of the book is to save India, not from Englishmen, but from the modern civilization which is eating into the vitals of the West.* Today Mr. Gandhi's conviction of the disease of modern civilization is deeper than ever. But while continuing to work individually for the ideal self-rule pictured in these articles, he admits that it requires a higher simplicity and renunciation than the people are today prepared for. And so he is ready to tolerate Parliamentary Home Rule, railways, hospitals, law courts, machinery and mills as at best necessary evils which will die a natural death when enough people come into possession of their true selves. It is likely, even in India, to be a long and painful process and for the Westerner in particular the problem, though fundamentally a spiritual and moral one, is perplexingly involved in the question whether we can use or must abandon the machine.

For Mr. Gandhi no compromise is ultimately possible with that Frankenstein's Monster. He applauds the wisdom of his ancestors who saw that our real happiness and health consisted in a proper use of our hands and feet and so rejected anything which would curtail that use. "Machinery," he wrote, "has begun to desolate Europe. Ruination is now knocking at the English gates. Machinery is the chief symbol of modern civilization, it represents a great sin." And he would reject outright the suggestion that it may be used eventually for the spiritual and material benefit of all.

In surveying the contents of the same book in the same magazine Professor Frederick Soddy expresses the following views:

How far it is to be regarded as a complete or abiding philosophy and how far a temporary political weapon of

expedience, the reader must decide for himself. The author evidently believes in it in the first sense more than ever and says, in a preface, that India has nothing to fear or lose and all to gain by discarding "modern civilization," whilst admitting that the time is not yet ripe for it. But one would have thought it was even less ripe in 1938 than in 1908, and, short of time going backward or a similar miracle, the likelihood of India ultimately doing so seems remote. Certain features, even the whole of the philosophy may survive, as founded on one of the eternal verities, incorporated with the positive achievements of modern civilization which, just as much as they, are also founded on the eternal verities. The days when this self-satisfied assumption of the superiority of one sort of truth over another was considered the highest form of it seem to have passed away.

## The Social Implications of Science

The present dislocation in the entire world is the result of maladjustment between scientific development on the one hand and social and international relationships on the other. Efforts are now being made to make scientists, who as a class have not tried to inform and train the public mind, conscious of the duty they owe to society in this regard. *Science and Culture* writes editorially:

The International Council of Scientific Unions set up last year a Committee on Science and its Social Relations, which was instructed to prepare a report on the effects of science on human life and social relationships and present its report in 1940. For this work the Committee is expected to receive collaboration from national correspondents and scientific societies in various countries. The Council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science has also formally pointed out in a resolution the changes in the physical and mental environment of man and the complexities of social, economic and political relations that are being brought about by science and technology. Both the British Association for the Advancement of Science and the American Association are seriously considering these social problems created by science. Views of representative scientific men in Great Britain on this question were sought recently by *Nature* and there seems to be a general consensus of opinion that a society for the study of the social relations of science is needed. A concrete scheme for the organization of such a society and for its lines of work is naturally more difficult of formulation, but it constitutes at least a re-asserting symptom of the growing awareness of scientific minds to the urgency of the question.

We consider it desirable that the Indian Science Congress Association should discuss this question in a plenary session in the forthcoming Lahore Congress,

and, if necessary, organize a Committee for the study of this question. The social implications of science are even more ignored in this country than elsewhere, as the mass of the people is ignorant and illiterate. But India is as much within the orbit of the action of deadly scientific weapons as any other country. India, as a nation, is really at the threshold of her scientific career, and if her scientific men organize their thoughts betimes with regard to social, economic and political questions, it may be possible to arrest drift and guide her destinies in the direction of social progress and peace. India, like many other countries, abounds in quacks—medical, political and spiritual and the help of sincere scientists trained to study problem with objectivity and without prejudice may help to steer her course evenly in a sea of passion and unscientific thought.

### Idealism and Realism

In the course of his article in *Prabuddha Bharata* on the fulfilment of Beauty, Dr. Cousins makes the following observations on idealism and realism, two forms that have mixed and erroneous connotations in their general use :

Both idealism and realism, as generally thought of, involve a mutual deficiency, in the exclusiveness of the one towards the other. To the extent that idealism concerns itself with the relatively permanent things of life—with aspiration, intuition, imagination, and the higher mind—those things that liberate the consciousness from the dictatorship of its physical agents, into the aristocracy of the spirit, it may be regarded as of greater importance than realism. Realism concerns itself with the objective things in life, which, by their intimacy with time and space, partake of the transiency of the latter, and by their pre-occupation with the modes and implements of expression, and the relatively lower things of life, tend to reduce the consciousness to servitude under its own agents.

But when idealism turns itself outwards towards expression, when it immerses itself in the successively denser strata of feeling, thought, succession, design, language, verbal or artistic, and instrumentality, it cannot retain its idealistic purity, for its expression must take on the inevitable limitations of its media. It is in order that the limitations of expression—limitations of definiteness as well as of indefiniteness—may be surmounted, that the utterances of vision and intuition have to be interpreted and reinterpreted; that the Sermon on the Mount has to be followed by the Epistles and Commentaries, and the Vedas by the Upanishads and Puranas. Neither can expressive idealism ignore the available media of expression and their natural limitations, otherwise it would not find expression. Idealism cannot exist without realism.

On the other hand, realism can have no relationship to reality while it seeks to live without the imagination and the higher experiences of consciousness. The attempt to eliminate everything but direct perception of objects cannot make even a beginning in the visual arts, sculpture and painting, since we literally "walk by faith," faith in experience that enables us to correct the upside-down and inside-out retinal pictures, and through an incalculable number of inferences put the world in its proper position. This is a subjective experience. A purely objective thing is an impossibility : realism cannot exist without idealism.

### Congress Ministry

In comparing the case of the Punjab with that of Bengal in *The Hindustan Review*, Nagendra Nath Gupta incidentally makes the following remarks on the communal decision:

Of the four provinces which do not possess a Congress Ministry, the Punjab is one. This fact by itself is no reproach, for Bengal, which claims a lead in all national movements, has no Congress Ministry. This is due to the majority of the electors being Mussalmans in Bengal just as they are in a majority in the Punjab. The communal problem owes its acuteness mainly to the formation of communal electorates in India. It has been accentuated by the communal award made by the late Mr. MacDonald. To hedge in the right of vote by religion is really a denial of that right. Why must a Mussalman voter vote for a Mussalman, or a Hindu for a Hindu? Has any one ever thought for a moment that if there had been such a distinction in England, Dadabhai Naoroji or Bhowanagree could never have been elected to the House of Commons? There can be no doubt that the government which introduced the communal electorates in India intended to keep the Hindus and Mussalmans apart and prevent a national political fusion among them and in this they have succeeded.

### Congress High-Commands and the Question of Cow-slaughter

According to the editor of the *National Wealth*, the statutory prohibition of cow-slaughter is an imperious necessity from the standpoint of national wealth and health of teeming millions of India irrespective of any religious differences and interests. He observes:

The famous fourteen points of Mr. Jinnah which have practically become the Scriptures of the communal problem had been the subject of an unusually elaborate correspondence between their tenacious author and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the ex-President of the Congress. The way of approach of the Congress veteran was undoubtedly a conciliatory one, that of granting concessions to Muslims—as far as possible or even beyond, with a view to bring them over or anyhow appease them. But the Muslims remained obdurate and implacable, their points increased in quantity and intensity until at last they gnawed at the very soul and self-respect of the Congress. All these events have led to the present impasse.

In order to avoid this undesirable contingency the Congress high-command with the necessary approval of the Wardha Whitehall proffered many concessions which the Congress as representing the Hindus was not strictly entitled to concede. One such horrible concession is the "right to cow-slaughter" granted or allowed to continue in its enjoyment, to the Muslims. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his letter of the 6th of April, 1938, to Mr. Jinnah says:

"As regards cow-slaughter there has been a great deal of entirely false and unfounded propaganda against the Congress suggesting that the Congress was going to stop it forcibly by legislation. The Congress does not wish to undertake any legislative action in this matter to restrict the established rights of the Muslims."

We are simply at our wit's end to know that cow-slaughter is being turned into a right and that of an established character as if the right to kill a cow is an

fundamental right under the constitution. Does it not mark the height of presumption and the implacability of the Muslim League leaders which demands a right, which goes against public policy and national welfare? Are the Muslims demanding a right to slaughter the best cattle-wealth of the country, to annihilate national wealth and national prosperity, to set fire to happy homes and peasants' huts, to impoverish agriculture and create a scarcity of food-stuffs and to starve their own dear little children by refusing them the milk of the mother cow, telling their innocent little angels that cow-milk can no longer be had because they kill cows? Apart from the higher national ideal which every community worth the name should put before it, is this not a perfectly self-destructive policy?

But unfortunately, it is one of the tragic ironies of time that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had to confess that the Congress does not wish to undertake any measure to stop cow-slaughter.

It is a matter of the greatest regret that the present president of the Congress Mr Subhas Chandra Bose should also follow in the same trail as Jawaharlalji, thus shaking rudely the foundations of liberty of thought.

If the Congress does not intend to undertake any measure to enact the statutory prohibition of cow-slaughter, let it at least support a private measure to that effect. Then alone the Congress would have acted rightly and in the best interests of the nation.

### My Experiences in the Welfare Works for the Blind abroad

Subodh Chandra Roy who has distinguished himself as a scholar inspite of his visual handicap, writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

During my study trips to Europe, America, Canada and Japan, I was pleased to note that the stamp of each country's peculiar genius was definitely recognisable in its welfare works for the blind. It may be said, as a rather broad statement, that Great Britain and the United States of America have influenced directly or indirectly the works for the blind throughout the world; but the evidences of adaptations by each country to its peculiar needs and environmental demands are unmistakably noticeable.

After recounting his experiences regarding what other countries are doing in order to ameliorate the lot of the sightless community, he goes on to remark:

It will be seen from the above dissertation that the visually handicapped persons are taken care of by those societies from the time they are born until they die. As a matter of fact, the societies in the West have become definitely conscious of the sacred responsibility towards their handicapped members. The doctrine of *laissez-faire* in this matter is considered to be very dangerous and has been abandoned by all civilized countries. It has been realised that society cannot progress very well if the handicapped persons belonging to different groups are allowed to remain as permanent drags on it.

I am positive that our society in India is making a great economic waste by not educating and not employing its blind individuals. Our society has to bear the burden for these people anyhow; then why should it not take something out of them? Besides, in certain spheres of activity, the blind individuals can render

better and more efficient service than even the seeing. The Western societies have realised this truth and have been prompt to take advantage of it.

There is another way of looking at the same thing. Real sympathy is shown to the blind persons not by feeding them at public expense and keeping them idle at home, but by giving them education and burdening them with work and responsibility. This truth has not been realized in India and all efforts in helping the blind have thus been misguided and abortive. Dr. Childs, Professor of Psychology at Teachers' College, Columbia University, has rightly said: "For an individual to be a member of a society and yet have no responsible part in its activities is a form of social ostracism that breeds disastrous spiritual consequences." In my opinion, the blind people have a more urgent need for education than even the seeing.

### Francisco Franco

There are some who consider General Franco as the saviour of Spain. There are others who consider him merely a rebel pushed on by Mussolini and Hitler. Prof. P. L. Stephen gives a short sketch of his life in *The Indian Review*:

Born forty-five years ago in a family of adventurous mariners at El Ferrol, Francisco Franco chose to serve his country through the army. After his early studies he joined the Military Academy at Toledo, and graduated from there in 1910 with the rank of second lieutenant.

The young lieutenant was eager for service and glory; and he naturally turned to Morocco where Spanish arms were then faring none too well. The native tribes were carrying on a vigorous uprising.

It was then that Damaso Berenguer conceived the idea of forming the Native Regulars of Melilla—a body of men consisting of Moors commanded by Spanish officers. Franco was one of the first who volunteered to serve under Berenguer.

At the battles of Yadumen and Izarduy, his feats of courage and skill astonished the officers. He seemed to have a charmed life. Men and officers standing by his side fell shot dead.

Franco's great triumphs were obtained as a Commander of the famous Foreign Legion. This Legion consisted of adventurers who refused to recognize fear, and who asked for the most dangerous posts. They were the shock troops in every engagement, always in the vanguard and at the most dangerous places. When this Legion was formed by Lt.-Colonel Astray in 1920, Franco was the first Commander chosen by Astray. The Legion was responsible for the success of many engagements, as the battles of Beni Aros and of Sebt, and the re-conquest of Melilla and Segangan.

He was unanimously chosen Commander-in-Chief of the Legion when he was only thirty years of age. Soon after this appointment, he left for the Peninsula to celebrate his marriage. This was the fulfilment of a long deferred desire, often postponed on account of the exigencies of military service. He had met Carmen Polo when she was only fifteen, and he twenty.

By 1925, Franco effected a few operations that brought the rebellion to an end. With the breaking up of the rebellion in Africa, Franco was free to go back to Spain. Primo de Rivera, the Dictator, appreciated Franco's character and ability, and so

appointed him Director of the General Military Academy of Spain.

But after the death of Riveia, Governments changed and the fortunes of Franco also underwent constant changes. The Socialist Ministry had no trust in him, and he was sent away as Commander of the Balearic Islands. The next Ministry, however, had him back at Madrid as Division General of the army, and it was then he helped to scotch the Communist revolution of October 1934. Again in 1936 February the elections brought the Communists to power, and this time Franco was got away to the Canaries as Military Commander there. But his active mind was vigorously at work.

A vigorous propaganda was carried on, and all those who opposed Communism joined up. The result was the uprising which began on the 18th of July 1936, and still continues without any sign of abating until one side or the other wins outright.

### Features of Orissa's Temples

Nirmal Kumar Bose introduces his article on "Features of Orissa's Temple" in the *Current Affairs* with the following paragraph:

In different parts of Orissa, there are living even now some of the descendants of the artists who built the great temples of Puri, Konarak and Bhuvaneswar. These *silpins* have preserved in palm-leaf manuscripts fragments of the science of architecture; and when we study them with the help of the craftsmen, they almost open up a new world of science to us. One particular manuscript seems to have been very popular throughout Orissa, and that was named the *Bhubanapradipa*. But we also hear of others named the *Rajaballava* and *Ratnakara*, which yet remain to be properly edited and translated. These canonical books give us a description of different kinds of temples, their specifications, the relation of their different parts and so on. The *Bhubanapradipa* tells us of four orders of temples named the Rekha, Bhadra, Khakhara and Gaudiya. Of these the Gaudiya occurs as an exotic type in some limited portions of northern Orissa and Puri. The Bhadra and Khakhara are more numerous; but the Rekha alone seems to have been the most important architectural order in ancient Kalinga.

The form of the Rekha is familiar to all, for the main temples of Bhuvaneswar and Puri belong to this order.

In conclusion he says:

It is necessary that we should measure the temples of Orissa very carefully and see how far they actually conform to the canonical rules. This will help us in two ways. The fragmentary books of architecture do not record all the phases of the evolution of temples; they merely record one phase of it. A field-study of proportions would firstly help us in fixing the approximate date of the *silpa sastras*, while it will also help us in tracing

with some degree of confidence the actual course of evolution followed by Orissan temples through several centuries.

### Fruit or Pan?

*The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* makes an extract from a book entitled *The Rural Uplift Education* by Dr. S. S. Nehru, of Manipuri. Regarding the relative value of fruit and *pan* Dr. Nehru observes:

The Western fancy may boggle at this quaint choice between fruit or *pan*, but here is a conflict of tastes if not a clash of culture. In the West a true complement to a good meal is the apple; the finish to the feast is the fruit; so much so that while Nordic countries have their puddings, the Latin lands have their fruit baskets as the last taste of sweet. Here in India, especially rural India which carries an extra hard crust of conservatism, the grand finale of the feast is the ubiquitous *pan*—a betel leaf rolled into a lozenge and filled with a mass of lime-wash, *catechu*, and betel-nut. The finer specimens have also wet tobacco rolled with molasses. The finest specimens carry cocaine—this is a costly speciality for the townsman. The rolling of the betel leaf into a diamond nugget—in shape not colour—is an art comparable with flower arrangement in Japan. The rolling of a cigarette is mere child's play. The *pan* cone is prized for properties which are precious at first glimpse but poisonous at the last. For, patently, the *pan* provides something astringent to chew; it promotes salivation and the digestion, and lends the mouth, tongue, and lips a lustre which puts in the shade the finest vermeil tint of the lipstick which only dyes the outer fringe of the lips and causes the victim to keep the mouth prized apart and the lips needlessly turned up and down. The victim of the *pan* suffers very much, if less obviously. The teeth are eaten and eroded to stumps. Further they are blackened. Finally they are rotted, and then the poison is spread to the bowels through pyorrhoea.

Distinctly, the *pan* is a menace. Dwell a little longer on the slippery weed and the unsavoury mess it prepares, causing dry-rot in the teeth, red-rot in the throat, brown-rot in the bowels. It recalls tea, but goes beyond it in the uses, and indeed misuse, not to say abuse. If tea is a slow poison, *pan* is a sure one. Tea is partaken three or four times a day, if the quantity at a time is apt to double or treble itself, but *pan* is partaken at all times, before meals, after meals, at visits, at partings, on rising, sleeping,—every time.

True, the afternoon garden party and at-home ceremonial functions have caught on; but the *pan-supari* persists.

How can fruit displace such a hoary sinner as the *pan* in the rural area? By producing more fruit, better fruit, richer fruit, newer fruit, and seeing that it is consumed in the village. In one word, with the fruit-eating habit.



# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## The Cattle Drain in India

According to a recent estimate India maintains 215,000,000 cattle out of the world's total cattle population of 690,000,000. In spite of certain valuable qualities, the cattle of India, judged by economic returns, are poorest in the world. Dr. Sam Higginbottom, president of Allahabad Christian College and principal of its Agricultural Institute, writes in the *Asia* :

The Indian cow usually matures slowly, and may not give her first calf till between four and five years of age, as compared with maturity at two or three years for the breeds of temperate climes. This late maturity almost doubles the cost of raising a cow to the income-producing stage. Fortunately, the milk of Indian cows is fairly high in butter-fat content, but the average yearly yield is estimated at no more than from 600 to 750 pounds. It is difficult to see how such an amount of milk, only about a quart a day for the three hundred days of the lactation period, will pay for the cow's food and care.

India today is estimated to produce annually approximately 29,000,000 long tons (a long ton is 2,240 pounds) of milk from her 80,000,000 odd cows in milk, or about 750 pounds of milk per cow per year. Another estimate arrived at in a different way gives the average yield per cow in India as 600 pounds of milk per lactation. Both these figures reveal the poor average milk-giving capacity of the Indian cow. Both estimates bear out the results of my own inquiries and observations over the past thirty-five years, that is, that over 90 per cent of the cows of India do not pay for their keep. They are an economic drain on the country.

It is axiomatic that low-yielding, small-value cows produce expensive milk, whereas high milk-capacity, high-value cows produce cheap milk. Milk in most parts of India at wholesale is much more expensive than in the United States, Canada or the dairy countries of Europe, or in Australia or New Zealand. And it is almost impossible to buy sanitary milk in any one place in India in amounts sufficiently large to allow a butter, cheese or condensed-milk factory to run at a profit. Yet, with better quality cows and scientific feeding, India could produce milk as cheaply as any country in the world. India can graze her cattle for twelve months in the year, if the grazing area is properly rotated and managed, and she has some of the best grasses in the world if properly treated.

Recent estimates give the average per capita consumption of milk and its products in India at 7 ounces per day. India is very largely a vegetarian country: for most of the people, milk is the only source of animal protein. In seventeen countries for which records are available, the per capita consumption of milk and its products varies from 63 ounces in Finland, 61 in Sweden and 56 in New Zealand to 39 in Great Britain, 35 in the United States, 30 in France and 10 in Italy. But all these countries are, generally speaking, non-vegetarian; hence milk does not have the same relative importance

in their diet as it does in vegetarian India. For India's needs to be met in any reasonable manner, her daily consumption of milk should be raised anywhere from five- to seven-fold, the higher the better. May there not be some relationship between expectancy of life and average milk consumption? The three nations that consume the most milk have the greatest expectancy of life of any people in the world, all of them over sixty years, whereas the countries with the lowest expectancy of life (India, twenty-six years) have the lowest average consumption of milk.

Difference of opinion exists in India as to what the next step should be in cattle improvement. Some breeders think that no more foreign cattle should be imported but instead all efforts should be concentrated on improving the Indian breeds of cattle, which have already adapted themselves to the environment and can live and thrive under conditions where imported cattle suffer and deteriorate. There is much to be said for this viewpoint; for it is true that imported cattle and cross-bred cattle have so far not accomplished as much of permanent value as was expected. It is risky and expensive to import cattle. Many of the imported animals have died before they have had any opportunity to leave any progeny. Many of the half-breeds of the first generation have been good cows but could not transmit the improvement to their descendants. Succeeding generations have grown progressively worse. Another objection is that the cross-bred bullock is alleged not to be so good as the purely Indian. Some matings of certain breeds of foreign with indigenous cattle result in bullocks which cannot stand the climate as well as the local ox, and rapidly lose constitution, although other combinations seem almost or entirely equal to full-blooded Indian cattle.

It is now seen that what is needed to establish a new breed having the immunity to disease, ability to stand the climate and high digestive capacity of the Indian cattle, plus the milk inheritance and early maturity of the West, is to import not only foreign bulls but also a few foreign cows, which could be mated to the best bulls of Indian breeds. The half-bred bull of a mating of Indian sire and imported high milk-yielding dam would carry his mother's high milk-giving capacity. If he were mated to a half-bred daughter of an imported bull and an Indian cow, both of these half-breeds, having in their inheritance the characters for milk capacity and early maturity, on both sides, would pass it on to their progeny.

The writer suggests that two policies might well be carried out simultaneously with regard to further improvement of Indian cattle:

The improvement of the existing Indian breeds through proper selection and care and proper feeding on a much larger scale than at present, and the adoption of a cross-breeding program of mating both foreign bulls and a limited number of foreign cows with Indian cattle. If the latter experiment were kept in the hands of skillful breeders, a few years would show whether a new breed made up of the imported and the Indian



breed could be established in India, which would have practically all the advantages of the Indian animal, plus the great advantage of early maturity in the cow and enough milk to make a profit under Indian conditions. The resulting gain for India, in physical health and economic well-being, would indeed be great.

### China's Staying Power

C. Kuangson Young, until recently Managing Director and Editor of *The China Press*, Shanghai, analyzes, in a paper contributed to *The Asiatic Review*, China's staying power—human, territorial and financial.

China's human power is almost inexhaustible, says the writer :

Four months after the fall of Nanking in December, China was able to inflict the first serious defeat known in the modern military annals of Japan. Forty-two thousand of a Japanese army of 65,000 perished in the debacle of Taierchwang at the beginning of April.

Since then, with considerable reinforcements, the Japanese armies from North China and the Yangtse Delta have been advancing. At their disposal is the most modern equipment for destruction and death, but the Chinese defenders have held on. When forced to retreat, they retreated only to resist another day. Their morale has remained excellent, their determination unchanged. For the first time in China's history one sees unmistakable evidence that her teeming millions have found a director and organizer.

China's human power has found direction and organization at this crucial moment in the soldier-statesman Chiang Kai-shek.

China's new army is growing daily. It is replenished with recruits from the interior provinces of Kwangsi, Yunnan, Hunan, Szechwan, and elsewhere. Several millions are undergoing the various stages of training, and in another year 10,000,000 men, trained and adequately armed, will have found their way to the fronts. If the struggle continues, another 10,000,000 men will be going forward to fill the gaps left by the fallen.

A million Japanese soldiers are now on Chinese soil. Four hundred thousand are being kept in Manchuria. Japanese casualties are estimated to be already over 100,000. How long can Japan stand the drain on her human power?

### China's space is a favourable factor :

Japan's hold on the so-called occupied areas is precarious. True it is that many large cities are within their military control. The Shanghai-Nanking railway, the Tientsin-Pukow railway, the Peiping-Mukden railway have passed into their hands. But these are only dots and lines in an ocean of a hostile population and of untractable mobile units.

China's financial and economic staying power depends on the factors noted below :

First and foremost, China is an agricultural country. Economic interdependence of the various regions exists in a rather negligible degree. There is individual, district, and sectional self-sufficiency. The stress of war has not affected to any appreciable extent the economic life of territories outside the actual theatre of hostilities.

The nationalization of silver has enabled the Chinese Government to have within its control, both abroad and at home, huge stocks of silver which have kept China's financial Maginot Line intact. It is quite well realized that a breach in the financial front will result in the collapse of the military.

It is a remarkable fact that the Chinese Government has not imposed new taxation to finance the war.

### Islam and Bolshevism

What Bolshevism has done to the Christian Church in the Russian Empire finds frequent reference even in the daily press, but we seldom hear what Bolshevism has done to the millions of Muslims who formerly dwelt within that empire. Arthur Jeffery reviews in *The International Review of Missions* a book on the subject by Von Gottfried Simon :

It comes somewhat as a surprise to many people to realize how great a Muslim power Russia has been. Turkestan was one of the early centres of Islamic power and in the period of Russian expansion great areas of Turkestan came under the dominion of the Czar, and from Turkestan there was considerable penetration into European Russia. It was natural that when Bolshevism came to power these Muslim communities of the empire should be sovietized.

Islam presented a peculiar problem to the Bolshevik leaders and they have dealt with it with great skill. The first card they played was self-determination. Muslims in Russian Turkestan were at one with Muslims living under English, French, Dutch or other Christian domination, in their resentment at being subject to a non-Muslim power. Soviet leaders played on this and made a bid for enthusiastic support from the Muslim communities by announcing that each community was given the right of self-determination, and no community need any longer feel under the domination of any other. Added to this was their interest in the vernaculars and the local culture. Further, they quickly made capital out of the Qur'anic teaching where the Prophet tirades against the rich of his day, condemning their injustice, their oppression of the poor, their pride and arrogance in their riches. Thus, they said, proved that Islam and Bolshevism were fundamentally the same. The terrible disaster which overtook the Orthodox Church at the hands of the Soviet Commissars was also a thing pleasing to the Muslim communities.

Thus in the early years of Bolshevik power there were many pious Muslim leaders who hailed the new regime as that of a power wholly favourable to Muslim objectives, and thus to be wholeheartedly supported by the Muslim peoples. It was not long, however, before the anti-religious bias of the movement became evident, but by that time the Soviet power was too firmly established among the Muslim communities for any revolt to be successful. They have had to watch their mosques and schools go the way of the Christian churches and schools, and see their faith just as harshly outlawed as the Orthodox faith. Great masses of them seem to have accepted secularization, but there is still an element, particularly in Turkestan, which is maintaining the fight for the maintenance of the Muslim religion.



### Food Planning For 400,000,000

The following extracts are made from a review, appearing in the *Journal of The Royal Society of Arts*, of Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee's book with the above title:

Agriculture in India must be approached from a new angle in the future so as to ensure the most economical use of the land; it must attract the most gifted brains, British and Indian; it must include a new population policy and systematic food and crop and labour planning.

Even if India can bring her yields up to the best standards of other heavily-populated eastern countries, certain problems will remain—one being the attitude of the peasants towards the maintenance of uneconomical and useless cattle which amount to 125,000,000, and another that, assuming the present rate of increase of population which may well be realized under the improving conditions, India's population by the middle of the century will in all probability overstep 447,000,000, which is said to be her ultimate population capacity.

The average Englishman, even though he grows today less than half the food he eats, is largely unaware that the problems of population pressure exists in the East. There is no hope of India being able to import food from foreign countries in exchange for her manufactures; Japan and, to some extent, China are already ahead of her in this respect, and their population pressure is likely to become even heavier than that of India. Even in these countries the food production, though high per acre, is low per human hour of production. Hence wages are small in industry and manufacturing costs low in comparison with Europe.

What is the solution? We give it in the words of the author: "The future population adjustment thus seems to lie more in the directions of of judicious combination of food and industrial cropping than in subsistence farming, more in agricultural than in general industrialization, and above all more in the restriction of numbers than in the diversification of employment."

Professor Mukerjee reminds us that Malthus first enunciated the law of diminishing returns, so important for India, and that in Asia 1,000,000,000 people live in an area which is one-sixth of that occupied by 600,000,000 people in Europe and America. In the Ganges plain over 80 per cent of the total cultivable area is cultivated, and in some districts 96 per cent is cultivated; here the density of population exceeds 1,000 per square mile! Under such conditions there is necessarily no fallowing, the soil becomes depleted, and the general costs of cultivation is increased.

### The Negro in America

Writing in the *World Order*, James A. Scott presents an over-view of social practices which block the American Negro's exertions in almost every worthwhile direction.

In the fourteen states where they live in largest numbers an elaborate though somewhat flexible etiquette deeply entrenched in law and custom governs every detail of inter-racial association. Under no conditions, it prescribes, is a Negro to be addressed as "Mr." or "Mrs." Never is he to sit on a bench in a public park or read as a patron in a public library. He must enter and leave a street car by a designated door—in some localities the front, in others the rear—and sit in a

designated section. Unless a servant of some white passenger, he must travel in a jim-crow compartment, frequently a division of the baggage car—and at all railroad stations he must use separate waiting rooms. When he has business at a hotel, he is generally required to use the freight elevator. In the matter of residence he is relegated *en masse* to undesirable quarters on the "other side of the tracks" where insanitation prevails and such services as garbage collections are woefully inadequate because he cannot vote. Above all, he must not commit the offense of dining with a white man.

Nowhere is the Negro more fundamentally handicapped, the writer points out, than in the lack of educational opportunities:

According to statistics issued by the Department of the Interior, the *per capita* expenditure for public school education for each child in the nation in 1930 was \$99.00; for each white child in the South, \$44.31; for each Negro child in the South, \$12.57. In one state the expenditure per white child was \$45.34; per Negro child \$5.45; in another the expenditure per white child \$35.42; per Negro child \$6.38. The salaries of Negro teachers averaged 47 per cent those of the white. The value of school plant and equipment per white pupil in the South was \$157.00; per Negro pupil \$37.00.

When suspected of crime, he is more than occasionally tortured, murdered, and dismembered by maniacal mobs which undergo no observable remorse of conscience if they subsequently learn that the offense with which the victim of their orgiastic holiday was charged was the crime of a white man who had charcoaled his face. More generally than that, where he is granted trial it is in many instances in an atmosphere so electric with mob spirit and before a tribunal so biased by pre-convictions that the whole procedure is lynching legalized.

### War and Youth

Robert James, Freshman at the University of California, Los Angeles, observes in *The Atlantic Monthly*:

Today war is coming. The same selfish forces that asked the young of another generation to lie beneath white crosses in Flanders fields are talking again of saving democracy and of preserving international morality. Our elders are listening to glib tongues and are becoming bitter little by little, day by day, against the poor of the earth under immoral dictators. Is it moral to subjugate half of the peoples of the world to the extent that they turn to half-mad leaders for succor? Is it democratic to use force to maintain an unjust peace? Can't you solve the world's difficulties through understanding and good will? Can't you prevent war by giving a little of life to the oppressed peoples of the world? . . . If there is no other way we must give up our dream of life and breathe the stench of gas-filled trenches before falling, a half-destroyed, shapeless thing, education gone through the power of a hand grenade, dreams drowned in the clatter of a machine gun. Amid our studies we wonder at the things happening around us. War is coming and we are twenty. Will you as well, too, to die?

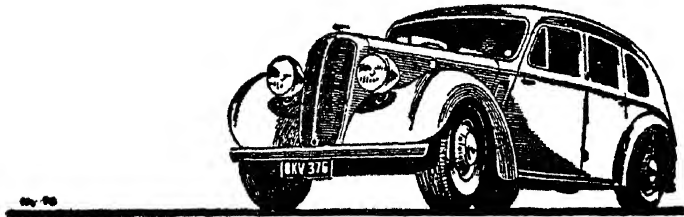
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### Dictators and Mass Psychology

*The New York Times* has the following note on the dictators of to-day:

The new totalitarian masters in Europe have established a grasp on the minds and feelings of their subjects which the old despots of history might well envy. Louis XIV said, "I am the State." Mussolini goes much farther and says to his people, "I am your state of mind." Thus it will happen that on Monday afternoon the Italian people hate England and love Hitler. By 10 a.m. Tuesday they are decidedly cool to Hitler and recall the old ties of friendship between Italy and Great Britain. In between somebody has issued orders.

### The Republic of Cuba

Juan-Manuel Planas writes in *La Nature*, Paris :

The Republic of Cuba includes not only the Island of Cuba, but also the Pine Island and several other large and small islands lying around it which altogether make up an area of 114,524, sq. kilom. for the whole Republic. When Columbus discovered the Island of Cuba on 27th Oct. 1492, he found there Red Indians of a kind and mild temperament, standing on a low cultural level. To-day, in contrast with the Middle and South America and Mexico, there are no Indians left in Cuba. After its discovery, this land was conquered and colonised by Spain. As the natives perished, the colonists imported Negro slaves from Africa and also allowed the Chinese to immigrate. When the Edict of Nantes was cancelled, and again when France gave over Louisiana to the United States in 1803, French colonists came over to Cuba and settled there as planters.

It was a French general in the Spanish army, Louis de Clouet, who was responsible for founding the city of Cienfuegos and settling many French families there. Thus the majority of the population of Cuba is today made up of Spaniards, black slaves, French, and Chinese people. The number of the Chinese and Spaniards, who are attracted by the fertile soil, is still on the increase. Since the war, a large number of Poles, Czechs, Lithuanians and Russians, most of whom were Jews, have immigrated. About 600 out of 4,000 students of the University of Havana are Jews born in Cuba. The Chinese own two big daily newspapers, whereas there are nine Spanish periodicals in Havana . . . The population of the Republic is over four millions, of which the white population (including foreigners) is estimated to be 72 p.c. The density of population is 35 inhabitants per sq. kilometer.

It is not known well enough that the Wars of Independence fought by Cuba against the mother country, Spain, were not fought by Red Indians against their conquerors, because the native element had already become extinct, but by the descendants of the Spanish colonists, supported by French settlers, Negroes and the Chinese. The last War of Independence gave rise to the Spanish-American War of 1898, which ended with the defeat of Spain in Cuba and the establishment of the Republic of Cuba on 20th May, 1902, after an American government for three years . . . The Republic of Cuba is divided into six provinces. The capital, Havana, has a population of 5,52,000 inhabitants, and there are, besides, 18 cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants. Since Dr. Finlay of Cuba discovered that yellow fever is transmitted through mosquitoes, the hygienic conditions in the land have improved, and it has been possible for the Americans to complete the construction of the Panama Canal . . . Cuba, which was formerly a centre of infections, has now become a paradise and one of the healthiest lands of the world.

TRs. DR. V. V. GOKHALE

### Key to the Frontispiece

The artist has in view the Mogul Emperor, Akbar, and his Rajput wife, Jodh Bai. Accurate portraiture, however, has not been aimed at.



## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

### One More Solution for the Problem of Communalism

OUR shrewd rulers or the Saint of Shegaon, who-so-ever be the inspirer of the idea of no Swaraj without Hindu-Muslim unity, it is a fact that at present there is a big section of people in the country who are out to please the *chhota bhai* at any cost. To add to the already suggested numerous measures, Prof Bhuvan Mohan Sen has suggested a new one.

In the August issue of *The Modern Review* Prof. Sen has published an article, with a view to exploring the rock-bottom of communalism and advocating the cause of re-writing history. But his failure in the attempt is pathetic. It is an irony of fate that he aimed at excavating the rock-bottom but his soaring imagination landed him in fairy-land instead, where realism lost all semblance. Hence, though the article is full of pious wishes, it is equally full of misconceptions and erroneous statements.

In order to substantiate my remarks I first propose to enumerate the points dealt with by Prof. Sen and then examine them, one by one.

At the outset he has referred to communalism in India. Secondly, he writes about the futility of pacts in securing communal harmony. Then he proceeds to discuss the effect of teachings of history on Indian students. After this he has made broad suggestions as to how the history of the Hindu period and the Muslim period should be re-written. Then he presents an outline for the same purpose and concludes by quoting Principal Sheshadri for support.

Prof Sen has begun by stating that the absence of Moslems in India would not have placed us in any better situation than the present one. The division of Hindu society into majorities and minorities, due to castes and sub-castes or the racial difference, viz., Aryan and non-Aryan, would have played its part in the destruction of social harmony. Though by reference to castes and sub-castes, or the racial colouring Prof Sen suggests that in writing this article he has all sorts of communal problems in view, from his further writing it is obvious that it is not so, and that his attention is centred around the red rag of the Hindu-Moslem problem only. I don't want to blame him for this. Because it is but natural that this question should be uppermost in every one's mind, as one cannot open one's daily papers without having to read of a kidnapping of some Hindu woman, or looting of a Hindu merchant or of a Hindu-Muslim riot, in some part of the country or other. Even though Prof. Sen has grouped all communal problems together, I would like to state here that the solution of this Hindu-Moslem problem, shall have to be completely different from that of the other communal problems of castes and sub-castes. Prof. Sen says that communalism is rampant in India. What he says is a fact, and every one in India must be prepared to meet communalism—nay, all 'isms' on a square front.

Now let us turn to the second point, viz., the futility of pacts and agreements as solutions for communal problems. Here I am glad to state that I quite agree with Prof. Sen on this point of futility of pacts and agreements, though my reasons for it are different. He

says: "I have no objection to secure communal harmony by a policy of give and take." I ask who can possibly have any objection to this policy? No one can. The theory is quite all right, but if we look at the state of affairs carefully we find that it is not give and take, but it is only give. Further he writes: "Whether we wish such a patch-work or not, it is inevitably coming; for there is the dominant party in Indian politics who are pursuing Swaraj at any cost." This means, in spite of his no faith in the patch-work Prof. Sen is prepared not only to let it go unopposed, but to suggest a measure of re-writing history to smoothen its course. In this I differ from him and I am of opinion that, though some unwise things are being carried on by a section of people in the country, on the strength of majority for some time, they cannot last and continue long, if opposed by educated people. And I think every educated person is duty bound to oppose any action which in his eyes is harmful to the nation, even if he is in the minority. The dominant party, as Prof Sen says, is out to enter into pacts and agreements based on the policy of give and take. The party may be free to give, but what has it that can make others to reciprocate. Can the dominant party force others to give if they do not do it voluntarily? The answer is, nay. It means that the dominant party is out to give only. And this should be prevented because in this case when the two contracting parties are not equally strong to enforce reciprocation the taking party will never be satisfied unless it takes all. All the above will make it clear that the real solution of this problem lies in nothing else but in both the communities being strong and organized.

Now we come to the more important point dealing with the effect of teachings of history on Indian students. In this connection Prof Sen after stating that in order to secure communal harmony, history of all the communities must be rewritten, tells us of Englishmen participating in the Washington memorial meetings, and joining the Wallace and Robert Bruce anniversaries with sincere enthusiasm. Does he thereby mean to suggest that this good feeling between the English and others is an outcome of rewritten history? I don't believe that Prof. Sen will dare to answer this in the affirmative. But then if he answers in the negative, he will at once have to admit that rewriting of history is not at all necessary for the creation of such good feeling. In fact history has nothing to do with this. Prof. Sen writes: "When the Hindu lad leaves the school, he is for all his life obsessed with Alauddin and Padmini, and Alauddin and his assassinated uncle." This certainly cannot be attributed to history taught in the class-room. For where's the need of reading history for this, when many contemporary Alauddins in many villages and towns frequently corroborate this failing of their co-religionist. Can all the good done by Alauddin Khilji make the Hindu lad blind to the present? Can the 'Dream in the marble'—the Taj, enable him to turn a deaf ear to the rueful tale of Ajanta or Ellora and many other similar places? Evidently it cannot. After describing the effect of history on a Hindu lad Prof. Sen

proceeds to describe the effect of reading the Mahabharata, the Ramayana and Puranas on a Muslim student. I am sure Prof. Sen must surely have been in the realm of dreamland while writing this. I have not so far heard of schools where the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, etc., are taught by way of history. If Prof. Sen is referring to boys reading these outside the class-rooms I think it cannot be helped, unless Prof. Sen suggests to proscribe the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. I do not think that he will go that length. Moreover, I can assure Prof. Sen of complete safety in this affair, without this drastic measure of proscribing, for I would sooner believe Prof. Sen being a convert to Muslim faith than Muslim lads reading the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

Having thus clearly shown that history taught in class-rooms has little or no share in fostering communalism, it would not be out of place here to discuss the question of rewriting history, from the theoretical point of view. The primary consideration in this matter is, as to what purpose this branch of learning is expected to serve. In my opinion, the study of this subject is promulgated with the object of making the past a guide for the present and future life, by a race or nation, and I think there can be no two opinions on this point. In this, it is presumed that history is a correct, faithful and complete account of the peoples' past collective life in its various aspects. If it is agreed that history is to serve no other than the abovementioned purpose, it should be in conformity with the above description. Any movement or project undertaken by the leaders for the betterment of the people, but not in keeping with their characteristics and traditions, has always and everywhere failed. The guidance of the unfaithfully and incompletely represented past is sure to lead a nation or race to a disastrous end. I may be excused for quoting the following lengthy but convincing passage from *Hindu Polity* by the learned author, the late Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, in support of my above statement.

"But when there was a Hindu revival in the time of Sivaji and the Sikhs, the Sikhs as a polity failed. They failed because they could not connect themselves with the past. They followed a system which prevailed around them and established a polity of one man's rule; Guru Govind wanted to remedy it but the attempt brought about no-man's rule. It was the Padshahi, the Moghul form, in success and defeat, in rise and in fall. But the movement in the Maratha country had a different history. There they looked into the past history and drew up a constitution and founded a polity on materials that were easily available to them, but the materials which connected them with the past. They

consulted the Mahabharata and the Shukraniti and found that the King should reign but not rule, that government should be vested in a ministry of eight ministers. And they founded the Ashta-pradhana. They searched out technical terms from the political literature of the country and drew up a Raj-kosh or a book of state terms. Yet the system tried was only one portion of Hindu polity, one-half of the whole body. They had the Parishad but they had not the Paura-janapada. To their great credit it must, however, be said that in modern times they were the first to realize that one man's rule was not allowed by the wisdom and the experience of their fore-fathers, that it was foreign to the genius of their Sastras. Their limitations were the limitations of darkness and ignorance about the constitutional history of the country, a darkness which we have not yet fully removed three centuries after."

The concrete incidents from past history embodied and compared in the above passage will not leave a shred of doubt in anyone's mind as to the manner of presentation of history and its purpose. Hence history, let it be of a nation or a race, of a sect or a community, of even a movement or an agitation, must be presented in a faithful and complete manner, and it should not be tampered with even by omissions.

Now let us look at this question with reference to different communities whose lots are cast together. Just as in case of individuals, in order that two or more culturally different communities living together may develop intimacy to the extent of being co-sharers in sorrows and joys, in successes and defeats, in hardships as well as affluence, the condition precedent is of absolute confidence in each other. And such confidence can never be inspired in each other unless each knows the other thoroughly and completely. For this it is absolutely necessary that both must be aware of each other's merits and demerits, virtues and vices, characteristics, traditions, idiosyncrasies, and what not. Does this not mean that faithful and complete presentation of history is equally essential in this as well as in the case of peoples or communities living by themselves?

All the discussion made so far ultimately brings us to the conclusion that there is one and only one way in which history can be presented, if it is to serve the desired end about which there is no difference of opinion. As this conclusion leaves no scope for re-writing history to Prof. Sen's taste I very much regret that his labours in presenting an outline for the purpose of re-writing history, should, in my opinion, remain unfruitful.

Dhulia

D. R. BHAT

*The Modern Review* for September, 1938:

p 312, 2nd. column, line 12, read 'dialectal' for 'dialectual'

p 313, 1st. column, line 29, read '1911-21' for '1911-12'







THE VILLAGE MINSTREL  
By Nandalal Bose

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## NOTES

### *The Industrialization of India*

Though agriculture is also an industry, the latter word is generally used to denote manufacturing industries.

At present India is no doubt mainly an agricultural country. But it would be a mistake to assume that in the pre-British period also she was in all ages a merely agricultural country. Even a cursory perusal of the introductory chapters of Major B. D. Basu's *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries* would show that India was an industrial country, too, and that, in addition to supplying her own requirements of manufactured goods, she exported such articles to foreign countries. She can again be industrialized. But it is neither desirable nor practicable to make her mainly an industrial country, as, for example, Britain is. Industrialization of India in that sense is not, we believe, aimed at by any political or other party in India. A proper balance between agriculture and manufacturing industry should and must be maintained. In fact the intensification and extension of agriculture in many directions will be required, if only for an adequate supply of raw materials for many kinds of new and already existing industries.

When the industrialization of Russia is spoken of as an example of what ought to be done in India, it is so said with reference to the progress made by Russia during the last twenty years in manufacturing industries. It is forgotten or not known that in agriculture, too, she has made equally great progress and improvement.

As the authors of the recently published book, *From Tsardom to the Stalin Constitution*, say:

"Although, as we have shown, the aim to industrialize the U. S. S. R. has been attained during the twenty years of the existence of the Soviet Government, agriculture has by no means been neglected; indeed it may be that the verdict of history will be that it is in the solution of the agricultural question that the U. S. S. R. has made the greatest and most original contribution to world economic history." Page 152.

The industrialization of India has engaged the attention of Indians for many decades past—especially after the starting of the Swadeshi movement. Indeed long before that movement the founders and conductors of the Hindu Mela in the late sixties and early seventies of the last century made the advancement of indigenous industries one of the objects of the Mela.

The Swadeshi movement has given rise to many industries directly and indirectly.

In recent years Sir M. Visweswarayya has written a book on the reconstruction of India advocating industrialization. Sir P. C. Ray, noted both as a scientist and a practical industrialist, has been for decades harping on the subject in our English and Bengali monthlies and dailies. In June last we planned to issue a special industrial and economic number, and were able to make it ready on the 30th July for publication as our August number. It contained articles by such prominent scientists and industrialists as Sir P. C. Ray, Dr. M. N. Saha, Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, G. L. Mehta, D. P. Khaitan, A. R. Dalal, Prof. V. Subrahmanyam, and others.

At the sitting of the Congress Working Committee on the 25th of July last it passed a resolution on the development of industries in the provinces,

authorizing the Congress President to convene a conference of Ministers of Industry at an early date and call for a report of the existing industries operating in different provinces and the need and possibilities of new ones as preliminary to the appointment of the Expert Committee to explore possibilities of an All-India industrial plan.

Accordingly the Congress President called a conference of the Industries Ministers of the Congress provinces, to which the Industries Ministers of the non-Congress provinces might also have been invited and they might have accepted the invitation. The President's views on industrialization were known even before the conference. He made them known at a meeting of scientists at the Calcutta University Science College in reply to questions put by Dr. M. N. Saha. This was directly or indirectly the result of Dr. Saha's paper in the August number of *The Modern Review* having been criticized by Mr. Kumarappa in some newspapers. At the conference at Delhi on October 2nd President Subhas Chandra Bose declared that industrialization and that by "forced marches as in Russia" was essentially necessary for India. "In the world as it is constituted today a community which resists industrialization has little chance of surviving international competition." He is also of the opinion that if industrialization be an evil, it is a necessary evil, [which it is not,] and that the remedy is to mitigate the evils of industrialization, not to resist the process itself.

The experts committee has been appointed by the President. His choice of the personnel has much to commend itself. It cannot and should not be contended that all the prominent scientists and industrialists should have been in the Committee.

Industrialization includes within its scope large scale heavy industries, smaller power industries, and cottage industries. No class of industries need be shut out. Many European countries—France, Scandinavia, etc.—and Japan are noted for their cottage industries. In Japan many cottage industries serve as feeders to bigger ones.

We do not know how the industries are going to be financed. State socialism in the sphere of industries, as in Soviet Russia, is, of course, out of the question now. But some kind of economic nationalism will have to be advocated. In any case, the provincial govern-

ments must aid the industries in some way or other and see that they are properly financed. President Bose is an avowed socialist. But he need not on that account fight shy of capitalism at this stage. We read in Mr. R. Palme Dutt's *Life and Teachings of Lenin*:

"He (Marx) was able to show that capitalism in its early stages, despite wholesale cruelty and hardship, was nevertheless a progressive force, driving through competition to continual development of the productive forces, enlargement of the scale of production, concentration of capital and increasing of the numbers of the proletariat."—Page 13.

Even in industrialized countries of the West and in Japan "wholesale cruelty and hardship" are no longer associated with capitalism, and labour legislation in India have made them impossible.

At the Conference both Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's opening address and the resolutions agreed on the fundamental propositions that every scheme should be planned on an All-India scale including the Indian States, that an early start should be made with certain key industries of national importance and that a comprehensive programme should be drawn up by a National Planning Commission. Now the key industries, such as power supply, metal production, heavy machinery and tools, chemicals and fertilisers, transport and communication industries, etc., require much capital. Hence the co-operation of capitalists must be secured.

It is a pleasure to note that the conference has decided that every scheme is to be planned on an All-India basis, including the Indian States. A month earlier, on the 2nd September, S. J. Nalini Ranjan Sarker delivered an address on the prospects of Industrialization in India at Gwalior on the occasion of the Ganesh Festival at the invitation of the Gwalior Durbar, which he concluded by observing:

A very large measure of inter-provincial co-operation between the States and British India would be necessary to direct our industrial development along sound lines. We must evolve a common policy and technique of Government encouragement and assistance and probably also devise some effective method of mutual assistance in industrial financing. In these matters we cannot stop with British India. Our efforts should also embrace the Indian States many of which have to some extent evolved policies suitable to their peculiar circumstances, and have acquired valuable experience in regard to the nature and extent of state assistance that are likely to produce the best results. We may have several political boundaries, but in matters economic I can only envisage one boundary—the boundary of India.

Whatever plan of industrialization may be adopted, the rights of Labour are sure to be safeguarded. Dr. A. K. Saha with his Russian

experience and Mr. V. V. Giri with his experience as a Labour leader will help the committee to do it.

### *A Tribute of Praise to the Congress Ministries and The Congress High Command*

In the October number of *The International Review of Missions*, which is a leading British quarterly, the Rev. J. S. M. Hooper pays the Congress ministries and the Congress high command the following tribute of praise:

One thing may be said with confidence, while recognizing that at any moment the position may change: a good start has been made, after the preliminary months' manœuvring for position and the clarification of issues that resulted from it, the conditions of continued success are present in the spirit of co-operation and of eager service that has been shown by the governors of the provinces, the members of the services and the newly appointed ministers. Speaking generally and keeping clear of the ungrateful task of criticism of details here and there, most of the ministers have approached the tasks of administration with humility and courage, and with a determination to deal thoroughly with the real problems of the country. The necessary emphasis on the purely constitutional questions that have been so much debated for many years, some of the greatest of which—notably that of the position of the autocratic Indian States in a federal system—are still unsolved, should not obscure the fact that the Indian governments in power are using that power for the service of the people. It is at the least a gesture of significance that the Congress governments are working on a sacrificial basis: by their own action the monthly salaries of ministers have been limited to five hundred rupees (£450 per annum). Where there has been any hint of corruption strong steps have been taken to correct it, the Congress high command exercising at this stage a salutary influence on the provincial governments, in helping them to maintain a high standard of probity against local forces that might otherwise prove too strong.

The central Congress authority has been further praised for its work in the following passage:

How to reconcile the responsibility of each provincial Congress government to this Congress higher command, with the responsibility to the electorate whose votes have put it in office, is one of the major problems that the Congress party will have to solve. Meanwhile, however, the central Congress authority is discharging a most useful and necessary function, so that in spite of local difficulties and the fact that some Congress men are apparently looking for trouble, it may be said that the responsible leaders have shown that they are eager to serve what they believe to be the true interests of the country and that they recognize the magnitude of their task.

### *"America's War on China"*

This is the heading of an editorial note in *The Christian Register* of Boston, which is "a

journal of Free Churches." The heading is startling. But read the following:

Not only the liberals and the radicals but all the decent people who, so far as we have heard or read, have expressed themselves on the subject, sympathize with China in the present undeclared war. With unanimity they condemn the aggressor and his methods. Even when they admit that the Japanese were themselves in many ways the victims of a bad international situation, they still condemn the unchivalrous—to put it mildly—way in which Japan has carried on her "war."

But the voice of the people, as a nation of ethical individuals, is not the voice of the people as a state or as an assemblage of economic corporations. We are sending to Japan over half of the material which she is using in her Chinese offensives.

That means, of course, that we are accomplices with Japan in her raids upon Chinese territory. If her actions are criminal we are accessory to the crime. Even if the actions were not criminal our participation in them would mean that we were running a potential customer and strengthening a potential economic and military rival—that we were giving ourselves good reasons for the building of more battleships.

Our supplying Japan with 544 of her war material is also a reduction to absurdity of our policy of neutrality, and the invocation of the neutrality act would not help in that respect, for then China would be barred from purchase of munitions, but Japan would not be barred from purchase of raw materials and machinery.

### *"American Committee for Non-participation in Japanese Aggression"*

Though the American State has been, indirectly, making war on China, *right-minded people* in America are trying to right the wrong done, by organizing the "American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression."

The only decent course for America to pursue is to withdraw her economic co-operation with Japan. To this end there has just been organized in New York the "American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression." The personnel of the committee is not complete, but already it includes Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr: Dr. Edward H. Hume, director of Christian Medical Council for Overseas Work, Professor Harry B. Price of Yenching University, T. A. Bisson of the Foreign Policy Association, and a number of others the majority of whom have special knowledge of the Orient.

The committee has initiated its work by issuing a pamphlet, "America's Share in Japan's War Guilt" (15 cents a copy), which may be obtained by addressing the committee at 8 West 40th Street, New York. The pamphlet contains factual material on what we are doing to aid Japan as well as a number of opinions by statesmen and publicists which show that the demand to cease trading with Japan does not come from any one quarter but is voiced by conservatives and radicals alike, by the Churches, Catholic and Protestant, by labor, by women's clubs.

The committee seeks larger membership and financial contributions.

This American Committee has set an example which other peoples, particularly those who are free, ought to follow.

### *British "Empire's Largest Steel Plant Now Headed by Indian"*

*World Youth* for September 10 last contains an article with this caption. It is said therein:

The largest steel plant of the British Empire, the Tata Iron and Steel Company, of Calcutta, India, has recently appointed the first Indian to be its General Manager—Mr. J. J. Ghandy. Mr. Ghandy took his Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science degrees in Bombay and in 1918 began work in the Tata Company. After three years he went to the United States for graduate study in various subjects which would further fit him for the steel business, taking degrees at Columbia University and the Carnegie Institute of Technology at Pittsburgh. After returning to the Tata Company he made several subsequent trips to Europe and America to study the steel trade and has now been made General Manager, a position previously held by Americans.

An account is then given of the Tata Iron and Steel Company in a few sentences.

The Tata Iron and Steel Company was organized over thirty years ago by two brothers, Jamshedji and Dadabhai Tata. The family had previously owned extensive cotton mills near Bombay and had made the present development of hydro-electricity in Bombay Presidency. Up to the beginning of Jamshedji Tata's excursion into it, mining in India had been confined to precious metals and gems. It was Jamshedji who had a vision of the development of ore mining and the manufacture of steel. He was greatly assisted by an American steel-captain who worked out plans by which the Tata Company was launched. Today it stands as the largest single unit of its kind in the British Empire.

The output of the Company for the month of January, 1938, was 216,500 tons of finished and semi-finished steel products.

In India, largely in its own mines, the Company finds all but two of the raw materials required. Sulphur is purchased from Japan and fluorspar from Germany. Some of the ores, in particular chrome, come from Indian jungles where malaria and black-water fever abound. When a new mine is discovered the Company sends medical experts at once to ascertain what diseases must be combated, and precautions are immediately taken for the protection of the laborers.

The late Mr. P. N. Bose, but for whose discovery of the iron mines in Mayurbhanj, the Jamshedpur Iron and Steel Works could hardly have been started, ought to have been given due credit in this connection.

In conclusion, due meed of praise is given to the Parsees.

Although Americans have played a great part in developing the Tata Company, and money and labor from all communities in India are invested in it, the dominating atmosphere of Jamshedpur is Parsee. The Parsees are numerically a small community, but they are comparable in business acumen to the Jewish people of other nations, and they dominate the financial life of a large part of India.

Parsees are Persians who migrated to India some thirteen hundred years ago, and are Zoroastrian by religion. Education is more widely spread among them than

among any other people in India. The percentage of literacy among Parsee women is even greater than that of Christian women. They are a philanthropic people. The Tatas have devoted their vast wealth to the advancement of India along constructive lines. They early urged upon the Government the enactment of such tariff regulations as would promote Indian industry.

### *Lenin and University Education*

In *The Life and Teachings of V. I. Lenin* by R. Palme Dutt, published by the International Publishers of New York, we are told that Lenin's father was an inspector of schools, whose "two sons and four daughters *all studied deeply, and were all revolutionaries*" (p. 21). That shows—whatever some Indian revolutionaries or would-be revolutionaries and some of their leaders may say—that there is no incompatibility between deep study and revolutionary mentality.

The same book states:

"In 1887 Lenin, then aged seventeen, was expelled from Kazan University, which he had just entered as a student, for participation in a revolutionary demonstration."—P. 21.

This was long before the Bolshevik revolution, and Kazan University was a Czarist imperialist university. The other universities in Russia were all at that time imperialist universities. Politically they were not better than our Indian universities. Nevertheless, the young revolutionary Lenin "continued his studies, and took his degree in law at Petersburg in 1891." Evidently this taking of a degree at an imperialist university did not make a slave of him.

No one in India is or can be a greater revolutionary than Lenin. We are not followers of Lenin, and cannot ask anybody to be a follower of him. What we say is that even those of our students who may want to become Leninists need not give up or neglect their studies. On the contrary, following his example, they should study deeply and take their degrees, if they can.

### *Communism and "The Whole Inheritance of Human Knowledge"*

We learn from Mr. R. Palme Dutt's *Life and Teachings of Lenin*, published by the International Publishers, New York:

"Lenin constantly insisted that communism cannot be regarded as a special body of doctrines or dogmas, of 'ready-made conclusions' to be learnt from text-books, but can only be understood as the outcome of the whole of human science and culture, on the basis of an exact study of all that previous ages, including especially capitalist society, had achieved."—P. 63.

Communism is popularly believed to be a subversion of all previous "isms", including even socialism and the principles of the French Revolution. So, if even communism stands in need of acquiring the accumulated knowledge of ages, India's revolutionaries or would-be revolutionaries of all kinds need not confine their activities to strikes, flag-hoisting, and the shouting of all the various kinds of "Zindabads," and the like, but may safely study "the whole of human science and culture."

Speaking to the Third Congress of the Communist Youth in Russia in 1920, Lenin said:

"It would be a very serious mistake to suppose that one can become a Communist without making one's own the treasures of human knowledge. It would be mistaken to imagine that it is enough to adopt the Communist formulae and conclusions of Communist science without mastering that sum-total of different branches of knowledge, the final outcome of which is communism. . .

"Communism becomes an empty phrase, a mere facade, and the communist a mere bluffer, if he has not worked over in his consciousness the whole inheritance of human knowledge." Pp. 63-64

Therefore he urged the youth

to acquire the whole sum of human knowledge, and to acquire it in such a way that communism will not be something learnt by heart, but something which you have thought out yourselves, something which forms the inevitable conclusion from the point of view of modern education."—P. 64.

In the same way Lenin wrote with reference to the controversy on "proletarian culture":

"Marxism won its world-historic significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat, because it did not reject out and out the most valuable achievements of the bourgeois epoch, but on the contrary made its own and worked over anew all that was of value in the more than two thousand years of development of human thought" ("Draft Resolution on Proletarian Culture," 1920).—P. 64.

Therefore, as both Marxism and Leninism are in favour of mastering the sum-total of human knowledge, all our students, whether inclined to be revolutionaries or not, should & can go in for deep study and extensive study. They will not be outcasted by non-revolutionaries, and they cannot be outcasted by any revolutionary who is himself not "a mere bluffer," in the words of Lenin!

### "Gandhi to Tagore"

Our attention has been drawn recently to the English translation of René Fülöp-Müller's *Lenin and Gandhi* published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. The introduction bears the date, Vienna, March, 1927, and the popular edition of the

translation is dated 1930. The section of the book devoted to Mahatma Gandhi is prefaced by the following passage ascribed to the Mahatma.

"True to his poetic instinct, the poet lives for the morrow, and would have us do likewise. He presents to our admiring gaze the beautiful picture of the birds in the early morning singing hymns of praise as they soar into the sky. These birds had their day's food, and soared with rested wings in whose veins new blood had flown from the previous night. But I have the pain of watching birds who for want of strength could not be coaxed even into a flutter of their wings. The human bird under the Indian sky gets up weaker than when he pretended to retire. For millions it is an eternal vigil or an eternal trance. It is an indescribably painful state which has to be experienced to be realized. I have found it impossible to soothe suffering patients with a song. The hungry millions ask for one poem, invigorating food."

We do not know when and where Mahatma Gandhi expressed these opinions in writing or speech—with reference to Poet Tagore, we take it, if he did so at all. But whether they are his opinions or not, they give an utterly inadequate and wrong idea of Rabindranath Tagore as a poet, a thinker and a social worker. As a poet he is concerned not merely or mainly with the singing of birds, but with many more things, which are human in a very comprehensive sense. Of them all, this is not the occasion to speak. Suffice it to say here, that in numerous poems and stories of his he has made himself one with the sufferings and joys of the poor dwelling in villages, as well as in towns, but mostly with those of rural folk. And this sympathy is not merely that of the artist. He has tried to bring relief (including "invigorating food") to sufferers by the revival of village crafts, by village sanitation, by improved methods of agriculture, by bringing medical aid to patients by co-operative methods, by rural co-operative banks, by the Sikshā-satra scheme of education for village boys, started in 1922, which the Wardha scheme closely resembles in its educational aspect, and in other ways. His scheme of constructive self-reliance, in education, revival of village crafts, and other methods of village reconstruction, is to be found in his lecture on Swadeshi Samaj, delivered on 22nd July, 1904, and in his presidential address at the Bengal Provincial Conference at Pabna, 1908. He has tried for decades to give effect to his scheme in his ancestral estate. It has formed for decades an important part of the plan of work of the Village Reconstruction Department of Visvabharati. He has given us songs which can "soothe suffering patients," but he has tried to give them invigorating food



also. He lives for today as well as "for the morrow."

Our readers may obtain a somewhat more adequate idea of the Poet's personality as a practical idealist from our article on him in the last June number of *The Modern Review*.

Great importance is rightly attached to Mahatma Gandhi's opinions. Hence, it is likely that readers of *Lenin and Gandhi*, particularly those outside India who know little of Rabindranath Tagore's life and poetry, may be misled by the passage quoted above into thinking that India's greatest living author does nothing but sing and sings only of birds, "careless of mankind" like the lotus-eaters. That would be a misconception.

It is probable that Mahatma Gandhi is now possessed of more correct and adequate information relating to the Poet.

### *Gandhiji For Dropping "Mahatma" Before His Name*

Of the seven complaints made to Mahatma Gandhi by a Muslim friend, the seventh was as follows:

7. Your title as Mahatma is officially recognized by a Government circular, your birthday declared as a holiday, and consequently the Local Board in Amraoti has issued orders to take your image in a procession and to worship your image. Gandhiji, you may permit me to say, we are not idolatrous and we do not recognize you as Mahatma or our religious and political leader."

With reference to this complaint Mahatma-jiji writes in *Harijan*:

7. This is a complaint and an assertion. With both I am in hearty concurrence. It was wrong to give 'Mahatma' official recognition. I registered my protest as soon as it was brought to my notice. I would support any movement to drop altogether the use of the word 'Mahatma' before my name. My simple name sounds sweet without the adjective. The latter often stinks as when it is applied to promote violence or untruth, smoking or drinking or the sale of spurious khadi. To declare my birthday a holiday should be classified as a cognizable offence. The only use of my birthday that I have approved of is intensive spinning or some such national service. That day must be all work and no play. I cannot imagine any Local Board being so foolish as to issue orders to take my image in procession and worship it. I am hoping that my correspondent was wholly misinformed. I should imagine that the issue of such orders would be illegal. As to the assertions and repudiation, I tender my congratulations to my correspondent for them, for I have never aspired after leadership, whether religious or political.

It was quite unnecessary to give the use of 'Mahatma' before Gandhiji's name official recognition, and it was wrong to this extent that it may lead people to think that, even when people spontaneously called him

'Mahatma', they were doing so on account of official prescription. We are not for dropping the use of the word 'Mahatma' before Gandhiji's name altogether. Those who honour him should be allowed to do so by using that word.

Mahatmaji's reply is quite characteristic and does him credit.

### *Gandhiji On Students' Active Participation in Politics*

In the course of an article in *Harijan* of the 15th October last Mahatma Gandhi writes:

"I think I have written often enough against strikes by students and pupils except on the rarest of occasions. I hold it to be quite wrong on the part of students and pupils to take part in political demonstrations and party politics. Such ferment interferes with serious study and unfits students for solid work as future citizens."

This has always been our opinion, too, which we have repeatedly expressed in "Prabāsi" and "The Modern Review."

### *"One Thing For Which It is the Duty of Students and Pupils To Strike"*

In the same article from which we have made an extract above, Mahatma Gandhi writes:

There is one thing, however, for which it is the duty of students and pupils to strike. I have received a letter from the Hon Secretary, Youths' Welfare Association, Lahore, giving copious specimens of obscene and erotic passages from the text-books prescribed by various universities. They make sickening reading. Though they are from prescribed text-books, I would not soil these columns with a reproduction of the extracts. I have never come across such filth in all the literature that I have read. The extracts are impartially given both from Sanskrit, Persian and Hindi poets.

Mahatma Gandhi observes in conclusion:

It is one thing to defend the liberty to read what one likes. But it is a wholly different thing to force on young minds acquaintance with literature that cannot but excite their animal passions and an unhealthy curiosity about things which, in due course and to the extent necessary, they are bound to learn. The evil becomes accentuated when it comes in the guise of innocent literature bearing the *imprimatur* of great universities.

An orderly strike on the part of students is the quickest way of bringing about the much-needed reform. Such a strike would not be boisterous. It would simply consist in the students notifying boycott of examinations which require a study of objectionable literature. It is the duty of every pure-minded student to rebel against obscenity.

The Association asks me to appeal to the Congress Ministers to take such steps as may be possible to remove text-books or passages which are objectionable. I gladly make the appeal hereby not only to them but the Education Ministers in all the provinces. Surely all are equally interested in the healthy growth of the student mind.

So far as our knowledge goes, the books prescribed by the Calcutta and Dacca Universities and the Bengal Education Department do not contain "filth" of the kind referred to by Gandhiji. We do not know anything about the books prescribed in other provinces

### *Rammohun Roy Death Anniversary*

As in previous years, the anniversary of the death of Raja Rammohun Roy was celebrated on the 27th September last in many places in India, and in Bristol in England. The proceedings of these anniversary meetings have

appeared in various newspapers.

#### *Mr. C. F. Andrews on Rammohun Roy*

At the Rammohun Roy Anniversary meeting at Bangalore Mr. C. F. Andrews delivered an eloquent and inspiring address. He began by quoting the words of Mr. William Adam, "who knew Raja Rammohun Roy very well indeed through a long personal friendship and association with him in his great work of religious teaching and social reform" Mr. Adam wrote as follows:

"I was never more thoroughly, deeply, and constantly impressed than when in the presence of Rammohun Roy and in friendly and confidential converse with him, that I was in the presence of a man of natural and inherent genius, of powerful understanding, and of determined will,—a will determined, with singular energy and self-direction, to lofty and generous purposes. He seemed to feel, to think, to speak, to act, as if he could not but do all this, and that he must do it only in and from and through himself, and that the application of any external influence, distinct from his own strong will, would be the annihilation of his being and identity. *He would be free, or not be at all!* . . . *Love of freedom was perhaps the strongest passion of his soul,—freedom not of action merely, but of thought* . . . This tenacity of personal independence, this sensitive jealousy of the slightest approach of an encroachment on his mental freedom, was accompanied with a very nice perception of the equal rights of others, even of those who differed most widely from him"

#### *Mr. Andrews continued:*

"The greatest of all things in Raja Rammohun Roy was his profound religious and moral character, which gave to everything which he did a lasting value. Intellectually, he was a giant; his whole intellectual outlook was far beyond that of his contemporaries. Indeed very few in the West, as well as in the East, could meet him and compare with him on the intellectual level. But if that had been his only qualification, he might have become nothing more than a clever sophist. It was his supreme moral and spiritual genius that made him one of the heroes of humanity, who more than any other living soul shaped the course of human history in Asia at the beginning of the 19th century. Indeed, it may be said with truth, that his character and personality changed the face of Asia and profoundly influenced Europe and European thought also. He has supreme

interest for us also because he began by giving a marvellous exposition of the highest teaching of Islam, which was contained in his first book, written when he was still extremely young. His next achievement, and it was equally a great one, was to publish another book called "The Moral Precepts of Jesus," which spoke in the highest terms of the moral greatness of the Christian faith. The third book, which he published, gave his own exposition of the Vedanta, describing for the first time in the modern age the supreme beauty of the philosophy which was behind the Hindu civilization. He thus was able to appreciate historically and to put on record in writing in a very profound manner the greatness of the three religious cultures with which he came intimately into contact."

#### *Proceeding Mr. Andrews added:*

"He studied Persian and Arabic and was profoundly influenced by Islam. To this he gave full expression in his first book. Next he came very strongly under the influence of a noble gentleman of the West, Mr. Digby, and studied the Christian civilization and culture. He found its details fully expressed in the Sermon On The Mount and wrote that second book. He returned from these studies to his own ancient scriptures and gave the background that lay behind them all in the Vedanta. In these ways he laid a firm foundation in the East, especially in his own country, which all through the 19th century bore wonderful fruit. Not merely there in the religious sense of the word taking it in its exclusive meaning but also in the social political and national life of the country; for it was from these beginnings of thought which were in the 19th century and were profoundly exemplified by Raja Rammohun Roy that India through the 19th century advanced immensely in a kind of new renaissance of thought and life which changed not merely the intellectual but also the social and political and national life of the country. He has been rightly called "The Father of the Indian Renaissance" and a "Prophet of Indian Nationalism." It is of that great soul we hope to hear today from our different speakers."

Mrs. C. Tucker, Swami Tyagishananda and Mr. Muhammad Hanif then addressed the meeting.

Mr. Andrews, who was not in good health, asked to be allowed to remain seated as he delivered his concluding speech, observing:

"This thought has come to me, that surely this meeting itself is a parable. It is a parable of the unity of man and the unity of God, which Raja Rammohun Roy himself exemplified both in his religious ideal and also in his practical life. For we have had three speakers representing the three different religious faiths, which Rammohun Roy studied most. All of his thoughts tell of the Unity of God and the Unity of Man. Here tonight we have had Christian, Muslim, Hindu,—men, women,—all meeting on this platform to do homage to his great soul."

The speaker passed on to give another 'parable'.

"If you will allow me, I will give you another parable, which you may take away with you. This *dhoti* and *chadder* which I am wearing, were given to me by the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore. He gave them to me, at the beginning of this year, to wear at the Convocation

of Calcutta University, where I had to give the Address. We all remember, at Santiniketan, that Raja Rammohun Roy was the Guru of the father of our Gurudev—that Maharshi Debendranath Tagore was the disciple of Raja Rammohun Roy. Our Gurudev, Rabindranath Tagore, who gave me this very dress that I am wearing, was the son of Maharshi."

Mr. Andrews dwelt for a while on this moral and spiritual succession of three great men.

"Here is a moral succession of very great men, in that great country of Bengal. Perhaps, in no other country of the world is there to be found such a succession of greatness, from Raja Rammohun Roy through Maharshi to Gurudev. Such a line of succession has gone on now for well over a whole century. We may say that modern India, as it were, has sprung out of that wonderful line—the Raja himself, the Maharshi, our Gurudev. So the one great and marvellous spirit is passed on from one generation to another."

Mr. Andrews passed on to those at Santiniketan who are continuing that succession.

When I go back to Santiniketan, I shall find there those who are still continuing that great succession to another generation, throughout this twentieth century of confusion and storm. While there is world disaster confronting us on every side, and while we look to the papers everyday, and wonder whether we are going to begin another war, we turn away from these dreaded aspects of the outer world into that inner world of spirit. We find there, in that eternal region of the soul, a permanence, a reality, an infinity, ideal, beauty, which these temporary passions of mankind cannot shake. It is in that eternity of God who is both Unity, and Love, that we put our trust, knowing that though the waves of passion rise higher and higher and are cruelly destructive of beauty, yet God Himself in His infinity of goodness, forgives and restores and creates the fair and lovely things of life which man destroys. Out of all this confusion the spiritual alone remains and ever will remain.

We come now to Mr. Andrews' closing thought.

"That is the one thought that I would like to close with today, while we look back over a hundred years. Raja Rammohun Roy, who seems to be with us today, seems in his spirit to have reached such a height, that we ourselves can hardly contemplate. But we know that, as we come close to him in the wonderful depth of his personality, we shall ourselves carry on to a new generation, here in this country, that great spiritual heritage which he has handed down to us so that India may even now lead the world forward in the power of the Spirit while we learn more and more to revere the Unity of God and the Brotherhood of Man."

### *A Spanish Publication Dedicated to Rammohun Roy*

In the course of his Bangalore address on Raja Rammohun Roy, Mr. C. F. Andrews observed that "it was his supreme moral and spiritual genius that made him (Rammohun Roy) one of the heroes of humanity, who more than any other living soul shaped the course of

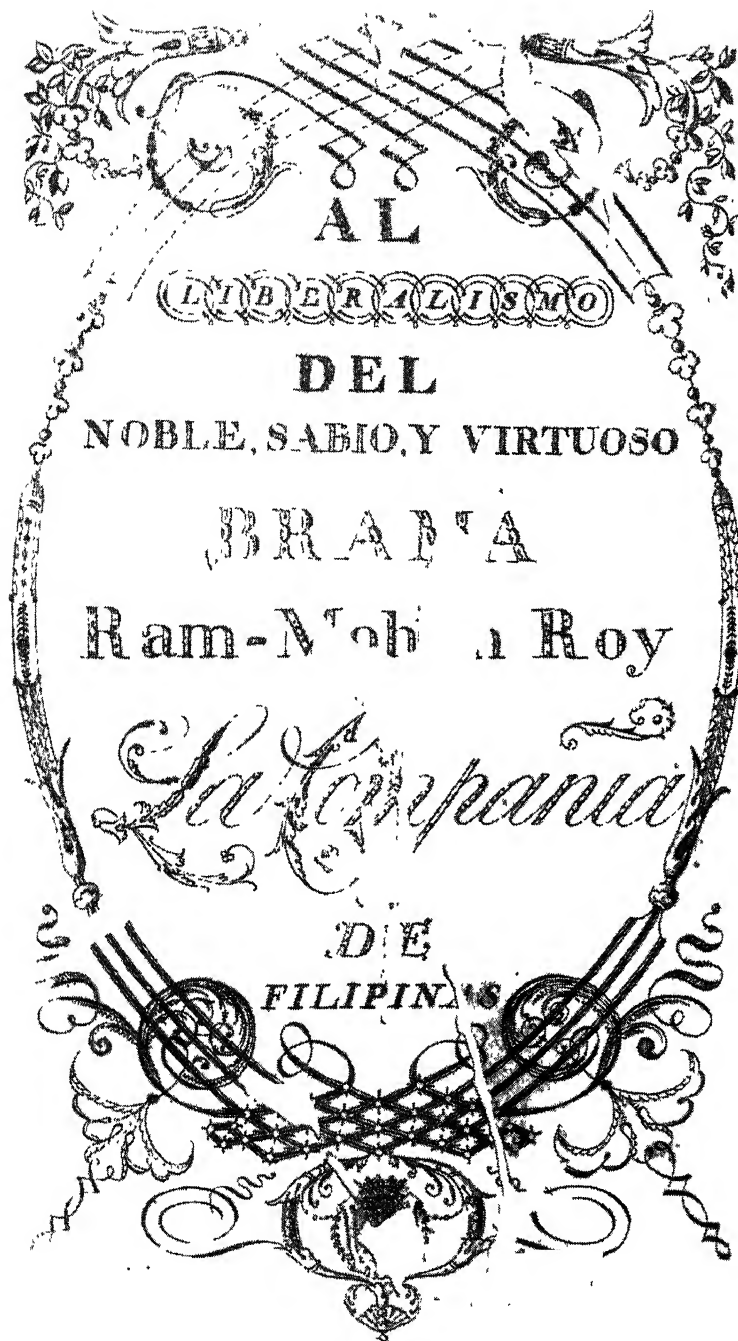
human history in Asia at the beginning of the 19th century. Indeed, it may be said with truth that his character and personality changed the face of Asia and profoundly influenced Europe and European thought also." This is not the first time that Mr. Andrews has made such an observation.

Those who are acquainted with Rammohun Roy's life know that his mind had international contacts. Not to speak of countries nearer India, such as Afghanistan, Persia and China, he was deeply interested in the politics of even far-off South America. On the receipt of the news of the successful rising of the Spanish Colonies in South America against the authority of Spain, he gave a public dinner at the Town Hall in Calcutta.

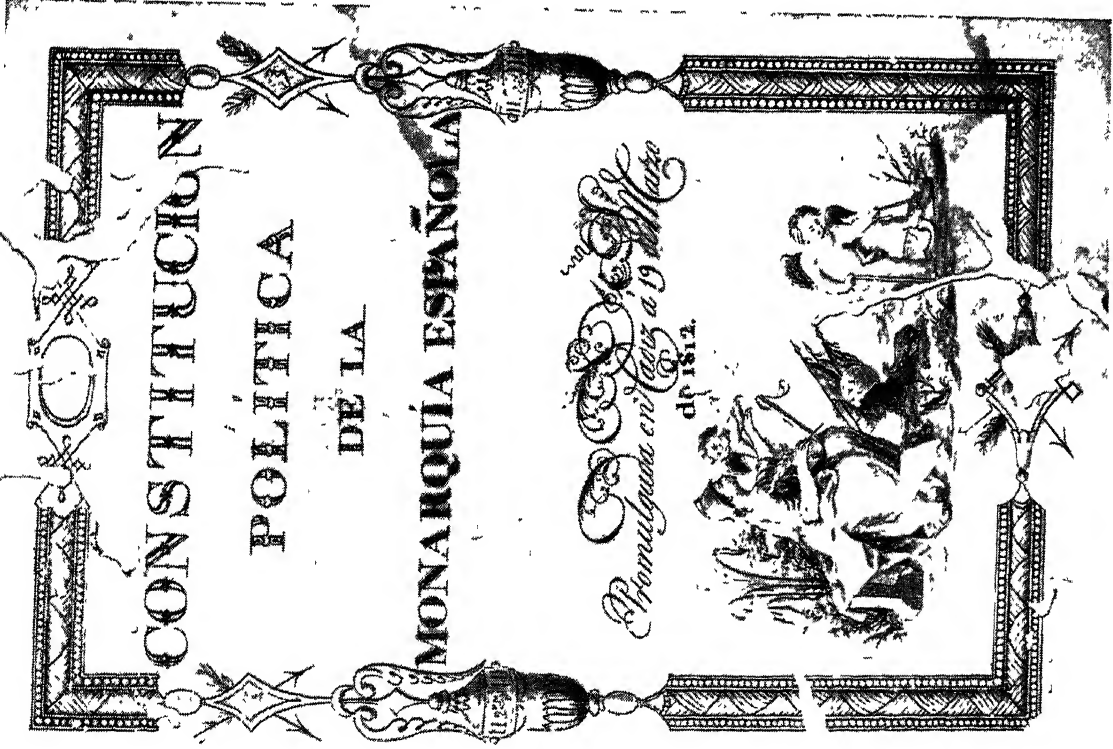
Recently a Spanish publication has been brought to light which appears to show that Rammohun Roy was very well known in Spain and perhaps also in the then Spanish Colony of the Philippine Islands. This Spanish publication was exhibited at the last Rammohun Roy anniversary meeting in Calcutta in the Rammohun Library hall by Professor Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, who was one of the speakers. This Spanish volume, the Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy promulgated at Cadiz on the 19th March, 1812, has been presented to the Rammohun Library by Professor Kshitish Prasad Chattopādhyāy, who is descended from Rammohun Roy's grand-daughter. The cover of the volume, originally beautified with gilt decorations, measures 16 inches by 10. The volume is now worm-eaten, as the marks on the reduced facsimiles of the printed matter of three of its pages would show. The pages measure 15½ inches by 9¾ inches.

The printed matter on the dedication page measures 11 inches by 6. The dedication is by the Philippine Company "to the most free-souled, noble, wise and virtuous Brahman Rammohun Roy." The printed matter on the title-page measures 10¾ inches by 6¼ inches. It shows that the volume contains the Constitution of the Monarchy of Spain promulgated at Cadiz on the 19th March, 1812. The third facsimile is a reproduction of a reduced photograph of the first page of the text of the volume, on which the printed matter measures 7¼ inches by 5½ inches.

It is not known when, why and under what circumstances the volume was dedicated to Rammohun Roy. Spain is still in the throes of a devastating civil war. It is not likely that these facsimiles will attract the attention of anybody there. The Philippines have passed



Dedication of *Constitucion Poltica de la Monarquia Espanola* to  
Rammohun Roy by the Philippines Company



Title Page of *Constitucion Politica de la Monarquia Espanola*., Promulgated in Cadiz on the 19th March, 1812

**D. FERNANDO SÉPTIMO,**  
*por la gracia de Dios y la Constitucion de la Monarquía española, Rey de las Españas, y en su ausencia y cautividad la Regencia del Reyno nombrada por las Cortes generales y extraordinarias, á todos los que las presentes vieren y entendieren, SABED: Que las mismas Cortes han decretado y sancionado la siguiente*

**CONSTITUCION POLITICA**

**DE LA**

**MONARQUÍA ESPAÑOLA.**

**E**n el nombre de Dios todopoderoso, Padre, Hijo, y Espíritu Santo, autor y supremo legislador de la sociedad.

Las Cortes generales y extraordinarias de la Nacion española, bien conocidas, despues del mas detenido exámen y madura deliberacion, de aquellas antiguas leyes fundamentales de esta Monarquía, acomodadas de las

First page of *Constitucion Politica de la Monarquia Espanola*

through many changes. But it is not improbable that there may be some persons there who may be able to throw some light on the subject.

We are thankful to the authorities of the Rammohun Library for their kind permission to reproduce three pages of the volume in facsimile.

### *Gandhiji Discountenances Worship of His Image*

In a previous note we have quoted Mahatma Gandhi's words condemning and discountenancing the reported carrying of his image in procession and worshipping it, as brought to his notice by a Muslim correspondent in the Central Provinces. Such condemnation was only to be expected. It is in keeping with the statement which he made years ago in *Young India* to the effect that he did not worship the images or idols in temples and that these did not excite any feeling of reverence in him.

### *Crowds Joining Gandhiji's Daily Prayers*

Wherever Mahatma Gandhi may be, he punctually performs his daily worship at 4 a.m. in the morning, and when he is touring large numbers of persons, belonging to different religious communities, join his prayers. And, of course, it is not in temples where there are images of gods that he worships, but wherever he may be staying, without any images before him. Hence it is that Musalmans, Christians and Jews as well as Hindus join these prayers. Even illiterate common people of both sexes find no difficulty in thus worshipping with him, but find it quite easy and natural to do so. A telegram, dated October 22nd, describing his crowded programme at Kohat, a predominantly Muslim town, where he is staying at the residence of Pir Shahan Shah, concludes thus:

"Two gates on the outskirts of the city, which are opened to the public only at six in the morning, were thrown open earlier at 4 a.m. so as to enable the residents to join the daily prayers at village Jungal Khel where Mr. Gandhi is staying. Despite the inclement weather, which was marked by severe storm and rain, the attendance at prayer was fairly large"

### *"Congress Corruption"*

Mahatma Gandhi has published in *Harijan* what a United Provinces correspondent has written to him, supporting the correspondent, who has written, in part:

"I have carefully gone through your statement in

*Harijan* and read your recent speech before the members of the Congress Working Committee regarding the corrupt practices among Congressmen and the Committees.

"I have myself on many occasions noticed such corrupt practices as mentioned in the letter published by you, namely, the enrolment of bogus members, paying from one's own pocket the enrolment fees of members, and even forging signatures. The pity is that such things are done even by responsible office-bearers of Congress Committees. In certain places such cases have come to the notice of the Provincial Committee officially, but these things were taken very lightly by the authorities. With the little experience I have of the Congress work in these provinces, I can say that this is true of many of the district and city committees.

"My humble reading of the situation is that such things are generally practised by that section which wants to capture the committees and retain power in their hands. Further, these things have enormously increased with the coming of the Parliamentary programme in the Congress.

"The decision of the Congress to capture the Local Boards and the Provincial Legislatures has attracted towards it a big group of men who are anxious to get into these bodies at any cost. It is this group which, failing to get the spontaneous support of the genuine Congressmen, brings mercenaries and bogus members, who but for personal attachment to the gentleman who enrolls them have nothing in common with the Congress. Even among the old members of the Congress some have been taken in by the temptation of offices and power and they readily join hands with the mercenaries. It is, therefore, that such corrupt practices and grouping of parties, without any fundamental difference in principles, I had seen just on the advent of elections"

The correspondent suggests a remedy, which, Gandhiji observes, has been made by several other Congressmen and has much to commend itself. Mahatmaji mentions and supports another suggestion made to him by a business organizer, and says in conclusion:

All that is wanted is the will to clear the Congress of Augean stables. But if the heads of Congress Committees are indifferent or supine, the corruption cannot be dealt with. "If the salt loses its savour wherewith shall it be salted?"

### *"Politics Must Be Subject To Ethical Laws"*

If there be Congressmen and Congress leaders who do not believe that politics must be subject to ethical laws, who think that the end justifies the means, and that what matters above all is what they call success, then no external remedy can rid Congress of corruption. Unfortunately there have been and these are such Congressmen and Congress leaders. Therefore, the fundamental, the essential, the root remedy is to produce the conviction that "sensible and honest politics are the most effective and the most practical." Masaryk, the late President-Liberator of Czechoslovakia,



had that firm belief. In the recently published book, *Masaryk on Thought and Life*, which records his conversations with Karel Capek, the following observations of Masaryk are recorded:

"All sensible and honest politics are the performing and strengthening of humanity within and without; politics, like everything else that we do, must be subject to ethical laws. I know that there are politicians, chiefly those who consider themselves to be terribly practical and clever, who do not care for that demand; but experience, not only mine, I think, shows that sensible and honest politics, as Havlicek says, are the most effective and most practical. In the end the ones that we call idealists are always right, and they do for the state, for the nation, and for mankind more than those politicians, that are said to be realistic and clever. The smart fellows are stupid in the long run." P. 157.

Karel Capek, demurring, said: "Except that in their own time the idealists are not usually right." To which Masaryk replied:

"Sometimes they are not, sometimes they are: in politics too God's mills grind slowly, but they grind very fine. If I speak of morality in politics I am thinking in the first place of political tactics, and of administration as a whole; political practice itself must be moral—of course, the political programme also is subject to ethics. In the same way as the life of the individual and of society I cannot conceive of politics except *sub specie aeternitatis*."

"Of course, any one can write a political programme that is respectable enough, and even high principled. It is something different to know the administration, and to carry it out decently; and again it is something else to understand what, at some given time, is in the interest of the state and of the nation, in difficult and fateful moments to point the way, to decide upon suitable progress—and to lead. In this sense one speaks of higher politics, and one distinguishes between a statesman and a politician, or a party man;" . . . pp. 157-158.

### *The Muslim League and the Wardha Scheme*

The Muslim League has totally rejected the Wardha scheme of education even though it was elaborated with great care by a competent Muslim educationalist, Dr. Zakir Hussain. The rejection is evidently due to its having been conceived by Mahatma Gandhi and "supported by leading Congressmen. But it has its good features, which we pointed out in a previous issue while criticizing it. We want that the appliances, the devices, the small machines, to be used for the handicrafts chosen, should be quite up-to-date.

### *Dr. M. N. Saha Criticizes the Wardha Scheme*

Dr. M. N. Saha has editorially criticized the Wardha scheme in *Science and Culture*. Says he:

The basic principles of education which the Congress follows has been formulated long ago by John Dewey, the educational philosopher of America, and applied with remarkable success in the remodelling of the American system of primary and secondary education. But while Dewey's system aims at creating a society in which the average individual will be enabled to be familiar with the technicalities of the present system of mechanical civilisation, and at adult life will find himself perfectly at home with its ways which appears so bewildering to Indian leaders, the Mahatmaji who inspires the new scheme will have nothing to do with the demon of Machine. After assuring the country of the emergence of a perfect society and everyone of a living wage and the right to freedom, the Mahatmaji expresses himself against the machine and the society produced by the machine in no uncertain language:

"And all this would be accomplished without the horrors of a bloody class war or a colossal capital expenditure such as would be involved in the mechanisation of a vast continent like India. Nor would it entail a helpless dependence on foreign imported machinery or technical skill. Lastly, by obviating the necessity for highly specialised talent, it would place the destiny of the masses, as it were, in their own hands."

Dr. Saha continues:

To us, scientists, it appears that the Mahatma's system lacks in progressive vision, i.e., it does not say how villages are to be linked to the cities, and how the industries which are indispensable for the Nation's life and for the body politic (those connected with transport, communication, power, essential chemicals, etc.) are ever to be managed by Indians for the benefit of the Indian population. Apart from adopting a policy of *laissez faire* to these urgent problems, his whole attitude towards the machine and the modern city-civilisation is one of *defeatism*. He looks at its evils, but does not try to understand its mechanism of work and he starts with the inner conviction that the machine civilization must be intrinsically evil. But may we submit that it is a wrong reading of history to say that the mechanisation of a vast continent like India would necessarily entail a bloody class war, or colossal expenditure, foreign experts, or foreign machinery.

Dr. Saha admits the evils that at first resulted from the Industrial revolution in Europe and explains why they resulted:

It is true that the Industrial Revolution in Europe caused great social dislocation and political unrest, but this was due to the fact that the discoveries of science were first utilized by capitalists for the sake of private gain, and statesmen and leaders of thought were slow to realize their repercussion on society and at first adopted a policy of *laissez faire* towards them just as the Mahatmaji proposes to do now and expressed itself in class war and sometimes popular discontent. When the problems could no longer be avoided, they had to introduce beneficent but contentious legislation in order to achieve social welfare.

He concludes:

But it is the test of statesmanship to learn from lessons of history: there is the example of Europe's apt pupil, Japan, which has introduced the Industrial Revolution *without the horrors of a class war*\* or

\* Our appreciation of the achievements of Japan has nothing to do with her aggressive policy towards China which we unreservedly condemn.—Ed., *Science & Culture*

without having to borrow foreign technicians or foreign capital. What has been achieved by Japan can also be achieved in India provided the Nation will so. It would be a happy day for India if the Mahatma can overcome his attitude of defeatism towards the Machine, devote a little time to the mastery of the technique of modern civilization, and then makes up his mind. We are quite sure that he will find that the machine, instead of being man's master can also be made his slave, and that it is possible to utilize the machine for promoting social welfare much more efficiently than with the system advocated by him. He can then lead the Nation to the right track with his usual energy of conviction and driving power. Otherwise we feel, that by diverting the attention of the Nation from the only path which holds out prospects of relief against the present problems of poverty, unemployment and defencelessness, he will be committing what we may describe by the oft-quoted phrase as a "Himalayan Blunder."

### *A Leading Congressman's Appreciative Criticism of the Wardha Scheme*

Professor Nripendra Chandra Banerji was Vice-Principal of a Government College in Bengal when the call of Non-co-operation came. He responded, gave up his job, and joined the ranks of active Congressmen. Consequently he had to suffer imprisonment. Coming out of jail he has been both an active political worker and a teacher. He has contributed to the October number of *Science and Culture* an appreciative review of the Wardha scheme of primary education. He has given a short summary of the theory and practice of the scheme, "mostly in the words of the originators and of the fountain-source, Mahatma Gandhi." His general observations are:

Now the *sociological idea of a state based on absolute non-violence* where there is no need for even a defensive national army, navy and air-force, where internal order and international order will be kept by loving persuasion and kindly compromise, by the sanctions of moral force and the leverage of a cultured intelligence only is an entrancing idea; it is Gandhism at its apex. Intellectual India admires the Ideal but with very great mental reservations.

Also the *economic idea of socialization by tacking India to a handicraft civilization and keeping industrialization at arm's length* to be shunned as something essentially unholy and ravenous is another of those ideas which is being increasingly rejected by Indian intellectuals, savants and scientists.

We hold to non-violence as a beautifully romantic and essentially practical technique of political struggle by an unarmed nation of slaves against a fully armed police state; we do not consider it as a feasible and practical basis for a full-grown, independent state.

We believe in the necessity, nay the urgency, of reviving and revitalizing, our old village industries, by new modes of harnessing of power and electricity in an increasing measure and wherever necessary. We have,

however, no dread of the modern machine when it is used for social and constructive ends of production and distribution. The machine is a human product and a human product becomes evil only when it is evilly used. We do not believe India can ever become a first-class state without planned and speedy creation and socialization of key industries.

His appreciative criticism of the Wardha scheme itself is quoted below:

In spite of these beliefs, we are definitely of opinion that the Wardha scheme of education is a very useful, interesting and efficient scheme, which if *properly* launched, after a *proper training* of a large body of intelligent, selfless and patriotic teachers, with *proper funds* supplied by the state as well as by private agencies, will after a decade or two, give us an entirely novel country-side, buzzing with hope, blazing with social service, lit up by co-operative constructive organizations. It will make the young children virile, alert and active; it will rebuild a new rural India. The education will be an education for a modest living, for citizen service, for moral and physical uplift. All honour to those who rally to this new revolutionary banner (it is revolutionary in the best sense of the term—for the idea and the method are strikingly new and adapted to the betterment of our sleepy, inert, starved villages, which are 7 lacs in number).

But at the same time, the needs of pure culture and training in the arts and sciences and industries must not be forgotten: there must be another scheme equally revolutionary to link up the village life with the city life, to link up handicrafts with key industries, to connect the thought, the research, the poetry, the philosophy, the science of India with the world as a whole—a scheme which will provide for skilled technicians, first-class scientists and thinkers and poets, able to pull their weight in the arts of offence and defence, in the spheres of Economics, Science and Letters. For it is a utopian dream to think of shunting India away from the highways of modern endeavour back to the ruts of the peaceful, contented village commune, producing its food and clothing and other simple needs and falling eventually a prey (as of old) to ravening Powers armed to the teeth with the death-dealing weapons of war, and equipped with the modern industrial and economic organizations helped by money-power and propaganda. With these reservations, we commend the Wardha scheme of education to the general public.

### *Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's Presidential Address at Indian History Congress*

The Indian History Congress which began its sittings in the Allahabad University Senate Hall on the 8th October last was attended by nearly 200 delegates from all over the country. Sir Digby Drake Brockmann, chairman, U. P. Public Services Commission, who had been elected chairman of the reception committee of the Congress, welcomed the delegates in an appropriate speech. His Highness the Maharaja of Benares then delivered his inaugural address.

Thereafter Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who was the first Carmichael Professor of History in the Calcutta University, delivered his presidential address, in which, among other things, he traced the origin and growth of the science of history in ancient India. He expressed the view that:

The historic sense had always been germane to the Indian mind. And if it did not manifest itself at any particular period by all sections of the people, it was not on account of the extinction of that faculty in them. It always remained dormant in them and exhibited itself when there was a suitable opportunity. The case is not unlike the womanhood in India. Women of South India always and actively participated in the politics of their province in the ancient period. Somehow the women of North India did not cut a prominent figure in the political sphere. Things were, however, different in Kashmir. The Queens of Kashmir, Kalhana tells us, were sprinkled with the sacred waters of the coronation side by side with their consorts. They had separate funds, their own treasurers and councillors and were actively interested in the government of the country. They received the homage of the feudatory chiefs when they held open court. Things, however, changed completely, when the indigenous rule disappeared and the natives of Kashmir emigrated in all directions. Now with the reforms conferred upon India, we suddenly find a Kashmiri lady not only being returned to the Assembly in spite of a formidable rival but actually holding the portfolio of a Minister in the U. P. Government. Similarly, why need we wonder if with the advent of the modern renaissance we find Indians from all parts of the country carrying on research work in the domain of History in all its branches which is in no way inferior to that done in Europe and America.

### *Indian Historical Exhibition*

In connection with the Indian History Congress at Allahabad the Hon. Mr. Sampurnanand, Education Minister of the United Provinces, opened an Indian Historical Exhibition. In his opening speech he held up a high ideal of the true historian's work when he said:

We do not ask him (the historian) to falsify facts and torture records to yield evidence in support of untenable doctrines although, unfortunately, examples are not lacking in this country and elsewhere, of scholars having prostituted their learning in the service of the wielder of temporal power. We do not want this but surely we have the right to expect that the historian will so present facts that the essential factors which bind man to man and endow him with a common culture and heritage shall be brought prominently into relief.

### *Re-writing the History of India*

At the Indian History Congress at Allahabad the question of the re-writing of Indian history was considered. Of course, it requires to be re-written. The writers require to be equipped with a knowledge of the results of the latest researches. At the same time they must be able to write with sufficient detachment and

impartiality. In these days of communalism and anti-imperialism, these virtues are not very easy to find, nor does it pay to try to cultivate them. For one must not seek to please nor be afraid of giving offence if necessary.

### *Indian Delegation to the British Commonwealth Relations Conference*

Properly speaking, the British Commonwealth Relations Conference, which was held at Sydney, Australia, recently, ought to have been confined to the members of the Commonwealth proper, namely, the Dominions. But India, which is not a Dominion, was 'represented' by some delegates chosen by the Government of India. It is some gain that the Indian delegates have been able to acquire some experience of Australia and have been able to give the Conference a bit of their mind. For instance, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, leader of the Indian delegation, said, in part:

My country is not a part of the British Commonwealth, yet; it is only a part of the British Empire. I am at present a serf on Lord Lothian's estate, but I hope that the spirit which animates the British Commonwealth Relations Conference will spread, and inspire those who guide the politicians of the Commonwealth. I hope that the British Empire will give way to the British Commonwealth and the British Commonwealth, may I modestly put it, to an Indo-British Commonwealth.

As a member of the Servants of India Society the Pandit favours the permanence of the Indo-British connection. Had he been a member of the Congress, he would not have looked forward to Dominion Status as either India's goal or as India's halfway house. But then in that case he would not have been in the delegation at all!

### *Dr. Kalidas Nag in Australia and New Zealand*

Dr. Kalidas Nag of the Calcutta University, who went to Australia as a member of the Indian delegation to the second British Commonwealth Relations Conference, visited New Zealand also, and addressed the members of the Lyceum Club, Wellington, on problems of peace and war. He stressed the work which women were doing for peace, and said they could do more by the power of love and sympathy which they possessed.

The fatal "divorce" of individual and national ethics was the basis of world unrest today, the speaker affirmed, and he explained how Gandhi, the Indian leader, worked not only for India, but was always thinking how humanity could be saved from this fateful distortion of truth.

What was lacking in the mechanism of life today, Dr. Nag said, was that light which induced universal love and understanding. People had to identify themselves with the universal, and when the individual and the universal were in accord peace and harmony would come to the world.

Dr Nag then spoke about the doctrines and aspirations of Rabindranath Tagore, the great Indian poet, in whose opinion civilisation today knew only its own machines and what they achieved for nations.

Tagore said that it was aggressive nationalism which upset the world. At every step today war was in the air, and the message which this poet and philosopher gave to mankind was that warlike people should be segregated just as infectious diseases were, and by gentle nursing could then be brought back to health, sanity of outlook, equilibrium and peace. Women in this respect had endless power and sympathetic understanding and Tagore thought that they could do much to keep peace in the world.

Terrible poverty existed in India while the Europeans were making millions out of the jute the Indians were producing. That state of affairs could not go on, the women would not allow it to go on. They were not politicians, but they were economists. If woman was given the preference between war and peace she would vote for peace, and the time would come when women would demand peace and Nature would be able to readjust her balance.

Dr Nag concluded his address by saying that the women of India were contributing to this idea of universal peace by working silently and in a spirit of sacrifice for their ideals. Schools and colleges of India were based on co-operation among different castes, where education worked as a great unifier.

The president of the Club, Mr Johannes Andersen, welcomed the guest of honour and introduced him to the audience.

Dr. Nag spoke also at the P E N Club, "the youngest branch of the P. E. N." and had a cordial reception there.

He spoke with much enthusiasm of the beautiful air, blue seas and sky, and natural attributes of New Zealand, which had impressed him most favourably. He felt that there must be much latent poetry in a country with so many advantages.

So much beauty in nature must surely produce a corresponding beauty of soul, and he had a great confidence in the generosity and kindness of the people. A great understanding came through art and literature, and one country would be brought much nearer to another by these beautiful means instead of by politics or talk of war. Dr Nag spoke of the great Indian poet Tagore, and said that the actual feeling on the part of people who cared for literature that their country was not doing or producing its best was a sure sign that something better was sure to evolve. In stumbling, we gradually arrived at the beauty of rhythm, and perfect grace was bound to come in time. So long as people missed the best in literature so long would they make steps towards something finer and more worthy.

Another meeting which Dr. Nag addressed was at Auckland.

That India's goodwill should be cultivated as a means of strengthening the Empire was the opinion expressed this morning by Dr. Kalidas Nag, professor of ancient history at the University of Calcutta, on his arrival by the Monterey, after attending the second British Commonwealth Relations Conference as an Indian delegate.

The main problem in India at the present time was the establishment of self-government, he said.

If trouble came, India's goodwill would be of the greatest value, and it could only be developed through Dominion status.

In trade the interests of India differed greatly from those of the other parts of the Empire, continued Dr. Nag, and for this reason it had been necessary in 1936 to make a complete breakaway from the operation of the Ottawa agreements. India abolished the agreements because of the conditions governing her secondary industries and the tightness of the money market. The effect of the Ottawa policy had been to create stagnation in industry, with consequent harm to the nation's life.

Dr. Nag said the conference in Sydney had discussed many burning topics, and he was impressed by the fraternity of the gathering.

As the head of the Indian delegation and as admittedly the ablest and most experienced public man among its members, the Hon'ble Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru must have made a striking contribution to the discussion of these topics. But we are not in possession of any report of these discussions. We have only two of his speeches before us; namely, the speech delivered by him at the Conference as leader of the Indian delegation, from which a short extract has already been made, and the speech broadcast by him from Sydney.

### *Pandit Kunzru's Speech at British Commonwealth Relations Conference*

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru began his speech at the British Commonwealth Relations Conference by acknowledging the warmth of reception given to the Indian delegates and the splendid hospitality extended to them and the other representatives. "No body," said he, "is more grateful to you for your cordiality than the prohibited immigrants from India."

Apart from this, since we touched the shores of Australia we have acquired knowledge and experience, the memory of which will never be effaced from our minds. We have seen here a degree of happiness and prosperity which has not met our eyes in any of the countries which it has been our good fortune to visit so far. It is a matter of great inspiration to us to realise that this happiness and prosperity are based on a more even distribution of the fruits of human industry, on greater social justice and on a larger measure of human freedom than are to be found in most of the older countries. We naturally believe that as the British Commonwealth of Nations meets in this atmosphere of justice and freedom, the deliberations of the Conference will lead to the creation of that spirit which will

harmonise the internal and external differences to which Lord Lothian gave such eloquent expression.

Continuing, the Pandit observed:

To me the great value of the Conference lies in the fact that it represents not merely the people of one race or culture, but people who are representatives of different races, languages, cultures and economic interests. And if their interests are to be harmonised, and the conflicts we see between them are to be adjusted, we must find some means more potent and more lasting than force, which, unhappily, western nations regard as a sign of greatness and gloiy. How is the spirit, which will make the solution of our difficulties possible, to be cultivated? The sages of my country long ago said that the basis of right action is the recognition of the great truth "Thy neighbour is thyself." We must cultivate universal ideals. National ideals are insufficient to bring peace to the world. We have to recognise that the interests of the peoples around us are quite as important as those of our own nation. Is not this only an extension of the fundamental principles of democracy which require that we should identify our interests with those of others? And it is for the fundamental principles of democracy that we all stand. Democracy has received rude shocks all over the world, but it fortunately still flourishes in a few countries, among which are the countries included in the British Commonwealth of Nations. These countries, therefore, have an important part to play in convincing the world of the value of democratic ideals. They must by their relations towards other members prove the value of the principles which they proclaim, and demonstrate by their actions and by the unity which they are able to achieve among themselves, that peace and goodwill are within the reach of the world at large, provided it chooses the same path which they have followed.

### *Pandit Kunzru's Broadcast Speech*

The three main topics with which Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru dealt in his broadcast speech in Australia were the Congress and non-Congress provincial governments functioning in India, the Federal provisions of the Government of India Act, and the restrictions on the entry of Indians into certain parts of the British Empire and their disabilities in certain other parts. By mentioning some of the lines of work initiated and carried out by our provincial governments he was able to assert that "this should provide good proof of Indian capacity in the provincial sphere." The Federal provisions which he criticized have been criticized and condemned so often that it is not necessary to repeat them, but as most of his hearers were not aware of them, he did well to bring them to their notice, proving that the "measure of constitutional reform" passed three years ago was *not* of "a generous character." We do not know why he did not refer to the fact that the Government of India Act does not give the Federal Legislature any control over Defence. He spoke strongly and convincingly on the last topic that he dealt

with, *viz.*, discrimination against Indians in various parts of the British Empire.

### *Yone Noguchi Criticizes "The Modern Review"*

In the course of his letter to the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, dated October 2nd, 1938, sent to some papers for publication, Mr. Yone Noguchi writes:

Admitting that China completely defeated Japan in foreign publicity, it is sad that she often goes too far, and plays trickery. For one instance I will call your attention to the reproduced pictures from a Chinese paper on page 247 of *The Modern Review* for last August, as a living specimen of "Japanese Atrocities in China: Execution of Chinese Civilians." So awful pictures they are,—awful enough to make ten thousand enemies of Japan in a foreign country. But the pictures are nothing but a Chinese invention, simple and plain, because the people in the scenes are all Chinese, slaughterers and all. Besides any one with commonsense would know, if he stops for a moment, that it is impossible to take such a picture as these at the front. Really I cannot understand how your friend-editor of *The Modern Review* happened to publish them.

Mr. Noguchi says,

"it is impossible to take such pictures as these at the front."

But who said they were taken *at the front*? They might have been taken at places already under Japanese occupation for some time.

The pictures referred to were reproduced from photographs sent to us by a trustworthy friend who has been in China for months and who is neither Chinese nor Japanese. There were other photographs sent to us which were still more revolting. Two were indecent, not meant for publication, but for the information of the Congress President and ourselves as to how some Chinese women were treated. These, along with others, we sent to him. The bombing of open towns and villages, killing countless civilians—men, women and children, and other Japanese barbarities on a colossal scale which have been reported in the papers and brought to the notice of the League of Nations, have not been contradicted. The atrocities of which we published pictures are mere peccadilloes in comparison. We have found these pictures in some Chinese pamphlets also. Mr. Noguchi says the men in the pictures, slaughterers and all, are Chinese. But how can one distinguish Chinese from Japanese in these photographs?

We have no feelings of hostility against the people of Japan, and never intended to make enemies of them. But it is our unpleasant duty to record facts. Our pictures cannot make more



enemies of Japan than the atrocities ascribed to her in numerous newspapers.

Incidentally we may observe that Mr. Yone Noguchi makes an important admission in his letter, namely, that "nobody in Japan ever dreams that we can conquer China." "What Japan is doing in China, it is only, as I already said, is to correct the mistaken idea of Chiang Kai-shek; on this object Japan is staking her all." A rather expensive and diabolical method of correcting the mistake of an individual!

### *Congress National Industrial Planning*

BOMBAY, Oct. 24

A complete map of the industrial possibilities in India is to be prepared by the National Planning Committee which will meet in Bombay in December next. It is believed that the Committee will have the co-operation of the non-Congress provinces, and some of the major Indian States. The personnel of the Committee, which was recently announced by the Congress President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, will also be strengthened.

The National Planning Commission, it is learnt, will be constituted by the middle of 1939, when the labours of the Committee are expected to be completed. The Commission will consist of the Ministers for Industries in the provinces and States co-operating for the execution of the plan, four representatives of commercial bodies and one representing the All-India Village Industries Association. The members of the Planning Committee will be ex-officio members on the Planning Commission.

It is expected that by the time the Planning Committee starts its inquiry, the reports of the Industrial Survey Committees appointed in various provinces and Indian States will be ready. The Committee may attempt to undertake a systematic survey on the natural resources.

Immediate attention, it is said, will be paid by the Committee to the establishment of factories intending to produce machinery and supplies for railway, the army and air services. This will include the examination of the scheme for starting an automobile industry in Bombay.

Next in importance will be the question of starting heavy chemical industries, such as the manufacture of sulphuric acid, caustic soda and bleaching powder, factories for manufacturing agricultural tools and machinery, an hydro-electrical appliances.

The Committee, while taking decisions on starting particular industries, will have regard to the consideration, as to whether the products made from indigenous raw material can be consumed within the country. The second choice will be in favour of those industries whose products find large-scale consumption in the country, though raw materials required are not available locally.

The question of starting large-scale industries will be the first to be tackled on a national basis, because they include basic and key-industries and at present a high form of industrial enterprise. The co-operation of the foreign manufacturers, it is stated, will be secured for the purpose of starting the industries in case it is found that the local talent and technique available at the moment is not up to the mark.—A. P.

It will be all to the good if the non-Congress provinces co-operate. Their co-operation would have been more certain if their Indus-

tries Ministers had been invited to the Congress Industries Ministers' Conference.

### *Indian Postal Rates Not Cheapest*

Mr. G. V. Bewoor, Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, is reported to have said in the course of an informal talk with members of the Mysore Chamber of Commerce on the 22nd October that "India has the cheapest postal rate in the world." This is not true. Japan's rates are cheaper, and there may be cheaper rates elsewhere, too.

### *Industrial Survey of Bengal*

DARJEELING, Oct. 24.

The *Associated Press* understands that the Government of Bengal have appointed a committee for the purpose of carrying on an extensive industrial survey of the province.

The committee will consist of the following:

Dr. J. P. Niyogi, Minto Professor of Economics, Calcutta University; Dr. J. Ghose, Professor of Chemistry, Dacca University; Prof. S. K. Mitra of the College of Science, Calcutta University; Dr. N. N. Law, Mr. M. A. Ispahani, Mr. Rajsekhar Bose, Mr. B. M. Birla, Mr. S. C. Mitter, Director of Industries, Bengal (ex-officio member), and Mr. J. N. Sen-Gupta, Secretary of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce as secretary.

The Chairman of the committee has not yet been selected, but it is probable that the services of Dr. John Matthai, Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, will be requisitioned for the purpose.

Though the personnel of the Congress Committee appointed for the purpose of national industrial planning shows that President Bose has wisely selected the members irrespective of their political affiliations, if any (or none at all), it is not impossible that political caste conventions stood in the way of the non-Congress Industries Ministers being invited to the Delhi Conference. But non-Congress provinces cannot afford to and must not lag behind the Congress provinces in the development of industries—particularly Bengal, which, so far at least as the sons of the soil are concerned, is backward in industrial enterprise. Hence, the industrial survey of Bengal to be undertaken by the Committee appointed for the purpose is a welcome and urgently needed move. The personnel has been well chosen.

### *Sj. N. R. Sarker's Address on Industrialization*

Political caste conventions may stand in the way of Congressmen casting even a glance at the address on the prospects of industrialization of India which Sj. Nalini Ranjan Sarker delivered at Gwalior on the 2nd September



last. But the Bengal Industrial Survey Committee are not bound by any such convention. They will find in Mr. Sarker's address the need of industrialization and mechanization discussed. He also discusses whether the evils of industrialization are inevitable. It is shown in the address that some industries must be on a large scale and centralized; that there should not be a slavish adoption of foreign methods and theories, that a sudden break with the past should be avoided; that cottage industries, middle-sized industries, and large-scale industries must all find a place in a national scheme; that the balance of national life as between agriculture and industry must be maintained; and that rural sites should be chosen for some centralized industries. Mr. Sarker surveys India's industrial progress and past achievements, and industrial development in different directions. New possibilities are dwelt upon. The need and scope for state assistance are also treated of. It is pointed out that there is need for caution: *e.g.*, "For a long time to come the extent of the market available within our own country should be the limit of our industrial development." Mr. Sarker refers in this connection to the recent industrial experience of Ireland. The penultimate section of the address is devoted to considering how far industrialization can solve our unemployment problem. The concluding passage, relating to industrial co-operation between British India and the Indian States, has been quoted in a previous note.

### *Pandit Kunzru in Fiji*

NEW DELHI, Oct. 23

The Indian Association, Fiji, cabling to the *Associated Press*, says that Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru arrived there on October 20 and is studying the conditions of Indians in the Island.

At a public reception given to him he expressed appreciation of the qualities of honesty and industry with which the Indian residents had overcome serious disadvantages and had established themselves in the Island.

The Indians in Fiji have expressed their sense of gratitude to him for his visit.—*A. P. I.*

### *"Absolute Acceptance" (?) of British Rule Before 1914 or 1917 !*

In September last at Simla under the presidency of Sir M. N. Mukherji, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai delivered a lucid address on the basic principles of modern states. In the course of that address he said:

"After the year 1857 and up to the year 1914 or perhaps even 1917, if you examine your poetry or litera-

ture, your history and the minds of Indians at large at the time, you will see that there was an absolute acceptance without question of what was called Pax Britannica. They did not question how it came, why it arose and when it arose; they just accepted it as a blessing. I think the learned President from his own experience in his own language, which is much richer than mine, and many others present here, will be able to recite poems which were composed in 1860s, 1870s, composed by a large number of poets of the time about the beneficence of the British rule and praising that rule. There is a poem which says that the greatest thing that was done by the British rule was that it enabled a tiger and a goat to drink in the same stream. Whether the tiger became a goat or a goat the tiger I need not examine here, but the fact remains that that was how we were brought up to accept that rule. Therefore the condition of the human mind is such that mere acceptance makes even a wrong thing right."

As Mr. Bhulabhai Desai referred to poetry or other literature and history in proof of his statement that up to 1914 or 1917 there was absolute acceptance of British rule in India, as he referred to the poetry in Sir M. N. Mukherji's mother tongue, and as we have more knowledge of Bengali literature and of Bengal's modern history than of the literature and history of any other province, we examined Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's statements in some detail in the *Kārtic* number of *Prabāsi*, citing many passages in verse and prose from Bengali writers of eminence, to show that so far at least as Bengal is concerned Mr. Desai was wrong. There has been all along *conditional* acceptance of British rule; there is *conditional* acceptance still. Neither before nor after the year 1857 was there ever *absolute* acceptance of British rule in India by the political and intellectual leaders of the country. As for *conditional* acceptance, until 1929 even the Congress did not definitely declare its goal to be independence, and even after that declaration Congress has been working the British constitution—no doubt, it is said, in order to gain sufficient strength to overthrow British power afterwards. In spite of their conditional acceptance of British rule, the Congress Ministers are undoubtedly all for independence.

When Rammohun Roy constituted himself "His Majesty's Opposition", his acceptance of British rule was similarly conditional. He wanted his countrymen to gain strength enough during the period of such conditional acceptance to win freedom afterwards. If at any particular period any Indian or Indians did not rise in armed or non-violent rebellion against British rule, that cannot be interpreted as *absolute* acceptance of it on his or their part, any more than Mahatma Gandhi could be rightly called an absolute acceptor of British

rule when he turned honorary recruiting officer for the British Government when the World War broke out. If any individual or collection of individuals do not feel and express any dissatisfaction, do not protest, do not disobey unjust official orders, do not look forward to the time when India would be free, then alone can it be said that he or they have absolutely accepted British rule.

As we have already quoted passages from Mr. C. F. Andrews' Bangalore address on Rammohun Roy showing how freedom-loving he was, we need not say more on the subject here. We will only refer to the fact that he anticipated India's intransigence and looked forward to Indian independence. On a new Jury Act coming into operation in 1827, Rammohun Roy petitioned against the Act in 1828 to both Houses of Parliament, because the Act discriminated against Hindus and Muslims racially and on the ground of their religion. In one passage of his representation he asked: "Supposing that 100 years hence the native character becomes elevated", "is it possible that they will not have the spirit as well as the inclination to resist effectually any unjust and oppressive measures serving to degrade them in the scale of society?" He went on to add:

"It should not be lost sight of that the position of India is very different from that of Ireland, to any quarter of which an English fleet may suddenly convey a body of troops that may force its way in the requisite direction and succeed in suppressing every effort of a refractory spirit.

Were India to share one-fourth of the knowledge and energy of that country, she would prove from her remote situation, her riches and her vast population, either useful and profitable as a willing province, an ally of the British empire, or troublesome and annoying as a determined enemy."

Rammohun Roy's *Remarks on Settlement in India by Europeans* holds up to the people of India the prospect of "India possibly independent and India the Enlightener of Asia."

Though Rammohun Roy belonged to a period anterior to the period referred to by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, we have referred to his political attitude because that was the attitude of many leaders of society in Bengal before and after 1857. "Prince" Dwarkanath Tagore and Maharshi Debendranath Tagore were unwilling to accept any titles from the British Government. Raj Narain Bose, grandfather of Sri Aurobindo, declared himself in favour of the independence of India.

Coming to the 20th century, but to a period before Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's *annus mirabilis* 1914, we note that during the Bengal anti-Partition and Swadeshi movements Bepin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose, Syam Sundar Chakravarti and others held aloft the banner of independence both in speech and writing. It was then that Bepin Chandra Pal delivered his famous addresses on full freedom and independence for India on the Madras beach. Bepin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose, Upādhyāy Brahmabāndhab, etc., were known as "Extremists." The "Moderates" were Surendranath Banerjea, Krishna Kumar Mitra, etc. But they, too, disobeyed the Government order not to shout "Bande Mataram," vigorously carried on the work of the Anti-circular Society against some circulars of the Government, and boycotted British goods. In consequence, the "Moderate" Krishna Kumar Mitra was deported along with some others. The Government did not believe that they were guilty of "absolute acceptance" of British rule! All this took place before 1914.

That "absolute acceptance" of British rule was not a matter of course in pre-1914 Bengal is proved by another hard fact. And that fact is the terrorist movement, which originated before 1914. We are not here concerned with the wisdom or unwisdom or the ethical character of that movement. What we are concerned with is the fact that it was a movement of violent revolt and that the object of the rebels was to free India by overthrowing British rule. This is not the place to discuss the strength or importance of the movement. Suffice it to say that Government considered it so strong and important that it deprived thousands of Bengal's youth (of both sexes) of their liberty—some after trial, more without any and for indefinite periods. The many repressive "lawless laws" which have adorned the statute book in Bengal are due to this movement. The fact that the Communal Decision and the Government of India Act of 1935 have hit the Bengali Hindus hardest are due to the fact that Government most probably believed (and most probably still believe) that the Bengali Hindus (and Bengali Congressites) were in active or passive sympathy with the terrorist movement. We are not in a position to judge of the correctness or otherwise of this probable belief of the Government.

But it is beyond the shadow of a doubt that in Bengal before 1914 there was no absolute

acceptance of British rule,—and, of course, there has not been any since then.

And we have given proofs of what we say. We do not know why Mr. Bhulabhai Desai ignored these well-known facts. mentioned.

We will now consider the evidence of Bengali literature bearing on the alleged absolute acceptance of British rule or its opposite.

We have spoken and shall speak only of Bengal because we cannot speak of any other province with any degree of knowledge.

### *Bengali Literature and "Absolute Acceptance" of British Rule*

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai said in his lecture that the learned President, Sir M. N. Mukherji, "will be able to recite poems", "composed by a large number of poets of the time about the beneficence of the British rule and praising that rule. There is a poem which says that the greatest thing that was done by the British rule was that it enabled a tiger and a goat to drink in the same stream." We do not remember to have read Bengali poems of this description composed by "a large number" or Bengali poets. In fact we do not remember even a single such poem composed by any notable poet. There may be such verses in school text-books at present in use, approved and prescribed by the Director of Public Instruction, which we have not read. When we were school boys in vernacular schools—that was more than sixty years ago—there were no such verses even in our text-books. So far as our knowledge goes there is no such Bengali poem relating to a tiger and a goat as has been mentioned by Mr. Desai. We have consulted several gentlemen who have a more extensive knowledge of Bengali literature than ourselves. None of them could give us any clue to the large (or even small) number of poems laudatory of British rule or to the co-drinking tiger and goat poem.

In *The Modern Review* we shall not quote from all the poems from which we have quoted in Prabāsi, as it would take up too much space to print the original lines with their translations. We shall quote only a few lines. Before doing so, we have to remind our readers that as incitement to rebellion, rousing feeling of hatred against the Government, and bringing it into contempt are penal offences, such lines are not to be expected. If there be poems in praise of independence and poems expressing profound dissatisfaction with the political

condition of India and strong desire for freedom, that should be taken as sufficient disproof of "absolute acceptance" of British rule. It is also to be borne in mind that politicians who may consider it expedient to be content with compromises, such as local self-government, colonial self-government, or Dominion Status, are not true exponents of the deep-seated longings of the people, but that poets who are under no necessity to worship at the shrine of expediency and compromise correctly represent the yearnings of the nation.

The following lines are from "Padminir Upākhyān," by Rangalal Bandyopādhyāy, published in 1858:

"Swādhinatā-hinatāy ké banchitē chay hé,  
ké bānchitē chāy ?

Dāsattwa-shrinkhal bala ké paribé pāy hé,  
ké paribé pāy ?

Koti kalpa dās thākā narakér prāy hé,  
narakér prāy;

Dinékér swādhinatā swarga-sukha tāy hé,  
swarga-sukha tāy."

"Who desires to live deprived of liberty,  
so to live who desires?

Who will wear chains on his legs,  
who will wear ?

To remain slaves for aeons is like hell,  
like hell it is;

There is heavenly bliss in a single day's  
freedom,  
in it there is heavenly bliss."

Hem Chandra Bandyopādhyāy wrote in his famous "Bhārat-Sangit", published in 1870:

Bāj ré shingā, bāj éi rabé,

Shuniyā Bhāratē jāguk sabé:

'Sabāi swādhin é bipul bhabé,

Sabāi jāgrata mānér gaurabé

Bhārat shudhu ki ghumāyē rabé.'"

"Blow, my horn, blow with this cry,

That, listening, all in Bhārat may awake:

'All in this wide world are free,

All awake in honour's glory,

Will Bhārat alone remain asleep?"

And more in the same and still more stirring strains.

Years afterwards Rabindranath Tagore sang in the same strain: "Dina āgata oi, Bhārat tabu koi?" "Yonder is the day come; but where is Bhārata?"

In 1867 Naba Gopal Mitra founded the Hindu Melā or the Hindu Fair, encouraged by and with the help of the Tagores and Raj Narain Bose. In the first year's Melā was sung Dwijendranath Tagore's song,

Nor does the statesmanlike desire of Mr. P. R. Das to build up an undivided Indian nation appear to have troubled Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Mr. Das quoted and laid stress upon the provisions in the constitutions of the United States of America and the Australian

Commonwealth to prevent any one of their state from discriminating against persons belonging to their other states. Without such non-discrimination there can be no nation-building.

### *Release of Bengal Political Prisoners*

Several hundred political prisoners in Bengal still remain to be released. The gradual and grudging release of the thousands who had been deprived of their liberty without or after trial, has not in the least disturbed the peace of Bengal. That should have been a ground for the release of those still behind the prison bars. But all the arguments and pleadings of Mahatma Gandhi and latterly of President Subhas Chandra Bose have not availed to open the prison gates for these unhappy persons. The public must continue to demand their liberation.

### *The Wretched Plight of Many Released Politicals*

Many politicals, interned for years without trial, find themselves entirely without means of subsistence after release. Government have not done their duty by them. Nor is the public sufficiently alive to their wretched plight. Some have in utter despondency committed suicide. Others are physical wrecks and suffering from fatal maladies. . . .

### *Sufferers from Flood*

The waters are slowly receding from the flooded areas in half the districts of Bengal. But the sufferers from the floods are still without adequate relief. Food and clothing and, in some cases, repairs or reconstruction of huts, are urgently required. In the wake of the receding waters many diseases have made their appearance in many areas—some in epidemic form.

### *China and Japan*

Canton and Hankow have fallen. The Japanese are jubilant. The hearts of the Chinese must be heavy, and there is sadness in India.

. . . But the end is not yet.

LONDON, Oct. 24.

Mr. Quo Tai-Chi, Chinese Ambassador in London told *Reuter*, "there is no foundation for the rumours that Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek will resign. He certainly will not. It is equally untrue that Mr. Wang Chungshi, Foreign Minister, and Mr. Wang Ching-Wei, former Premier, have gone to see the Foreign Ambassadors and to discuss mediation. The loss of Canton and Hankow, which, I, fear, we must expect, does not affect our

strategy, which is always based on a clear recognition of Japan's undeniable military advantages in the coastal regions, but so far from being a decisive factor, Japan's captures merely increase her difficulties by compelling her to scatter her forces. We have still plenty of ammunition for months to come.—*Reuter*.

The Chinese have not disclosed their plans. Nor the Japanese. Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek has gone to an unknown destination. The retreat of the Chinese from Hankow was orderly.

### *Japanese Diplomat Declares End of British Dominance In Far East*

BERLIN, Oct. 27.

"Britain's predominance in the Far East has come to an end for ever," declares the new Japanese ambassador in Italy, Mr. Shiratori, in an interview in Tokio published in the "Neuest Nachrichten."

After forecasting a speedy cessation of hostilities, Mr. Shiratori continues, "The reorganization of China will take ten years. Several independent individual Governments will be established, according to the example of the United States of America. They will all be under a common President. An alliance with Japan to govern China's military, foreign and political relations and customs union are also contemplated."

Japan did not think of sharing the fruits of her victory with the Western powers but their rights would remain unimpaired. Financial co-operation will be welcome, German technicians and industries will be given preferential treatment." The new China was to become a second Manchukuo.—*Reuter*.

The Japanese diplomat may have counted the chickens before they have been hatched.

### *Chiang Kai-Shek's Confident Message*

CHUNGKING, Oct. 28.

A confident message was received from Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek when the People's Political Council, which is China's Parliament, met at Chungking today.

The message declares the hope that an eventual victory is nearer realization as hostilities extend to the west of the Railways. Thanks to the heroic resistance of troops in the past six months, time has been gained to lay firm foundations for the next phase of the conflict. Preparations for a prolonged resistance are being strengthened and political and military centres are being built behind the Japanese lines.

The message adds, "The situation as it exists today approximates more closely than ever to China's plan of obtaining an ultimate victory."

A determination to continue resistance is reiterated by the Deputy Leader, Wangchingwei, whose statement was greeted with thunderous applause.—*Reuter*.

### *No Peace Prospect in China*

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29.

"All rumours of peace talks in the Sino-Japanese conflict can easily be discounted, simply because a just peace is impossible at the present moment," said the new Chinese Ambassador in the United States at a Press Conference after presenting his credentials to President Roosevelt.—*Reuter*.



*Dr. Rajendra Prasad's Report "re"  
Bengalis in Bihar Not To Be  
Discussed?*

It is said that Mr. P. R. Das has expressed the opinion that the alleged report of Dr. Rajendra Prasad on the problem of Bengalis in Bihar should not be discussed until the Congress Working Committee has disposed of the matter and that Mr. Das says that the summary of the report which has appeared in some papers is wholly unauthorized and may bear no resemblance to the report actually made.

We think the report actually made by Dr. Rajendra Prasad to the Congress Working Committee need not and should not be treated by the Committee as a state secret and should be published. Public discussion of the report may help the Committee to arrive at a correct decision. Discussion of the report after the Committee has pronounced its opinion will be of little use, for all authorities have a natural tendency to stick to "the settled fact" which they consider their decisions to be.

*The Palestine Situation*

The situation in Palestine remains practically unchanged—perhaps it has worsened and become more serious.

Though Britain may not tri-sect that country into three states—all under British suzerainty, and may keep it undivided, she will not agree to give up her paramountcy over it, unless compelled to. She cannot, in fact, renounce supreme power over it without jeopardizing her empire in Asia and her sea and air routes to Australia and New Zealand.

We sympathize with both the Arabs and the Jews, and do not desire that either or both should be under the thumb of British imperialism. But it is difficult to envisage any definite settled future. Suppose Britain retired from the field and left the Arabs and the Jews to settle their disputes themselves. What would be the chances of the Jews getting a fair deal? The Arabs are more numerous, have Arabia proper, Iraq, Syria, etc., behind their backs. Moreover, Germany and Italy would for their own selfish ends back the Arabs and would throw their weight against the Jews because of their anti-Semitism. Feeling safe in this way the Arabs are not likely to be reasonable in their negotiations with the Jews. The retirement of Britain from Palestine would leave the door open for the pursuit of German, Italian and Arab imperialistic ends; for it must not be

forgotten that the Arabs have imperialistic traditions, and even at present there are reports of an elaborate pan-Arab organization with members throughout Europe and the Near East and centre at Berlin.

So while there may be whole-hearted condemnation of British imperialism and demand for its withdrawal, it is not clear what good would result if the demand were met.

President Roosevelt has promised to do his best to safeguard the Jews' right to their national home. But perhaps in "real politics" such promises have little value. In the United States itself Jew-baiting has not disappeared for ever and anti-Jewish riots are not impossible. The future which any plan for helping either the Arabs or the Jews may lead up to is not clear to us.

*The Sad Plight of the Jews in Europe*

The deportation of Polish Jews in Germany, numbering 100,000, appeared to be certain if Poland did not accede to the terms dictated by Germany. But the Polish Jews have been allowed to remain in Germany, to lead a dog's life there deprived of human rights. The treatment of Jews in Italy is cruel, and Czechoslovakia has been making it very hot for them after surrendering to Nazi hectoring. What a mournful lot!

*Bihar to Employ Four Jewish Experts*

In response to a request made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Saiyid Mahmud, Education and Development Minister in Bihar, has agreed to employ four Jewish experts. India should certainly help as many Jews as possible, without, of course, aggravating our own unemployment problem as it affects our intelligentsia.

As regards Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's pleading with the Bihar Cabinet for the Jews, the Pandit may be requested to use his influence to see that pro-Semitism in Bihar does not grow *pari passu* with Bengali-phobia. Perhaps an expert like Captain P. B. Mukherji, the distinguished radiologist, who has recently received fresh recognition from abroad, would not have had to leave Bihar if instead of being a Bengali he had been a Jew recommended by Pandit-ji.

*Oppression in Indian States*

Recently there had been shooting and other essential elements of "strong rule" in some of



the bigger states like Mysore and Travancore. But suddenly some small and obscure states in Orissa have leaped into fame, as perhaps they think, or notoriety, as others think. The small state of Dhenkanal has created a record in this respect. But for British paramountcy these small princes would have been swept away any day. If they are wise they should agree without delay to give their people at least as much civic and political freedom as the people of British India enjoy. There is no other way out of the difficulty. It is noteworthy that Mayurbhanj, the premier state in Orissa, is unaffected by the mania for strong rule.

Hyderabad is under a Muslim prince the vast majority of whose subjects are Hindus. But they are discriminated against in all directions—in the public services, in the matter of educational facilities, and in the enjoyment of religious liberty. No wonder Satyagraha has been started there. Many have been arrested and thrown into jail. But repression will not, cannot end the trouble. Whatever His Exalted Highness the Nizam and his advisers may think, Their Humblenesses the Common Folk are destined to triumph in the long run. It would be wise, therefore, for His Exalted Highness to gracefully yield while there is still time.

### *Travancore Maharaja's Wise Act*

His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore has acted wisely and gracefully in releasing all political prisoners. His state gave the lead in throwing open the temple-doors to the so-called untouchables. Let it create a record in conferring on the people a charter of adequate civic and political liberties.

### *Mahatma Gandhi in N.-W. F. P.*

Mahatma Gandhi's tour in the North-West Frontier Province ought to produce beneficial results. In the course of one of his speeches there he has observed that, so far as the kidnapping and plundering of Hindus in that province are concerned, the situation has grown worse since the acceptance of office by the Congress ministry there. He has advised that ministry to retire if they cannot prevent these crimes. He thinks that Non-violence may be able to produce the desirable atmosphere. If Mahatma himself remains in the province for an appreciable length of time and is allowed to mix with the transfrontier people freely, some good result may be expected.

There is one respect in which provincial autonomy has borne similar fruit in Bengal and the N.-W. F. Province. In Bengal the Muslim masses appear to have got it into their head that Muslim rule has been established in the province and *therefore* they may do what they like to the Hindus with impunity. In consequence, the number of cases of breaking the images in Hindu temples and of defiling the temples, of not allowing Hindu processions with images to pass along certain roads even outside the periods of Muslim worship, of abduction of Hindu women, and the like, has increased. The Frontier and Transfrontier Pathans also may have understood the implications of self-government in a similar way.

### *The Meaning of "Defence" in India*

All our Indian contemporaries appear to have found fault with both the personnel and the terms of reference of the Committee on Indian Defence, known as the Chatfield Committee. This Committee, like the Simon Commission, is an all-white committee, with no dusky member in it.

Along with our contemporaries we may derive some consolation from the meaning which "Defence" bears in India. In free and independent countries, Defence means maintaining the independence of the country and keeping it safe for its own people. In India Defence means maintaining the dependent condition of the country and keeping it safe for the British people. Such being the case, who but Britishers and Britishers alone are fit to be members of the Committee on Indian Defence?

### *The Next Congress President*

Some of our contemporaries have begun to discuss the question of who ought to be the Congress president next year. Some socialists and others have been suggesting that S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose should be the president for another term. Some "nationalist" Bengali Muslims have issued a statement supporting Mr. Bose's claims. The statement is ably drafted, though there is no novelty in the arguments. They think that Mr. Bose will be better able to solve the communal problem than anybody else. Perhaps they think that the practical acceptance of the Communal Decision, with 60 per cent. of the Bengal jobs for Muslims thrown in, means a good solution. We do not know what Mr. Bose thinks

of such a solution. But we are definitely of the opinion that that would be no solution at all. It would rather make the communal problem worse than it is. For there are some people called the Hindus, and there are some of them in Bengal, too, who will not agree to be practically wiped out of the civic and political life and the administration of the country. The Muslim "nationalists" also support Mr. Bose because he is a strong denouncer of the Government scheme of federation. We have no love for that scheme. But we know why Muslims do not like it. They would like it if in the Indian States section of the Federal Assembly, one-third of the seats (preferably more) were ear-marked for the Muslims, as has been done in the British Provinces section. We have strongly criticized and condemned the Government scheme of federation both in our Bengali and English magazine and in the *Asia* magazine of America. But our grounds for such condemnation being different from those of the Muslims, we do not want to play into their hands by shouting with them or even with Congressmen.

As for Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's claims we *may* discuss them when other names, too, have been definitely suggested. Our support of anybody's claims may mean little, as we are not Congressites. But whatever it may be worth, we certainly are not for supporting anybody who will not stand up for the just claims of Bengal, not merely because we are Bengalis, but because it has been wronged more grievously by the Government of India Act of 1935 than any other province, and because the all-India body politic cannot be sound and strong with a seriously wounded member. We would much rather remain silent.

### *Ethiopia Not Yet Conquered*

The telegrams relating to Ethiopia which appear now and then in the papers lead the reader to suspect that Ethiopia has not yet been conquered by Italy. That suspicion is confirmed by reading *The Voice of Ethiopia* which comes from America regularly.

### *Proposed Vivisection of India by the Muslim League*

The Muslim League has very patriotically proposed that there should be two federations

in India, a federation of Muslim provinces and states and a federation of Hindu provinces and states! The Muslim League is so generous as to declare that it will allow Muslim countries outside India to join the Muslim federation!

The Muslim League naively fancies or pretends to fancy, that independent Muslim countries would join its Indian Muslim federation under the thumb of an imperialist Britain!

The Muslim federation is to consist of provinces and states on the 'principle' of "heads we win, tails you lose"! Provinces and States of which most of the inhabitants are Muslim are to be included in the federation. Again, a state having a majority of Hindu inhabitants, as Hyderabad, but having a Muslim ruler, is also to be included in it; but on a similar principle, Kashmir with a Hindu ruler but a majority of Muslim inhabitants is not to be included in the Hindu federation: it must be included in the Muslim federation.

As the Muslim League and its leaders like Mr. Jinnah, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, *et hoc genus omne*, are really henchmen of British imperialists, they cannot understand or believe that,

"If peace and amity between some two hundred nationalities (in U. S. S. R.)—which at the outset were at vastly different stages of economic, political, and cultural development—could be established over one-sixth of the world's surface, all enjoying full freedom to develop their own characteristic national culture, then there is no reason whatever to doubt that the same could be done in the rest of the world, if capitalist exploitation of class by class and nation by nation were eliminated."—From *Tsardom to the Stalin Constitution*, pp. 262-263.

India's population is far less diversified than Soviet Russia's, and hence the establishment of peace and amity between communities should be far easier here than in U. S. S. R.

### *Congress Ministry in Assam*

It is with great pleasure that we note that a stable Congress ministry has been formed in Assam and that the ministers there will accept a salary of only Rs. 500 per mensem.

### *De Valera's Strategy*

Step by step, taking advantage of Britain's weaknesses and difficulties, Mr. De Valera has been forging ahead towards the goal of Eire's complete independence. He has recently given Britain to understand that in case of war breaking out between the latter and any other power, Eire will stand by her if she agreed to

the unification of the whole of that island, but not otherwise. It is said Premier Chamberlain is agreeable to the proposal. In that case Ulster must give up its separatism and agree to form one state with the rest of Eire.

### *Mania For Separation in Central Europe*

The mania for forming separate racial and linguistic states is being carried too far in Central Europe. By 'be-smalling' and weakening Czechoslovakia some of the other small states are increasing Germany's power to swallow them up; whereas, if they could enter into a kind of confederation without weakening Czechoslovakia, they could have remained strong enough to stand up to Germany. Small racial and linguistic groups can maintain their political and cultural freedom and individuality only by combining among themselves against the dictators.

### *A Question to Bikaner*

H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner placed his army and the entire resources of his State at the disposal of Britain when recently there was a probability of the latter being involved in war. A gentleman has sent us a contribution asking in effect why the Maharaja is not placing his resources at the disposal of his famine-stricken subjects, seeing that just now Britain does not stand in need of them.

### *Germany's Unbounded Ambition*

Nazi Germany is looking in all directions for expansion—Switzerland, Alsace-Lorraine, . . . She wants colonies, too. Why not, if other Powers have them? But the autochthons of the Colonies? Have they no rights? Weak peoples have none in the opinion of the mighty ones of Christendom.

### *Wanted a Bengali Linguistic Province*

As Congress has declared itself in favour of linguistic provinces and as the British

Government has also, previously, created the linguistic provinces of Orissa and Sindh, there should be other such provinces also, whether any linguistic group be discriminated against and unjustly treated anywhere or not. But such discrimination and unjust treatment strengthen the case for linguistic provinces. The case for a Bengali linguistic province has thus become stronger. Of course, even if the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar Province be given back to Bengal, there will be thousands of Bengalis in Bihar proper, for whom just treatment must be ensured.

### *"Sudeten Area Never Part of Germany"*

*World Youth* for September 24 last writes:

It should be pointed out that the Sudeten territory of Czechoslovakia, in the whole of its history, has never belonged to Germany. Its inhabitants speak German because they are descendants of 12th century German colonists in the Slavic Kingdom of Bohemia. Early in the 17th century Bohemia became part of Austria, and under the Hapsburgs German was the official language. There is no historical ground for claiming the area as German.

But what chance has authentic history against the mailed fist? or ever had?

The American paper adds:

The real reasons for Hitler's demand, though intentionally obscured, are three:

The Skoda munition works, the Sudeten mountain barrier and its fortifications which bar the German march eastward, and the Nazi hatred of democratic government represented in Central Europe almost solely by the Czech republic.

### *Jute Ordinance Injurious to Jute-Growers and Mill-Workers*

The predominantly Muslim Bengal ministry's Jute Ordinance has not benefited the cultivators who grow jute, most of whom are Muslim, but has gone against their interests by lowering the price of jute. It has injured the mill workers also and has thrown thousands of them out of employ. Hence, there is widespread and strong agitation against it in Bengal. The ordinance must go.

## PEACE—WITH DISHONOUR

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

THE Prime Minister has purchased peace for Great Britain. But at what price? And for how long? For six weeks, six months, or six years? He would be a bold man who would believe that the word of a Dictator could be relied on for even one year after the examples we have had of its being broken time and again as circumstances seemed to show it to be a safe gamble.

It is easy for a householder to purchase peace from a burglar by handing over to him such of his possessions as the burglar covets. The morality of his purchasing his own peace by handing over to the burglar the possessions of some one else is more open to question. Yet that is what our Prime Minister has done to secure for us what can only be a very temporary peace.

The appetite of the bully and dictator grows with what it feeds on. Hitler speaks no English. He reads the press as supplied to him by his Propaganda Minister, Dr. Goebbels. Goebbels and von Ribbentrop assured Hitler that Great Britain would not go to war on account of Czecho-Slovakia and—with Chamberlain at the head of the Government—they were right.

Hitler's extravagant and increased demands shocked the Prime Minister as did his insistence on practically immediate action and occupation of the Sudeten territory with its eighty million pounds' worth of fortifications, but when Hitler "declared categorically that rather than wait he would be prepared to risk a world war" he used exactly the bluff to which Chamberlain could not stand up.

"*Might is Right*," the doctrine that millions died and millions more of us fought and suffered to dethrone in the "war to end war" is again enthroned. Can anyone imagine that this megalomaniac Hitler will stop there, or could if he wished to?

The Prime Minister told the House that Hitler had assured him that he had no further territorial ambitions in Europe. He believed that the German Chancellor really meant this statement. Perhaps he did—but for how long? On 17th May 1933 Hitler said that

"The German people have no thought of invading any country."

On 13th March 1934 he said:

"The German Government have never questioned the validity of the Treaty of Locarno."

On 21st May 1935, after again reiterating that the German Government would scrupulously observe "every Treaty voluntarily concluded" Hitler went on:

"Germany neither intends nor wishes to interfere in the internal administration of Austria, to annex Austria, or to conclude the *anschluss*."

Yet, in spite of these solemn declarations, on 7th March 1936 Hitler denounced the Treaty of Locarno and reoccupied the Rhineland. His words on this occasion may show how much reliance can be put on the document he and the British Prime Minister have signed. These are his words, on 7th March 1936:

"Germany will never break the peace of Europe. I regard the struggle for German equality as concluded to-day. *We have no territorial demands to make in Europe.*"

At the beginning of the Great War the Germans were held up to scorn in this country because of the Kaiser's reference to their Treaty with Belgium as "a scrap of paper". We are bound, as members of the League of Nations, to uphold the integrity of Czecho-Slovakia against aggression. France is bound not only under the Covenant of the League but by a direct Treaty with Czecho-Slovakia. Both of these solemn obligations have been ignored. Indeed we went so far as to tell the Government of Czecho-Slovakia that neither we nor France would abide by our solemn undertakings if they offered any resistance to Hitler's bullying terms and the British Prime Minister further undertook to use the might of Great Britain to see that the Government of Czecho-Slovakia carried them out.

In 1914 we heard a great deal about the small country Belgium being attacked and how we must go to its assistance against the Kaiser and his armies. This was in the minds of many in the House of Commons last week when the Prime Minister, referring to the present situation, said:

"However much we may sympathise with a small nation confronted by a big powerful neighbour, we cannot in all circumstances undertake to involve the whole British Empire in a war simply on her account."

We do seem to have travelled a long way since 1914 and the pledge of the British Government to small nations means now something very different from what it meant then. The law of the jungle, the doctrine that Might is Right, the barbarism that we fought to destroy in the Great War, has now become established in Europe and the head of the British Government is now doing all he can to get on the most friendly relations with the two Dictators who have done so much to dethrone the law of brotherhood and justice. Hitler has abolished law and substituted for it his own decisions—and Britain and France have meekly acquiesced.

It is not without interest too that Russia, who alone undertook to stand by all her obligations to Czecho-Slovakia and fight the German menace, was not invited to Munich and is ignored by the Prime Minister as if she did not exist. It is indeed the case that rather than be beholden to or work with Russia, Mr. Chamberlain would work on terms of good fellowship with the two most ruthless and bullying dictators in the world today.

Mr. Baldwin said in the House of Commons "our frontier is on the Rhine." It would have been truer to say that our frontier was in the Sudeten mountains, where were some of the strongest fortifications in Europe against German aggression. We have now let Germany inside these fortifications without a shot being fired. It may not be long before France bitterly regrets that she did not make a stand against Germany before she gave away what is such a vital part of her own defence system. We have also given over the main sources of raw materials in Czecho-Slovakia and some of her main industries to Germany, along with three-quarters of her lignite coal output, which comes from one of the areas now occupied by Germany. Czecho-Slovakia exports about £50,000,000 a year of textiles, porcelain, glassware, etc. and most of the factories for their manufacture are in the Sudeten areas. Czecho-Slovakia's transport system has been strangled as it now runs through what is German territory. She is indeed in a worse state than was Austria after the War.

Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Jugoslavia are now compelled to come under Germany's sphere of influence and will have to rely more and more on her goodwill. The price they have got to pay for that will be their subservience to Germany's economic and military interests. That is another fruit of our betrayal.

In spite of what the German Chancellor has agreed to with Mr. Chamberlain, can anyone venture a guess as to how long it will be before he brings Memel, Danzig, and the Polish Corridor within the German Reich?

In spite of Mr. Chamberlain's belief in Hitler it is not without significance that all the air raid precautions in this country have to go on, and the trenches dug in the public parks in London and elsewhere have not to be filled in. The rearmament programme of the Navy, Army and especially of the Air Force, is to proceed with increased vigour, while the only one possible enemy is the German Chancellor, whose word Mr. Chamberlain accepts that never again will there be war between Germany and Great Britain, but that all disputes will be settled by negotiation. It would be almost laughable, if it were not so tragic, that the reason of this is that the Prime Minister agrees with the German Chancellor that the recent crisis has been settled by negotiation. It is the kind of negotiation that the armed burglar uses to have everything handed over to him without the necessity of his shooting.

And it is also worth noting that the *Times* newspaper, which was the first in this country to suggest that the Sudetenland should be handed over to Germany, is now suggesting that Mr. Chamberlain should introduce universal service "as soon as the growing strength of the Dictators has created the necessary mentality in the country."

This Government was of course elected on a pledge to support collective security as the only means of avoiding war. One of Mr. Chamberlain's first appointments after he became Prime Minister was that of Mr. Lennox Boyd as a junior Minister. Mr. Lennox Boyd until then had been one of the most fervent of Franco's supporters in this country. On 18th March last Mr. Lennox Boyd made a speech, and for his indiscretion he afterwards apologised in the House of Commons. In this speech he said that he did not think Mr. Chamberlain would make a move to guarantee the frontiers of Czecho-Slovakia. "Germany could absorb Czecho-Slovakia and Britain would remain safe and secure." No sooner had that "indiscretion" blown over than Mr. Chamberlain, at Lady Astor's house at Chiveden, talked to American and Canadian journalists in a much more frank way than he would ever have done to journalists of this country. The *Montreal Star*, referring to the Prime Minister's statements said:

"Nothing seems clearer than that the British do not expect to fight for Czecho-Slovakia and do not anticipate that France or Russia will either. That being so, the Czechs must accede to the German demands, if reasonable."

As Sir Archibald Sinclair, the leader of the Liberal Opposition, pointed out in the House of Commons with reference to this statement, as far as the Czechs were concerned it would not matter whether the demands were reasonable or not. "The Czechs would have to submit anyway."

But the *Montreal Star* went further in its disclosures of what the Prime Minister told them at Cliveden and said:

"That brings us to the question of the Four Power Pact. The British prefer to label it something else because a Four Power Pact might signify to some a Dictators' Committee to dictate to the rest of Europe."

And this journalist went on to tell us that "Soviet Russia is excluded on the grounds that it does not work well in harness."

On 11th March last both the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary warned the German Ambassador (at that time von Ribbentrop) that German intervention in Austria would destroy any hope of an Anglo-Italian Agreement. Next day Austria was annexed.

Now it is understood that the Prime Minister proposes to have further negotiations with Mussolini. No wonder that von Ribbentrop was able to advise his Leader that he had only to make enough show of force to ensure the retreat of the British Prime Minister. There was a time, not so long ago, when small nations realised that when Great Britain had given its word they could depend on her upholding and protecting them. Now honour, pledges, everything gives way before merely temporary expediency. To such a depth is this once great nation fallen that tens of thousands throughout the length and breadth of the land (instead of lauding the Prime Minister for keeping the peace after the policy of his Government had brought us to the brink of war) feel nothing but shame and humiliation.

But, as I began, is it peace? War preparations are to go on as never before and sooner or later the issue between the aggression and bullying of the Dictators and the position taken up by the democratic Powers will have to be fought out unless by some chance the Dictators disappear. Every concession to their bullying tactics makes their position stronger and the stand against them more difficult. The betrayal of Czecho-Slovakia has enormously strengthened the German Reich. If and when Germany does

go to war the defences of France, and therefore of England, are much less strong than they were a week ago.

There is talk of some signal honour being bestowed on Mr. Chamberlain, like the Garter with which his brother was honoured after Locarno. The Locarno Treaty is now in tatters—torn to shreds by Hitler. If the Prime Minister is to get some honour for his work for peace he had better take it quickly. For peace at present is established on a very tottering and unsafe foundation.

There is of course the possibility, which would be welcomed by some of the Cliveden circle, that Britain might go Fascist and go hand in hand with Germany and Italy. But the British are built of sterner stuff than the Italians and are not ready to be regimented like the Germans. Any attempt to run this country on Fascist lines would be more likely to cause such an upheaval as would throw her more into line with Russia.

When future historians look back they will probably realise that this is one of the most interesting times in the world's history because of the tremendous changes that are going on around us. It may be a hard and in many ways a disagreeable time for those of us who have to live through it, but I am convinced that the outcome is bound to be sooner or later a realisation of the brotherhood of man and I believe the ultimate result will be not merely a United States of Europe but a United States of the world with justice and opportunities for all and a realisation that we are—individuals and nations alike—our brothers' keepers. Aggression by one country against another would then be a thing of the past because of the super-national authority that, with collective security, would ensure that all were treated fairly and without respect of principalities and powers. It is an aim worth working for, and those of us who believe in it must go on through these dark days striving towards the light which is in man and will shine out ever more and more clearly.

"I falter where I firmly trod,  
And falling with my weight of cares  
Upon the great world's altar-stairs  
That slope thro' darkness up to God,

"I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,  
And gather dust and chaff, and call  
To what I feel is Lord of all,  
And faintly trust the larger hope."

Westminster, London,  
October 4, 1938.

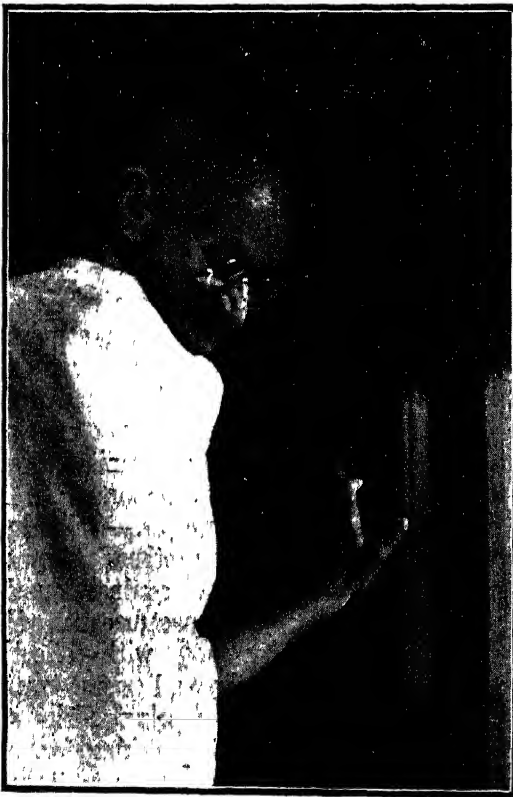


# MAHATMA GANDHI'S GREATEST WEAPON

By C. F. ANDREWS

THIS year, on October the 2nd, Mahatma Gandhi will have reached the threshold of 70. We may well thank God for the wonderful gift that He has given to India in preserving his life for us so long!

When I last saw him, a few months ago, he was lying down on his bed at Juhu by doctor's orders, recovering from the very severe and sudden collapse and high blood pressure which had attacked him in Calcutta, only a short time before. Since then, his health has



Mahatma Gandhi

been very precarious indeed and the blood pressure has been unstable. Nevertheless, God has spared his life for our sakes and for the sake of humanity: and we pray that it may be still longer preserved. For there is no single man in the whole world today who is so deeply and universally beloved as Mahatma Gandhi. Even those who condemned him during the non-cooperation movement have recently changed their minds; and the most conservative people in India and Great Britain have now one thing

in common; they deeply long that Mahatma Gandhi's life may be continued for the sake of the peace of the world.

When I first met him in the year 1913, he was still in South Africa, struggling against almost insuperable odds in order to obtain justice for the poor labourers who had emigrated to that distant country from India. They had come chiefly from Tamil Nadu and had gone out to South Africa as Indentured labourers. They were being cruelly driven back to India after the indenture was over, by means of an unjust Poll-tax, and Mahatmajī had determined by passive resistance to get that tax removed. He made, what has been called by one writer, "the most remarkable march with a peaceful army which history has ever recorded." This "army" was composed of indentured labourers,—men, women and children. They had no weapons of war. Their one weapon was Non-violence. They started from one of the central districts of Natal, and marched over the high Darkenberg mountains until they came to the borders of Transvaal. I have been along that very road, by which they came over those high mountains. When they crossed these mountains it was so bitterly cold at night time that two little children perished on the way.

The Indian merchants, who met this "ragged army," (as it was called) at different towns on the route, brought them loaves of bread and other provisions; but it was very difficult indeed to feed so large a multitude and many had to go hungry. When they reached the borders of Transvaal, they all knew that if they crossed the border they would be put in prison: for that was the law of South Africa. Nevertheless, with extraordinary enthusiasm and joy in their faces, the whole army rushed across the frontier. They were then confronted at once by the mounted police and officers of military rank, who called upon them to surrender. Since they were passive resisters, they gave themselves up to the police without a struggle, and were all of them imprisoned along with their great leader Mahatma Gandhi and his wife Kasturbai and their children.

When I reached South Africa three months later, Mahatma Gandhi had been released, along with other leaders, named Mr. Polak and Mr.

Kallenbach, because General Smuts, who was in command of the administration, had already determined to make peace and not to carry on

and we were thus quite isolated from the rest of the world for there was no 'wireless' in those days.

The European strike leaders sent out tentative requests to Mr. Gandhi that he should join them in their own strike, and thus make certain of victory. But he entirely refused to do so, because his own passive resistance struggle was altogether on a non-violent basis, while the European strike on the railway and in the Mines was on a violent basis.



Mahatmajī speaking

the struggle any further. He therefore had summoned Mahatmajī to come to see him at Pretoria, which was the capital of the Transvaal. I was asked to accompany him and we travelled together by the train just before a very violent Railway strike broke out both on the Railway and in the Gold Mines. The mail train, by which we were to reach Pretoria, was the very last that was allowed to make its journey for many days, while the strike continued. I remember very well how at midnight, when the train stopped at one of the stations on the mountain side, where a second engine had to be attached, we both of us thought that the strike had actually begun, and that we should be left stranded in the middle of our journey. But, after what seemed an almost interminable time, the train moved on again. The guard of the train came and told us that although the strike had been announced to begin at mid-night, our train would be allowed to complete its journey to Pretoria.

When we reached the capital, then, once again, there were almost insuperable difficulties. The telegraph lines were cut by the strikers,



Among village-folks

This fact, that Mahatmajī had refused to join in a violent strike, even when it seemed to be for his own interest to do so, made a great impression everywhere. It led on to General Smuts' offer of peace. Thus when he called Mahatmajī to see him at his office in Pretoria, he said with great deal of bluntness: "Now Gandhi, put all your cards on the table! Let me know exactly what you want, and I will try to get it for you."

Any one else, who had received such a favourable offer, would have at once demanded the very maximum, but Mr. Gandhi, who is the soul of truth and uprightness in everything he does, asked instead only for the minimum. His one final demand was this, that the £3/- Poll-tax (which was the sign of slavery) should be

entirely abolished. General Smuts agreed to this and signed a draft agreement.

This was the beginning of the last act in that great drama, whereby Mahatma Gandhi won his passive resistance struggle against overwhelming odds in South Africa. In the history of India and the world it marks a turning point, which future historians will record, from violence to non-violence. I have told this amazing story rapidly, in order to show how Mahatmaja has remained absolutely true to his great principle of non-violence during all these intervening years. He has never turned either to the right hand or to the left, but has marched straight forward all the while along the same path of non-violence.

Before me on the table there lies open a tiny booklet which he wrote in 1908, while he was on a sea voyage coming back from England. In this little book, he has described his own belief in Non-violence as follows:

"To use brute-force, to use gun-powder, is contrary to passive resistance; for it means that we want our opponent to do by our use of force that which we desire, but he does not. And, if such a use of force is justifiable, surely he is entitled to do the same by us. And



Cowshed

so we should never come to an agreement. We may simply fancy, like the blind horse, moving in a circle round a mill, that we are making progress. Those who believe that they are not bound to obey laws which are repugnant to their conscience, have only the remedy of passive resistance open to them. Any other must lead to disaster.

"Passive resistance, that is, Soul-force, is matchless. It is superior to the force of arms. How, then, can it be considered merely a weapon of the weak? Men who use physical force are strangers to the courage that is requisite in a passive resister. Do you believe that a coward can ever disobey a law that he dislikes? Extremists are considered to be advocates of brute force. Why do they, then, talk about obeying laws? I do not

blame them. They can say nothing else. When they succeed in driving out the English, and they themselves become governors, they will want you and me to obey *their* laws. And that is a fitting thing for their constitution. But a passive resister will say he will not obey a law that is against his conscience, even though he may be blown to pieces at the mouth of a cannon.

"What do you think? Wherein is courage required—in blowing others to pieces from behind a cannon, or with a smiling face to approach a cannon and be blown



Mahatmaj's cottage at Wardha

to pieces? Who is the true warrior,—he who keeps death always as a bosom-friend, or he who controls the death of others? Believe me that a man devoid of courage and manhood can never be a passive resister.

"This, however, I will admit: that even a man, weak in body, is capable of offering this passive resistance. One man can offer it just as well as millions. Both men and women can indulge in it. It does not require the training of an army; it needs no Jiu-jitsu. Control over the minds alone necessary, and when that is attained, man is free, like the king of the forest, and his very glance withers the enemy.

"Passive resistance is an all-sided sword, it can be used anyhow; it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used. Without drawing a drop of blood, it produces far-reaching results."

Now, in these declining years of his life, Mahatma Gandhi has laid even *more* emphasis than ever on this great method of fighting against evil which has always been his principal weapon. Very few as yet understand its full implications as he does. But those who have seen its wonderful effects in action (as I was greatly privileged to do in South Africa) have come to the conclusion, that it is the strongest force in all the world, and further that it is the *only* force that can overcome the hideous brutalities of modern War. If an army could be trained for this *moral* resistance of Peace, just as armies are being trained for the *immoral* resistance of War, then the devilish violence of modern warfare might soon be ended. But have we the moral courage to offer such resistance?

# THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS

By C F ANDREWS

THE United States Ambassador Dodd, thus wrote to the *Nation* on his retirement to New York from Berlin:

"The black tide of anti-Semitism sweeps east and south, Nazi Vienna now vies with Berlin in terrorizing its native citizens who happen to be Jews. According to Vincent Sheean, not less than 20,000 Jews have been thrown into concentration camps since the Nazis vaulted into the Austrian saddle. Their property has been confiscated, their persons subjected to the grossest physical indignities.

"Unless one has been an eye-witness, it is almost impossible to realize the horrors of this persecution. *Never in modern times has a sovereign power bent itself so savagely upon the extinction of its own inhabitants, or so deliberately transgressed every tradition of culture and humanity.*"

If this had been written by any one else, whose responsibility was less great for every word he uttered, it might have been discounted as the exaggeration of a scare-monger. But these are the solemn words of the late U. S. A. Ambassador,—one of the most judicial and impartial eye-witnesses who have watched the rapid growth of this monstrous tyranny. What follows, in Ambassador Dodd's article, gives full details of the ruthlessness of Nazi rule, which seems now likely to extirpate root and branch this persecuted Jewish race.

Here is another quotation from the same article:

"The persecutions are not confined to powerful leaders of Jewry, or to persons who might be dangerous to the Hitler regime. No child, no aged or infirm person, is spared. On April 22, 1937, the Gestapo (Nazi secret police) evicted hundreds of inmates from 33 Jewish orphanages, sanitariums, and homes for the aged. Several hundred children were turned into the streets utterly homeless. Two hundred aged Jews, who had contracted with a fraternal order for support during the rest of their lives, were reduced to wandering beggary. At the same time, 250 Jewish working girls were ousted from the Krugerheim Home, taken over as sleeping quarters for Storm Troopers; no provision was made for the evicted young women.

"Ghetto benches, painted yellow, are placed in parks all over Germany 'for the use of Jews only.' Only the Children of Jewish war veterans are allowed to attend the public schools; these also sit on Ghetto benches and are shamefully addressed as "Du, Jude" ("You, Jew!"). Today, by law, all the learned professions are closed to Jews. Musical compositions by Mendelssohn and others of Jewish blood may not be played anywhere in Germany; books of Jewish writers are burned in public bonfires.

"In provincial towns of Germany and Poland the shops and homes of Jews are stoned, robbed, and burned. Their children are numbed with cold and emaciated by hunger. These persons are wholly dependent upon money received from relatives or friends in America, yet unless rigid technicalities are observed in transmitting such funds, the amount actually obtained by the recipient is greatly reduced."

Already one-fifth of the whole Jewish population in Germany have either died or left the country.

Ambassador Dodd had studied at the University of Leipzig, and, after a distinguished career at Chicago University, had been appointed head of the U. S. Embassy in Germany in 1933. He was greeted on his appointment by the German newspapers with satisfaction as a great scholar and historian, who had studied, during his long residence in Germany, the German mind. Yet this wholly friendly and impartial Ambassador, unable at last to endure, without an open public protest, the things which he saw happening before his eyes and the misery which came almost daily before his notice, resigned his post as Ambassador in December, 1937, and thus obtained the right to tell the world what he had recently heard and seen.

The German people, from a very early date, have won my own affection and this regard for them as individuals is as strong today as it was long before the miserable world war of 1914-18. When the brutal peace of Versailles was concluded, I protested openly in the columns of *The Modern Review* against its scandalous betrayal of the armistice terms. In the year 1932, I stayed for a long time in Germany, helping to nurse in his last illness the grandson of the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, and it is impossible for me ever to forget the generous kindness of the German people in that hour of human sorrow. They became loved by me more than ever because of their own humiliations, which had been brought upon them in the hour of victory by my own people among others. Therefore, my whole heart has gone out to them again and again, and I have taken every opportunity of making public my esteem and respect for their bravery in time of trouble and their high intellectual qualities.

But when I was in Germany a little more than a year ago, a subtle change had taken place. In other ways, the people of Southern Germany, where I was staying, were the same friendly people who were ready to meet me with kindness whenever I needed their aid. But side by side with this, the persecution of the Jews was brought home to me in a peculiarly revolting manner, and I protested against it. In the centre of the small town, where I was staying, was a notice-board. It was crowded every day, chiefly by young people, and my curiosity made me go up to see what were the pictures and the printed matter that caused such daily excitement. I found that it was a public copy of Julius Streicher's notorious newspaper, *Der Stürmer*, which exhibited horrible pictures with big head lines, whose one object was to publish grossly lying statements which were deliberately intended to create a hatred of the Jewish race. I could not help contrasting the gentle kindness and courtesy on the one hand, which was evident all round, with this hideous form of torture which goes by the name of *Judenhass* (Jew-hatred). It was no use arguing against this; for it was a case of mass hysteria. The answer would be "Oh, you do not *know* the Jews," and then would follow a torrent of violent abuse. But I *did* know the Jews. I had lived with the Jews in their homes in Germany and shared their hospitality. I could tell my German friends about German Jews of my own acquaintance, who were among the noblest of mankind. One of these was Albert Einstein, whose heart was as wide as the whole world. He was my friend and had been my host.

Now the last thing in the world I should wish to do would be to stir up anger or hatred against Germans in return. That is not my object at all. Rather I would express my own sense of alarm, mingled with compassion, on account of things done in the past which have led on these nerve-racked German people to such a mass hysteria of late. At the same time, it would be difficult to condemn too severely the propaganda of those designing leaders who have produced these symptoms of morbid passion against the Jews.

Some of the dearest friends I have ever had have been Jews and I am proud of the fact. When the Indian settlers in Natal were most oppressed and down-trodden by the Europeans, owing to racial and colour prejudice, certain noble and resolute Jews such as Messrs. Polak and Kallenbach, had not only taken up openly the Indian cause, but actually gone to prison for it. Therefore I am never likely to forget those who thus became after that struggle my life-long friends.

In the Life of Christ which I am now writing, Claude Montefiore and Dr. Klausner two Jewish writers, have helped me more, perhaps, than any others to gain a true picture of Jesus as He lived in Galilee among His own countrymen. The whole world of art and music and literature owes more to this gifted and cultured race than it can ever repay. Therefore I would ask that in this their hour of persecution, when every country appears to be shutting its doors and refusing to allow them to enter, no word should come from India except that of pity and love and compassion.

The Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, at Santiniketan, has led the way in opening his heart wide to embrace this afflicted race. We have had among us one whom we all loved, Dr. Winternitz, from Prague. His enthusiasm for Sanskrit was so great, that it had become the one passion of his life. His love also for India was so true and deep, that in spite of failing health and the death of his dear wife which shattered his own health, he continued working for India in the centre of Europe at Prague, the capital of Czecho-Slovakia, right up to the very end. Others, almost equally noble, have been living with us; and it is through them that the Oriental Institute at Prague has been established by Subhas Chandra Bose, the President of the Congress, after he had found a warm-hearted love for India in that city. Today they are still trying to keep alight, in the midst of inexpressible anxieties and fears, of war the flame of Indian culture. Among those who have helped to do this both in Czecho-Slovakia and Poland are the Jews.





Types of Dannunzian scenography.  
The three scenes for the three Acts of *La Figlia di Iorio*





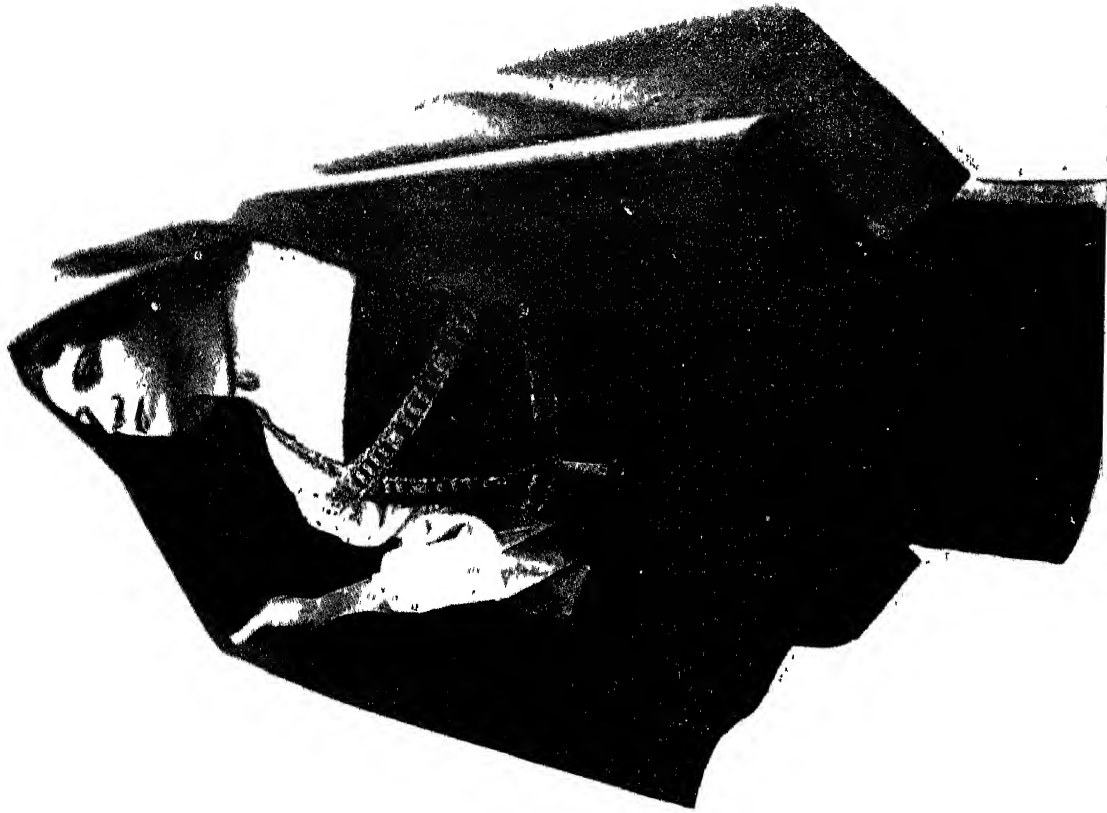
Eleonora Duse in the role of "Francesca"



Gabriele D'Annunzio



**Ida Rubinstein** in the leading role of *Pisanella*



**Irma Gramatica** in the role of "Mila di Codra" in *La Figlia di Iorio*



Pagan and Renaissance symbols together with martial and religious motifs in the "Vittoriale," D'Annunzio's villa on Lake Garda



A panoramic view of the "Vittoriale" on Lake Garda, where the poet-soldier lived the last years of his retired life

## D'ANNUNZIO AND THE ITALIAN THEATRE

By MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, DSC, POL (Rome)

GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO was a greater artist in life than in poetry. Critics have pointed out that his poetry does not bear the stamp of immortality, but it is universally acknowledged that he is the creator of modern Italian theatre. It was in drama that he excelled more, for it was truer to his life. Before D'Annunzio the Italian theatre was in the grip of a stagnant decadence; he redeemed it with his dramatic passion and scenographic imagery, brought the Italian stage to the forefront of contemporary European theatrical art and gave it a long lease of life.

In order to appreciate the true spirit of D'Annunzio's dramas it is essential to have at least a broad idea of his philosophy of life and the fundamental inspiration of his poetry. Before I proceed to discuss his dramas, therefore, I propose to mention here just a few landmarks of his life and poetry. D'Annunzio's life is a wonderful synthesis of poetry and war, of contemplation and action, of passionate extravagance and blissful tranquillity. He has lived his life most intensively and has seen it from all angles of vision. He was not only a great poet or a great soldier, but was an institution in himself. He was a hero, lover and prophet blended together. He belongs to the history of Italy as much as to the history of Europe. To the world his name is associated with the military adventure he organized and conducted for the liberation of Italians in Dalmatia and Trento, and his most spectacular seizure of Fiume in defiance of Giolitti, President Wilson, the League of Nations and the whole world, which although it ended in failure at the first instance, prepared the ground for the victory of Mussolini and Fascism. He has often been compared with Byron for his poetry, full of sensuous inspiration which reveals the author as an aesthete, creating art for art's sake, and also for his passionate temperament and innumerable love episodes. But Byron's literary background did not include Nietzsche whose cult of the "super-man" and that of "living dangerously" attracted D'Annunzio and established through his odes and ballads that ideal of ruthless nationalism and pride in a glorious past that have laid the spiritual foundations of Fascism. Unlike his

British prototype, he showed himself as a fighter of dauntless courage and as a politician who swayed the fortunes of Europe.

On the outbreak of the War when he was living as an exile in Paris, where his dramas were being staged and admired, he returned to Italy and conducted that violent agitation in collaboration with the nationalists in Italy,—



Gabriellino D'Annunzio in *La Nave*

Rocco, Corradini and Coppola,—which drove Italy into the War on the side of the Allies. His speeches brought Giolitti down; he fought on the land in the Carso trenches, at sea on the famous torpedo boat raid on Buccari, in air under many skies and bore his wounds, the loss of his left eye among them, with stoic fortitude. His life and temperament bore a strong affinity to the romanticism of late renaissance;

even in the wilderness of the twentieth century materialism and spiritual desperation, D'Annunzio was able to revive the cult of beauty which singled him out as an outstanding figure of his age. *The Times* of London, in its obituary note on D'Annunzio, wrote:

"Cruel and lavishly generous, wildly boastful and desperately brave, ugly but fortunate in his loves, he stepped out of the fifteenth century into the nineteenth and *felix opportunitate vitae* lived to become the most romantic figure that the twentieth century has yet seen."

D'Annunzio made a name in his earlier years for his voluptuous sense of beauty and his mastery of language, but his wonderful instinct for beauty and his inexhaustible resources of style were not employed for anything else than creating a Pan-like communion with

for the sake of their music. Two and a half years ago Pirandello told me, during an interview, almost the same thing when on being asked, he said, that D'Annunzio had a 'style of words' much more than a 'style of things.' He felt himself almost like a pagan when he sang about the glories of the Abruzzi hills, whence he came, in his *Canto Novo*. Although he was indebted to the French and Russian authors to a certain extent, his greatest inspiration from outside was that of Nietzsche, the apostle of the Superman, and it is for this reason that his works which consist of 64 volumes have all been proscribed by the Vatican. Although his works reveal many ideals, they lack a consistent morality. "Gioire o morire" (To enjoy or to die) is the philosophy of life that he elaborated in his *Laus Vitae*, and reveals the epicurean that he was. The only unaccomplished desire of his life was to ascend the stratosphere with Prof Picard and to descend by parachute.

D'Annunzio's dramas must necessarily be seen through this elaborate background of his life—heroism and aestheticism, sensuality and romanticism, moral incongruity and self-effacing patriotism. Attiglio Momigliano, the celebrated Italian critic, rightly observes that in D'Annunzio the virtues of renaissance and the vices of the eighteenth century decadentism are inseparably mixed together.<sup>1</sup> This dualism in D'Annunzio's life and philosophy between heroism and decadentism, between audacity and sadness, between robust self-confidence and undefined lightheartedness, was never removed from his poetry and drama. Yet he had a personality rising above the apparent contradictions of his character and the dualism of his art ideals. For, unlike Carducci who poetized as a hero, D'Annunzio acted and lived as a hero.

It has to be admitted that D'Annunzio's sensuality had a tendency towards the morbid, towards the perverse. He was not born for proclaiming the *gioia di vivere* (joy of living), but for tasting the psychological reactions of satiety and disillusionment, sensual occultism, so to say, and a magical and primitive form of religiosity. His *Piacere* (1889) which is an account of the poet's mundane experiences in the morbid environments of the Roman aristocracy of his time, is the first announcement of his exquisitely corrupt conception of art that characterizes the new European romanticism born of a disgust for the ugliness of realism.



C. Debussy, the famous French composer

Nature from which he seems hardly distinguished. Croce describes him as the "dilettante of sensations." In form his poetry owes much to Carducci's classicism, and resembles that of Swinburne in respect of music and rhythm. Like this English poet D'Annunzio did not hesitate sometimes to sacrifice the meaning of his verses

(1) A. Momigliano: *Storia della Letteratura Italiana* (Milan, 1936). Page 648.

While Verga may be said to represent the morality of realism, D'Annunzio represents the decadence of romanticism. Reflections of the *Piacere* (pleasure) may be found in his *Poema*

*Paradisiaco* (Paradisal Poem), *Elegie Romane* (Roman Elegies), and *Il Trionfo della Morte* (The Triumph of Death), as well as in all his subsequent dramas. But in his dramas we find an additional but common type which we miss in his poems, that is, not only the Superman but also the Superwoman who is painted as an extravagantly lustful woman. D'Annunzio tries in vain to impart a spiritual undertone to the vulgarities of dramatic situations he creates, by introducing the Superman who has to conquer his temptations offered by his "enemy," the lustful woman. *Il Sogno di un Tramonto di Autunno* (The Dream of an Autumn Sunset), one of his earliest dramas, reveals for the first time that type of Superwoman whom D'Annunzio has never again been able to discard later on, and shows the influence of Maeterlinck, Rossetti and Swinburne on the dramatist. Herein for the first time we find an attempt to conceal the emptiness of virtue behind the nobility of expression. Here again we find the attempt to create new forms of beauty against the stagnant and petrifying rules of morality, to formulate the right of

will to acquire power, to exalt the romance of risk that appeals enormously to the heroic Italian temperament.

*La Citta Morta* (The Dead City) is the first drama of D'Annunzio which brought him

to the forefront of literary criticism, aroused as much admiration as scandal, and announced the advent as much of a dramatic genius as of an aesthetic pervert. The scene is in Greece where



D'Annunzio's funeral procession coming out of the "Vittoriale."  
Just behind the widow may be seen Signor Mussolini,  
Duca di Bergamo, Ministers Ciano, Bottai, Alfieri,  
Starace and His Excellency Carlo Formichi,  
Vice-President of the Royal Italian Academy

the dramatist made a sojourn and re-read the classical tragedies. Near the ruins of Micene, Leonardo, the hero, who searches in its soil the surviving relics of myth and feels within himself the tremendous passions of the classical



heroes, falls in love with his own sister, Maria. He gets out of this evil passion by killing Maria whom death preserves pure and smiling even after the end. Leonardo thus punishes his guilt with the death of a person who has made him guilty without knowing it. The tragedy, therefore, should demonstrate the horror of justifying the right to kill in order to regain one's spiritual liberty, but in fact, this horror is more apparent than real in D'Annunzio's treatment of the personages. For example, Leonardo's wife Anna would even like to sacrifice her life for not having to stand between her husband and Maria. In *Citta Morta* D'Annunzio only exaggerates the evil charms of that ancient land where the most monstrous human passions played with and fought against one another for the fulfilment of inevitable fate.

*La Citta Morta*, which was first staged in 1898, when the Italian stage was characterized by a stale dilettantism and was devoid of modern art ideals, came as a revelation to the Italian public who saw in D'Annunzio, in spite of the controversies, a redeemer of the Italian theatre. At this time one could find on the Italian stage only historical figures of antiquity dressed in the costumes of their respective centuries and speaking in the accents of their times. The comedian became the photographer or the archæologist, and the dramatists vied with one another for exciting in the audience a sense of bitterness against human society or the will to emulate the examples of great men. The dramatists tried to formulate a thesis, vindicate an idea through their works, and the cultivation of art came next in importance. Such were the "bourgeois" plays of Praga, Giacosa and Robetta, the "moral" plays of Butti, and the "psychological" ones of Bracco, for example. It was their mission to dramatise the ideals of Risorgimento according to the testimony of the archives. It will thus be realized what tremendous impression D'Annunzian dramas had created on such a static and colourless background. The immense possibilities of the Italian stage, remodelled on the modern requirements, were for the first time realized through the dramas of D'Annunzio.

In the same year (1898) was written and staged *La Gioconda* (The Merry Woman) which enunciated not only another kind of superhuman morality but also revealed the dramatic technique of the poet. D'Annunzio tried to give to each one of his dramas a different spiritual atmosphere, literary intonation and scenographic effect, which latter acquires

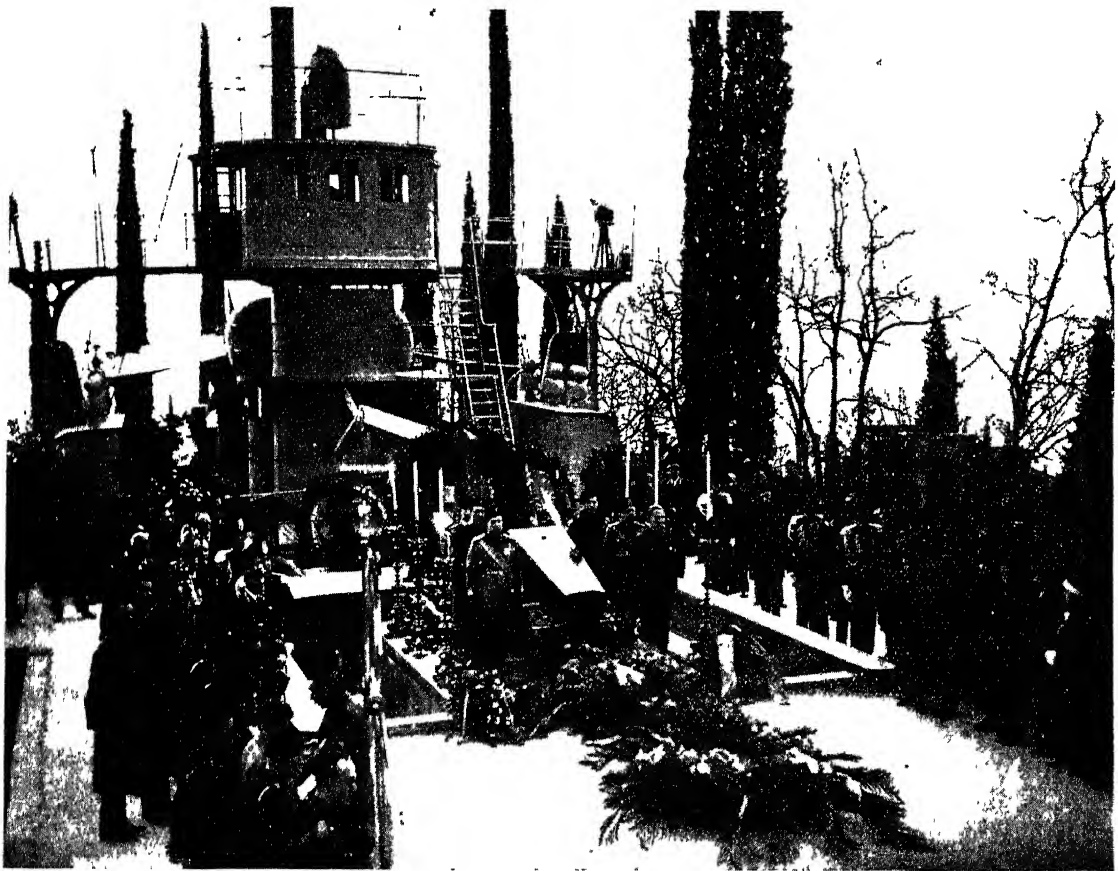
gradually a fastly increasing importance in D'Annunzio's dramas until in *San Sebastiano* scenography yields place to choreography. The personages of *La Gioconda* recite their parts amidst ancient sculptures in a house where the worship of beauty is a daily routine. The artificiality of the scene is still evident, but it was already a considerable departure from the usual settings of the pre-Dannunzian Italian stage. Lucio Settala is a sculptor who tries to convince his wife as to his natural right to love another woman who has inspired his art, and proclaims the necessity of sacrificing at the altar of art the sanctity of all human relations and all social duties. The theme is not completely new, for in this may be noticed D'Annunzio's indebtedness to Ibsen. But the moral contradiction fails in its dramatic effect on account of the author's inability to create living personages endowed with their respective souls distinguished and apart from the soul of the dramatist. Moreover, the scene where Silvia gets herself mutilated in the hand, in an attempt to save her husband's statue from the other woman who tries to break it, does not offer any solution to the moral problem enunciated by the dramatist. Only one scene is full of poetic freshness where the old minstrel sings 'the story of the seven sisters' in order to console Silvia in her sadness.

In the interval between the appearance of *La Gioconda* and that of *Francesca da Rimini* where the dramatist returns to his old theme of the superwoman, D'Annunzio wrote a few heroic dramas of which the most celebrated are *La Gloria* (Glory) and *La Nave* (The Ship). The former is a dramatic representation of the liberation of Rome from the oppression of the "new Byzantines who had contaminated the country with the poverty of their art and the filth of their politics". The latter represents the tragedy of the hero who must conserve all his energies for the accomplishment of his historic mission, but who is led astray and dissipated by the tempting woman. But this tragedy remains in the background before the scene of the play, Venice, the symbol of Italian maritime greatness. D'Annunzio sees with a prophetic vision the rebirth of the Italian Mediterranean, and launches on the stage, in the last scene of the play, the ship which "must make *mare nostrum* of all oceans". It is for the patriotic and heroic appeal of this drama that the representations of *La Nave* at the Argentina in Rome were always crowded and were hailed enthusiastically in Milan.

D'Annunzio wrote *Francesca da Rimini* (Francesca of Rimini) in an epoch when he composed the best of his lyrics, *Le Laudi*. The theme of this play is well known, as it also finds a place in Dante's *Inferno*,—the passionate Francesca's illicit love for her husband's brother, Paolo. Here again D'Annunzio returns to his favourite theme, the love of the senses which asserts itself in the invincible and fatal power of the instinct against all sanctions of morality even at the cost of life. The scenes of this play are studied with the assiduity of the scholar and with the zeal of the archaeologist, and succeed in reconstructing the glamorous life of a vanished

In a dim past in pagan Greece the superwoman asserts here the right of satisfying her passion, and betrays its tragic force

Only after all these experiments, D'Annunzio succeeds in writing his dramatic masterpiece, *La Figlia di Iorio* (The Daughter of Iorio). D'Annunzio had already taken a considerably heroic part in politics, had written the book of *Alcyone*, the best volume of his lyrics in the *Laudi* series, and was in search of new myths. The woman whom he had treated so long as a lump of flesh and blood becomes the nymph of the sea and of the woods, and personifies the different seasons and other beautiful phenomena



The coffin of the poet lying in state on the prow of "Puglia," the ship which took part in his Fiume expedition

age. The costumes of medieval Romagna and the dances of Bologna have their particular appeal, and make the Dannunzian theatre already a herald of modern scenography. But the sensual undertone of *Francesca da Rimini* does not arrive at its inherent tragedy through the artistic process, and not until 1909, when D'Annunzio wrote *Fedra*, the dramatist succeeds in his portrayal of the luxurious superwoman.

of nature. In this play, the Abruzzi legends of Nino and Finamore are reduced to a type of drama oscillating between the pastoral and the sacred. The peculiar fourteenth century language with its dialectal cadence, the scenes which owe their origin to folk literature, medieval mystical plays, pastoral dramas, and to some French comedians, and example, Bataille and Claudel, place the tragedy under

the fire of legend, in a situation which, although it appears distant from our times, is perfect in the treatment of details. Here, again, the dramatist presents the lustful woman who arms man against man, but this time the son against the father. But here for the first time the dramatist introduces the contrast between pure love, sanctioned by the laws of heart and society, and sensual love; and the triumph of the former redeems the drama which becomes at once classical and religious. Only here D'Annunzio's own personality and sentiments do not participate in the glorification of the superman and the superwoman irrespective of their virtue and vice, but the drama is left to its spontaneous and harmonious development towards a synthesis of the legendary and the eternal.

Between 1911 and 1914, D'Annunzio wrote, while living in France, four dramas in the French language. They are *Pisanella*, *Parisina*, *Ferro*, and *Il Martirio di San Sebastiano* (The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian). The first three have hardly any new contribution to Dannunzian drama and owe much of their inspiration to previous plays, particularly, *La Figlia di Iorio*, *Francesca da Rimini* and *La Nave*. But *San Sebastiano* is a departure from the previous plays in regard to scenography. Here the scenes are choreographic and almost cinematographic. The ambiguous figure of the Saint in the body of Ida Rubinstein, the touch of luxury and lust even to sacred objects, oriental decoration, and the rendering of sensuality into mysticism by the Russian dances, all contribute to make the "catholic play" a sacrilege for the conventional mind. Still, these new dramatic forms were largely imitated in Paris and had a tremendous influence on fashion, for good or for evil.

The theatre of D'Annunzio, therefore, has adopted all the themes of the romantic theatre—those naturalistic, psychological, historical and choreographic, and has tried to make of every work of art a stimulus to action but these themes are treated with a refreshing wealth of literary forms. The tragedy of the instinct was attempted even before D'Annunzio, by Hebbel for example; but in the former it became almost a kind of classical drama, the Greek tragedy of inevitable Fate. The heroic drama, as well, which represents the fight for power and the glorification of the will, was attempted by Ibsen, but in the Italian dramatist we find the hero in the garb of a pioneer, orator, and dictator who prepares for the national

renaissance. History was faithfully represented by the comedians before D'Annunzio for more than a century all over the world, but it was left to D'Annunzio to interpret history from the artist's point of view, as he did with such passion, scrutiny and patience in *Francesca da Rimini*. The prevalence of the mimic spirit during the closing years of the last century, as represented in the popularity of the Russian ballet, could hardly push to the background the art of *San Sebastiano*. In D'Annunzio, the dramatist only is the protagonist of his plays, who combines in himself the aesthete and the hero that finds lustfulness as his enemy and personifies it in a superwoman, imaginary or historical. Most of his plays are, therefore, monologues in spirit, although he treats history and legend with a new and vigorous poetic faculty.

The name of Eleonora Duse, the greatest Italian actress of her time, deserves more than a passing reference in connection with the Dannunzian theatre. Even if we may dismiss the gossips of romance between the dramatist and the actress, there is no denying the fact that they were attracted to each other by the common ideals of dramatic art. Duse had a presentiment of the great transformation which the Italian stage had to undergo within a short time and realized that the theatre was moving towards poetry with remarkable swiftness. Duse is the symbol of the new Italian stage, and what greater genius could D'Annunzio find for the interpretation of his dramas? In 1896 D'Annunzio and Duse met at Venice, and in 1897, on the 16th of June, Duse appeared on the stage at Paris with *Il Sogno di un Mattino di Primavera* (The Dream of a Spring Morning). In 1898, D'Annunzio wrote *La Gioconda* and dedicated it to "Eleonora Duse of the pretty hands". Duse's interpretation of the *Gioconda* has remained unsurpassed till now in beauty, grace and vigour. In 1901, Duse executed the part of *Francesca da Rimini* which, it is said, was inspired by her and her alone. That Eleonora Duse continued to inspire the poet and dramatist for a long time to come may be realized from the following passage:

"When she speaks, anemones bloom in her voice which is like a prairie in the morning. I do not hear what she says; I understand what she does not say . . . It is quite enough for my profound happiness just to hear the tune of her mystery preceded by the flash of her smile. There is a pain which brings joy and there is a joy which causes suffering. I knew it. I know it. But both joy and suffering have only one meaning for me; both have the same gesture, her gesture. Both have for me only one voice, just her voice . . ."

Duse did not participate in the interpretation of any other play subsequent to *Francesca da Rimini*, but her name will for ever be indissolubly connected with the Dannunzian theatre

D'Annunzio was extremely lucky and happy in the selection of his collaborators. Next to Duse, mention may be made of Ida Rubinstein, Ruggero Ruggeri, Irma Gramatica, Emilia Varini, Ciro Galvani, and Sarah Bernhardt who interpreted D'Annunzio's characters with remarkable vigour and artistic skill. These immortal names of the European stage will for ever be associated with Dannunzian heroes and heroines. Two famous Frenchmen, Leon Bakst and Claude Debussy, made a substantial contribution to the Dannunzian theatre, the former in the design of scenes and the latter in composing the music for *San Sebastiano*. It was particularly fortunate that D'Annunzio had met Debussy during his sojourn in France, since Debussy's compositions for D'Annunzio's play are some of his sweetest and most melodious pieces. Besides Debussy, some of the most celebrated modern Italian musicians have composed for D'Annunzio's plays, for example, Pizzetti, Respighi and Montemezzi. Garbrielino, D'Annunzio's son, has also taken an active part in the representation of his

father's plays and has often interpreted some of the leading roles.

Since the triumph of the Fascist Party in 1922 and the accession of Mussolini, his friend and comrade-in-arms, to the leadership of the nation, D'Annunzio had been living a retired life in a villa on the Lake Garda until his death on the 1st of March, 1938. This villa, which he named the "Vittoriale", was donated to him by the nation, and has been bequeathed by him to the nation, which will contain a museum of the relics and souvenirs of Fiume, and of the poet's life and adventures. His villa contained a mingled atmosphere of heroism and mysticism, war relics, pictures of Saints, Franciscan motifs, pagan and renaissance symbols, and displayed with beautiful tapestries, the flag of the Regency of Quarnero at Fiume. During his retirement he had written profusely on art, literature, politics, and has left a number of dramas that have yet to be published. A fuller estimate of D'Annunzio's drama is not possible until his latest plays will have been published and studied. In 1935, three years before his death, the poet-soldier wrote his autobiography under the title *Hundred and Hundred and Hundred and Hundred Pages of Gabriele D'Annunzio Tempted to Die*.

## MANIFESTO OF CZECHOSLOVAK AUTHORS

(Manifesto received by the P. E. N. India Centre from the Czechoslovak Authors Association, Prague, where the P. E. N. International Congress was in session only three months ago)

### To the Conscience of the World

In this fateful moment, when a decision between war and peace is being reached, we, the undersigned Czechoslovak authors, address this solemn appeal to all those who form the conscience of the world.

We have lived with our German fellow-countrymen for many centuries in fruitful co-operation, and we have vied with them in cultural efforts. When, upon the battlefields of France, Russia, Serbia and Italy, we achieved the renewal of our independence, we hoped, and also endeavoured, to make the native land which we share with each other one of the living centres of a new, a better and happier Europe. Taking our stand today upon the last bastion of democracy in Central Europe, we proclaim in full awareness of our responsibility towards historic truth, that our nation is guiltless in respect of the catastrophe looming before us. We are doing our utmost to preserve peace, but we shall likewise do our utmost, if need be, to defend the freedom of our country.

We therefore appeal to you, whose function it is, above all else, to keep watch over what hitherto was the most cherished possession of Europe and the whole civilized world: love of truth, freedom of the spirit and purity of conscience. We ask you to judge for yourselves where the genuine willingness for peace and justice is to be found, and where the aggressive spirit of despotism which utilizes every device of violence and untruth. We call upon you to make it clear to the public opinion of your respective countries that if a grievous contest is forced upon us, a small and peaceful nation living on the most endangered territory in Europe, we shall wage that contest, not only for our own sakes, but for the sake of you and of the moral and spiritual possessions common to all free and peace-loving nations throughout the world. Let nobody forget that, after us, the same fate would befall other nations and countries.

We appeal to all authors and to all others who create culture, to make this manifesto known, by every possible channel, to the nations of the world.

For the Czechoslovak Authors Association  
(Signed by 29 leading Czechoslovak writers, including the world-famous Karel Capek.)

# RAO BAHADUR G. S. SARDESAI

By S R TIKEKAR

ON THE 1st of October, 1938, two Commemoration Volumes were publicly presented in Bombay to Rao Bahadur Govind Sakharam Sardesai, B.A. through Hon Mr Justice M. R. Jayakar, Judge of the Federal Court. In doing so Sardesai's services to Indian History have been appreciated. But what exactly has he contributed to enrich our knowledge? To the general public he is a historian. Students of history alone realise his "tremendous" work



G S Sardesai (Born May 17, 1865)

What that tremendous work has been or how Sardesai achieved it, is known only to those who are in close contact with him. A brief account of his early life will not be out of place here.

Born 73 years ago, in a small village in Konkan, in beautiful Maratha surroundings, young Sardesai had to struggle hard for his education. It is interesting to listen to Sardesai narrating events of his boyhood. He had to graze cattle and work in paddy fields. Turning the water-wheel, watching the crops and such other domestic duties he had to per-

form in his boyhood, apart from his attendance to an elementary school nearby. His first lesson in swimming he had with the help of a buffalo. For his English education he was sent to Ratnagiri, about 30 miles off from his home. Short and easy would seem this journey now, but in those days, young Sardesai, the poor student had to carry all the way his bag and baggage consisting of his books, a pair of coarse dhoties and a small mattress. That was all he possessed at Ratnagiri, where the students were housed at night in the class-rooms. The dormitory at night was classroom by day, and an open space outside served as the study-room. Hostels accommodation was not provided for by the school in those days. So Sardesai had to be content with two frugal meals a day at a neighbouring eating house, paying Re. 1-8 per month. No wonder if young Sardesai occasionally had to walk all the distance home from Ratnagiri or vice versa at the end of every term. The journey was mostly undertaken by night as bullock carts plied only after sunset. Through the jungles and the ghats a caravan of such small bullock carts was good company on a lonely road.

Matriculating from Ratnagiri High School in 1884, Sardesai joined the Fergusson College, Poona, for his further studies. He graduated, however, from the Elphinstone College, Bombay, in 1888. Before he became a collegiate in Poona, like most of his fellow-students, Sardesai already had been married. He had married Gangubai Kirtane (Mrs Laxmibai Sardesai) in February, 1884.

Immediately after graduating Sardesai was picked up by H. H. The Maharaja of Baroda as a "Reader". The "Royal" Reader later became a tutor to the young princes and princesses of Baroda and their companions. It is while teaching history to these pupils that Sardesai laid the foundation of the title worthily bestowed on him later by the public—*Riyasatkar*, the author of *Riyasats*. Methodical from the very beginning, he used to have notes prepared for the subjects to be taught. These notes, later amplified, form what is known as *Mussalmani Riyasat*, first published in 1899. It covers a long period and deals with all Muslim ruling dynasties in the North as well as in the South of India. Seeing in print one's own work—which was not intended for publication—naturally gives an impetus to



further work. In quick succession were published the *British* and the *Marathi Riyasats*. A need for a comprehensive history of India for school students was keenly felt. Sardesai was approached and he compiled the *Shalopyogi Bharatvarsh* (1900) which even to this day is the best book of its kind. It has run into 16 editions and every time its author has taken great pains to add new material to it, to make it up-to-date.

While at Baroda Sardesai translated some English books also. In fact his literary career began with the translation of Seely's *Expansion of England* (1893). Then followed Machiavelli's *Prince* in Marathi garb provided by Sardesai. Translations of small books on games and sports were also made and these will be found added to the list of Sardesai's literary productions in a *Who's Who*.

But his liking for history could not be suppressed. In 1902 appeared the first volume of *Marathi Riyasat* bringing the History of the Marathas upto 1707. Being the first attempt of its kind, it was well received and in 1915 a new revised and enlarged edition had to be published. In its turn, this also proved a great success and in 1933 appeared the third edition. All available researches had each time been taken into account which gave a freshness to every edition.

To complete the history of the Marathas Sardesai was striving hard. Students know that sources and material for the Peshwa period are vast and scattered. Of the pre-Peshwa period quite reverse is the case. So it took quite a long time to compile the next volumes of Maratha History and naturally they grew in bulk. Three volumes appeared in succession every year from 1920. First of them covered a period of 33 years up to the death of Peshwa Bajirao I, and the remaining two up to the tragic catastrophe at Panipat in 1761.

Volume after volume appeared to complete the first Maratha History written by an Indian. It consisted of eight large volumes, a little over 5000 pages in close print. Now Sardesai's name was a household word in Maharashtra.

As a tutor to the princes and princesses, Sardesai had to travel a lot in and outside India. He had been in almost all the hill stations and provincial capitals. Between 1892 and 1911 he had been five times to Europe. Because of his knack in teaching, "Sardesai Master" became very popular with his pupils. The Royal family knows him only as Sardesai Master.

Later on Sardesai was transferred to the Maharaja's Household department as Chief Accountant, which post he held till his day of retirement in 1924, after full 36 years of service with the Maharaja of Baroda.

Earlier in his life at Baroda Sardesai was domestically happy. He helped his brothers and theirs was a big family. Sardesai had two sons—who are, alas, no more. One of them, Shyamkant matriculated from Calcutta University as a student from Santiniketan with



Mrs. Laxmibai Sardesai

Bengali as one of his subjects and secured the highest number of marks amongst Santiniketan students. He was a favourite student of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. Shyamkant completed his College education at the Fergusson College, Poona, from where he secured a double degree, B.A., and B. Sc. and then proceeded to Germany for further study. There too he earned the Doctorate degree but as fate would have it, he was not to return home. He breathed his last in a Sanatorium in Switzerland in November, 1925.

Srivatsalanchhan, the other son of Sardesai was also equally intelligent. Unfortunately, he



died in his schooldays when his elder brother was studying at Santiniketan (1915). Fifty-four years of married life have left the parents—as they were—alone by themselves. To an ordinary mind, the shock would have been stunning, but Sardesai by now had developed a philosophy of his own. He had his work of History to occupy himself with. That kept up his spirit. "I do not think" he writes, "that my sons are no more. They are with me—in the form of their books, their pictures, their clothes. Every one of us can be immortal."

Apart from this individual philosophy of life, Sardesai's work has been a great force in sustaining him. Extensive as well as intensive work such as Sardesai has done after retirement is really stupendous for a scholar of his age. Bidding farewell to Baroda and its ruler, this devoted student of history settled on the banks of the Indrayani at Kamshet near Poona to devote the rest of his life to the fulfilment of his mission. There he has his library—complete in itself with every book marked with references and cross references, corrections, additions, etc. The methodical way of study which is characteristic of Sardesai has been of immense use to himself and to others as well. Importance of such critical reading in so far as Marathi sources and materials are concerned will be realised only by those who know the difficulty in using papers published by Rajwade and others. They do not bear any reference to Christian Calendar. Before assessing the value of a paper, Christian dates from the Fasali or Hindu Calendar have to be ascertained. To such volumes no index was provided. Printing too in those early days was not so accurate. All those difficulties added to Sardesai's work. And it did not take long for students all over India to realise that the one person from whom they could get information about Maratha History was Sardesai. His promptness in attending to all correspondence has only served to multiply the number of enquiries being put to him.

But the greatest work that Sardesai has done was the publication of selected papers from the Peshwa Daftar at Poona, entrusted to him by the Government of Bombay. In this Daftar more than 25000 bundles, each containing hundreds of sheets written in *modi* script are kept and till Sardesai was asked to explore this uncharted sea, the whole of it was practically a closed preserve. True, Government had allowed two or three attempts to be made in this direction but the vastness of the work

involved, was perhaps responsible for such attempts to be abandoned soon after they were begun. Peshwa Daftar was the collection of all sorts of records and documents of the Marathas that the British could lay their hands on immediately after the Union Jack was unfurled on the Shanwar Wada at Poona. Their historical value is immense. For over a hundred years they had not seen the light of the day. Students were eager—very eager indeed to have selections from Peshwa Daftar made available to them for study.

With the appointment of Sardesai for the Herculean task, a hue and cry was raised in Poona by a school of scholars who wanted the work to be entrusted to themselves. Government paid no heed to these cries and Sardesai remained calm. He devoted himself to the entrusted work and volume after volume of selections on a particular topic was issued to the public. Four years of continuous hard work, which even students in their prime of youth would shirk to do, brought forth 45 volumes of the selections and a hand-list of Records. It was a monumental work and was appreciated in every part of India. He had followed a system by which the Marathi selections could be used by those who had no knowledge of Marathi. At the beginning of every paper was the date in English according to Christian Calendar while at the bottom a short summary of the letter is given in English. There is also Index to all the volumes in English and for all these reasons, the reputation of the work has spread far and wide. Had Rajwade followed such a convenient method, he would have achieved much but because of his queer ideas and a systematic boycott of everything English—even the Christian Calendar—he has been known in a limited sphere only. Happily Sardesai was wiser and didn't repeat Rajwade's follies.

Difficulties that beset Sardesai while doing the work were of various kinds. First the government did not allow him to consult proper books, no paper was to be removed from the Daftar and in the Daftar itself books that a critical student would always require at hand were not available. Sardesai had his well equipped library at Kamshet, but that was of little use to him. Secondly, there was an official restriction to touch those papers which were very important from historical point of view. Thirdly, the editor was forced to print the papers as soon as they were sufficient for a book without waiting for any more. Working under these restrictions, the selections have suffered

to an extent, no doubt, but Sardesai cannot be blamed for that.

Even in his old age, Sardesai's energy for work is creditable. He is now busy with the editing of the English Records at Poona, pertaining to the Maratha period. Already five big volumes have been published and the sixth is in the press.

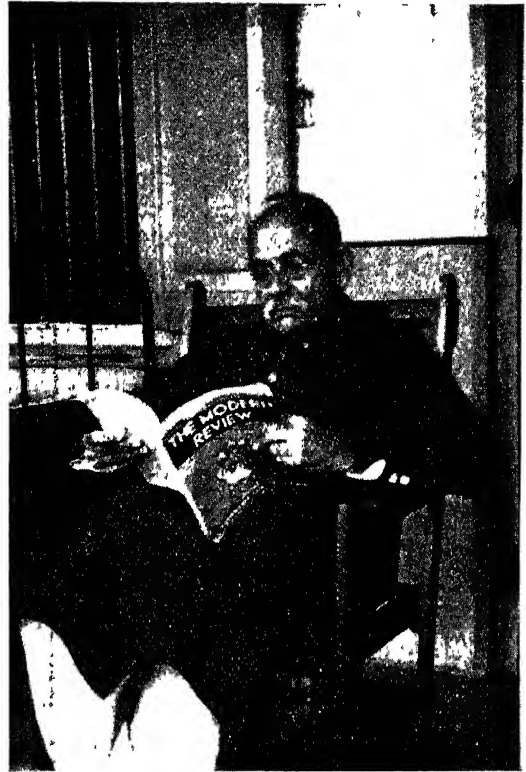
While doing all this, he has found it necessary to revise his *Riyasats*, his second part of the *British Riyasat* had to be completed to bring the narration up to the end of 1857. Surprisingly enough he found time for all that.

The lectures which he delivered at the Patna University were subsequently published in a book form, *Main Currents of Maratha History*. A revised edition of this book also has been issued. Nagpur University also invited him for delivering lectures. In addition to this vast amount of work Sardesai had to edit nearly 900 pages of Mahadji Scindia's letters which had been secretly printed by the late D. B. Parasnis in Gwalior. Thus Sardesai was in the main responsible for bringing the whole fraud to light and making available to students a copious volume of nearly 900 pages edited in the same methodical manner which is seen in the *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*.

We have so far seen Sardesai the historian only. But mention must be made of 30 years of his close association and co-operation with Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Both have shown by their example what co-operation can achieve. Differences of opinion are bound to be there but they should not hamper work. Correspondence between these two great historians, will make a most valuable contribution to historical literature and through them one sees how history comes to be written. Rarely do we come across such painstaking students in India working in close co-operation. Sarkar and Sardesai have visited places of historical importance together, have discussed threadbare many knotty problems in history. Their joint contribution to History is certainly great.

Sardesai works nearly 12-14 hours a day. Regular and rather ascetic in habits, he has preserved good health. He enjoys a dip in the cool stream of Indrayani nearby above everything. Wood-cutting is his hobby and in order to refresh himself from a continuous table-work he goes out for a few minutes to cut off a few chips. Short of stature, he is alert. Although wrinkles on his face and the grey hair show his age, jolly smile never betrays the shocks he received in the loss of

his two dear sons. Reading and writing keep him occupied and as a change he gathers round him village boys whom he teaches to read and write English very quickly. Newspapers do not attract him much; a glance at the *Times of India* every day is necessary. But *The Modern Review* he enjoys above everything else. In his Library are all the Volumes well bound, with a special index prepared by him of articles of



Sardesai is a regular reader of *The Modern Review* "He would miss a meal but not one issue of M R"

historical importance that have appeared in the pages of that magazine from time to time. Beyond his field of history, he will not show any interest.

Such in brief is Sardesai, the veteran Maratha historian. His is the first attempt after Grant Duff to write a complete History of the Marathas. The gigantic work he has done will stagger new-comers. All the same, it will definitely serve to inspire the need of hard and persevering work on the part of students of history.

Sardesai's name will always be remembered with gratitude, with respect and with admiration.

## MUKUL

By MANINDRALAL BOSE

WHITE clouds as soft as the softest heron feathers were strewn in the deep and still, blue sky of autumn. The light of dawn painted with an illusive splendour the black pitch-covered Calcutta road, with its motors and trams, and rows of thronged shops prettily decorated for the Saptami Puja bazar.

The face of an elderly gentleman anxiously moving about in front of the College Street cloth shops also borrowed a fascination from the magic glow of the early autumn morning. His pain-worn and toil-tortured features, like a full river, were brimming with happiness. In one hand he carried an ancient cane that had, once had a silver band but was now as battered as the broken life of the old clerk himself. In the other rested the hand of a little girl like a hena bud. Every shop was filled with the Puja crowd. Uneasily the old man grasped the little girl's hand more tightly. She was staring at the many-coloured clothes in the shops; her eyes, as lovely as shephali flowers, had begun to sparkle.

Noticing fewer people in one shop the old man and the little girl entered. The salesmen were busy with other customers. They were buying expensive things and the old man did not have the courage to push them aside and ask for something cheap. He sat down in a corner quietly. Next to him a customer was buying a pineapple-coloured silk sari. The little girl danced her eyes and rubbed against the old man.

"Grandfather, I like that one very much," she said.

Her grandfather laughed tenderly, "All right, Minu, I'll buy one like that for you. Ah . . . Clerk, show us a little sari like that one, please."

The old man had not realized the sari was a silk one. When the gentleman beside him took out a roll of notes to pay for it he turned a little pale. A salesman, having noticed Minu's sweet yearning face, had given them his attention. Her grandfather said in a slightly dry voice, "Give us something inexpensive, my boy."

The boy brought out a pineapple-coloured Tangail sari. Minu almost snatched it from

him in her eagerness. She touched it caressingly and admired the pretty vermilion border.

"It's a very nice sari, grandfather," she said.

Adjusting his spectacles, one broken arm of which was held together by thread, her grandfather passed his withered fingers over the cloth. "How much is it, boy?" he asked.

The salesman looked from Minu's thin face to the old man's shabby clothes and answered gravely, "Eleven rupees."

With the lowered and darkened face as though he had been rebuked by his departmental head, the old man said, "A little less expensive, my boy, within five rupees."

The salesman was about to say something but, noticing the little girl's pitiful expression, he turned away and began to look for a cheap sari. Minu slowly pushed forward a paper-wrapped bundle which contained an old *punjabi* belonging to her little brother. "Grandfather," she said. "Buy Khoka's *punjabi* first. My sari can come later."

Bringing a little pink sari the salesman returned, "Look at this one, Sir. It is inexpensive and you can have it within five rupees." He turned to the girl, "It will suit you admirably."

Minu had not the heart to look any more. The old man took it up and smiled dejectedly, "How do you like it, dear?" Even though he himself did not think it very nice, a silk sari could not be had cheaply.

"Yes, it is pretty." Minu smiled up into her grandfather's face. She really did like the colour.

"Well, good. What's the price?" the old man put his hand into his pocket. Pleased to see the little girl happy again the salesman replied, "Pay four rupees twelve annas and I will wrap it up."

The old man had put his hand into his pocket. He put it into his right pocket, into his left pocket, into his breast pocket. "Ah, my money-bag! There now, Minu dear, did I give it to you?"

In great embarrassment Minu answered, "No, grandfather."

"Then . . . . eh! . . . . " trembling

like a storm-shaken creeper the old man stood up, felt through his pockets again and shook out his clothes. Then he dropped into his chair like a lightning-struck tree and wailed, "The money's been stolen, Minu dear"

Minu was on the verge of tears as she looked at the pink sari. Then she noticed her grandfather's pained expression and checked herself. "It must be there in your pocket; look for it again. You didn't leave it at home by mistake, did you?"

The old man sat like a stone image. The shop full of varicoloured clothes had become a cruel joke, the joyous turmoil all around some sort of mockery, the people with happy sparkling faces buying gifts for their dear ones were a play of phantoms! Minu searched all her grandfather's pockets; the money-bag was really gone.

The salesman was watching them with commiseration. He longed to buy the sari himself and give it to Minu, but where was the money to come from?

The other customers and salesmen had begun to glance curiously at the pathetic spectacle. "Aha, so that's it, is it? In which pocket did you have the money . . . ." "One must keep it a little carefully, the Puja crowd . . . ." They went back to their buying and selling. They had no time for the sorrows of strangers. From somewhere in the rear came pushing. "Move along, misters, scatter the crowd."

Minu slowly picked up her grandfather's cane and took him by the hand. "Let's go, grandfather," she said.

Her sweet straightforwardness helped the old man to control his weeping. Grasping the cane with a trembling hand, he came outside. Sixty rupees, a whole month's pay, gone. This Puja they would not be able to buy anything.

Minu held her little brother's old *punjabi* in one hand and her grandfather's hand in the other. Fearfully she looked up into her grandfather's face and then at the gay laughing crowd in the street. He was walking along mechanically.

"Come, grandfather, it's going to rain," she said and led him away from the crowd.

## 2

On the evening of the same day a middle-aged man was proceeding cautiously down a dark lane off Sukeas Street. In the darkness his red lungi and black shadow were dimly perceptible. He was carrying a bundle and made

his way forward hesitantly. As he drew near a lamp post a tall figure suddenly loomed in front of him; he started. The figure approached; he darted past him in fear. Immediately the figure wheeled and ran after him. At the next corner beneath another lamp post it caught him by the back of the neck and shook him violently. "Hello, here's a thief! Where're you running to?"

The man struggled vainly for a while to free himself from the strong firm grip of the young man. Then he fell at his feet and wailed. "Let me go, I'm not a thief, I'm really not a thief!"

"Not a thief, sadhu! Let me see your bundle. What have you stolen?"

"Sir, I'll tell you everything but let me go first. Here take it, but hear what I have to say"

"All right, speak out." The young man took the parcel and shoving the fellow into the narrow space between the lamp post and the wall of the building, released him. The gas light fell upon the man's face. His captor was surprised.

"Oh, so it's you, Rahim? You've set up business again? When did you get out of jail?"

"Ah you, saheb. Salaam!" he bent his head and touched his forehead with his outstretched right hand. "They let me out a month ago. I found my daughter dead and my woman gone off with somebody else. I wanted to quit this sort of work, it's no good. But the sardar sent for me and what could I do? I must live. This morning I stole that money but I didn't like doing it. I am on my way to give it back . . . . ."

"So you've turned a saint, have you? Really! Suddenly remembered the oil mill in the jail and making ropes. . . . ."

"No, saheb. I saw a roll of notes in the old man's pocket and couldn't resist the temptation; but I didn't like picking his pocket. He had gone shopping for the Puja and I took all his money; there was a little girl with him, too. They couldn't buy the sari she wanted in the shop."

A little surprised, the young man untied the bundle and found a little red sari and six ten rupee notes. He asked slowly, "Are you telling the truth?"

"Why should I lie to you, saheb? You're a big barrister; you'll understand. You got me off with three months instead of three years. . ."

"How much did you steal?"

"Those sixty rupees."

"And the sari?"

"That was my Dalim's saheb. Since she's dead it's no use keeping it. I thought I might as well give it away." Rahim stopped. The light from the gas lamp shone upon his face. With astonishment and respect the young man watched him. Some strange magic had transformed his black evil face and wretched mean body; a deep glow suffused his lined and shame-stained features; suffering throbbed in his eyes. He was no longer the vile lecherous jail-bird, the pocket-slitting, mean-hearted atheist; he was a father. A bond of goodness and beauty united him also with the Loving Cosmic Father. The young man's hungry heart throbbed in unison with Rahim's deep paternal sorrow for his daughter.

He caught Rahim by the hand and pulled him out from behind the lamp post. Laying an arm about his shoulders, he gave the money and sari back to him. "At which house are you going to leave it?" he asked.

Rahim took the things rather shyly and answered quietly, "Down the lane beyond the next turning, over there."

"All right, come on. Let me see how you will manage it."

"There's a hole in one corner of the window, I'll push it in stealthily. I followed the old man home this morning to see the house."

The two proceeded slowly. Entering a narrow side-lane, Rahim stopped in front of a dilapidated building. There was no light, as the lane was blind and the gas light from the corner shone feebly into it. Standing in front of the house they could hear a little boy's sweet laughter and the low musical humming of a little girl.

The young man went up the broken steps and entered the dirty portico. Through an unshuttered window he peered into the room. The window was closed from the inside but several broken panes of glass had been covered by variously coloured scraps of paper. Through a tear in one of them the young man watched.

A lantern burned in a corner; its cracked chimney was held together by a strip of white paper. In the soft light he could see the figure of an old man, half-reclining on a torn mat. Beside him a little girl bent over a book. Her curly hair fell over the old man's chest.

She became excited as she read. When would her prince come? When would her princess awaken? She lifted her head and asked, "Grandfather, how far is Terpantor

Plain? Have you ever been there? What is it like?"

Her grandfather shook his head, picked up the nozzle of the hubble-bubble lying beside him and put it to his mouth.

Minu laughed, "There's nothing in it, grandfather. You're only sucking. Let me fix it". Jumping up she carried it over to where the tobacco was kept in another corner of the room and began to arrange it.

Through the doorway near her a beautiful woman entered; a sleepy little boy lay in her arms like a rose blooming in the dawn. The boy, however, seeing his sister preparing the tobacco, sprang down like a waterfall and ran towards her. And before Minu could defend herself he had rubbed his hand over the coals and smeared the black on her cheek.

"O how naughty you are!" his mother ran to catch him.

"Mummie, tan't tatch me," the boy took refuge behind his grandfather. "Tatch me, tatch me," he shouted and began to dance around and around the old man. Mother and son played a game of hide and seek. Their soft dancing feet and sweet laughter, the chirping song of the little girl, the gentle beaming of the old man in the gay quivering light of the lantern transformed the dark dilapidated room into a heaven.

The young man stared through the torn paper at the widowed mother with deep emotion. Her dress, as white as jasmine, was spotted in places with tamarind and flakes of mud. The dishevelled strands of her hair were like tongues of flame and her face was tender and pure, feminine, pale as the white lotus of dawn. She had not the high colour of a rose.

In her running back and forth she happened to be close to the window. Noticing that the little boy was tired she caught him and pressed him to her breast, laughingly forgetful of her own loneliness as she rocked and caressed him. The light fell upon her face and the young man saw it distinctly in all its gentle tenderness. His blood began to dance in his heart.

"Mukul, my own, my jewel," the mother rocked the baby and pressed him to her

With an indistinct cry the watcher turned away from the window and dropping down on the dusty, rubbish-covered steps, leaned back against the damp wall. So she had given his name to her son—she had not forgotten him! The dark lane seemed a black river of tears. The pale light of a single star shone in the space between the roofs of two houses. On her lips how sweet was his own name! Mukul!

What illimitable happiness! What intolerable pain!

"Saheb!" Rahim was frightened and called.

Mukul made no reply. Surprised and alarmed Rahim made as if to peer through the window. Mukul pushed him away and again stared through the torn paper.

The room was now a picture of peace. The grandfather was leaning against a big bolster leisurely and smoking his hubble-bubble. In front of the lantern the little girl sat swinging her long hair over her book; her prince had reached the giant's castle and her heart was throbbing with terror. On the other side of the old man the little boy was lying on his mother's lap. He had finished his milk and was getting ready to go to sleep. One could see his mother's lovely back. Her head was lowered

"Mukul my own, sleep tonight,  
Awake at dawn, golden, bright."

Their shadows on the wall were as motionless as in a picture.

Rahim slowly took Mukul's hand and shook it. Mukul started and stared into the darkness as though awakened from a dream. His gaze went back to the window; forcibly tearing himself away, he pulled Rahim down the lane like one possessed.

Coming out upon the thoroughfare he hailed a taxi, climbed in with Rahim and ordered it to drive to the Municipal Market.

### 3

Returning to his own home from the market, Mukul took a rocking-chair out upon the open roof and sat down in a corner. In a sky of luminous blue floated delicate dream-like clouds. Sitting in the enchanting moonlight he entered the fairy-land of remembered love, a strange, radiant bower belonging to the eternally yearning woman of the night.

He had been twenty-one then and studying for the M.A. degree. On bright mornings he used to close his books and go out into the Calcutta streets. He would call on friends and pass the time chatting with them. The light would beckon with its lovely hands; the sky would watch for him with its blue eye and some delicious scent would come on the breeze, it was the age for that sort of thing.

One golden autumn morning he had appeared at the house of an aunt. This aunt had been a favourite of his from childhood. With potatoes, potols, spinach and other vege-

tables round about her she was slicing brinjal on a *bonti*\* in the p'entry. Mukul dashed in and sat down beside her. He picked up a small *bonti* and selected some potatoes. "You haven't peeled the potatoes yet, have you, Pishi-ma? Are they to be fried or put in 'dalna'?"

In his haste he had not noticed that a beautiful young girl was sitting near his aunt arranging *pan*.† A bit embarrassed now, he ignored her completely. His pride and modern opinions would not allow him to be shamed into leaving the room for one so young.

His aunt said in a tone of gentle rebuke, "Stop it and put the *bonti* away. Why should you cut your fingers?"

"All right, Pishi-ma, but look at that pumpkin. Who sliced it so badly?" the words embarrassed Mukul further. He had not realized that the vegetables on that side might easily have been cut by the unknown girl.

She had got into a difficulty. In front of her the lime-smeared betel leaves stretched in a line almost to the door. And Mukul was sitting on the other side of his aunt. The way out of the room was closed to her. Although she was not old enough to be shy, she blushed and quickly twisting her loose hair into a bun on her head like a bird's topknot, she began to heap the spices on the leaves and fold them up. The way she sat, her gestures as she folded the betel leaves, her flaming face and hesitant glance, all combined to dye Mukul's young heart with the tender colour of dawn.

Dangling the *bonti* he asked, "What can I do, Pishi-ma? Tell me."

"Don't be impudent, Mukul; and don't bother me. Get up and move over and don't touch me, because I've just bathed. Renu, have you finished your *pan*? Then get up. He has got to slice the potols."

"Bah! You don't believe I know how to do it." Mukul washed a few of the potols in a basin of water and began to cut them. He had always been his mother's pet and as a child had taken great delight in helping her with the preparation of the vegetables and in cooking.

As he sliced he looked up at his aunt laughingly. The lovely brilliant eyes of the young girl flamed on his face like morning stars.

\* *Bonti*—a curved knife with one end flattened for holding down with the foot so as to leave both hands free. The vegetables are cut by pressing down upon the moon-shaped blade.

† *Pan*—spices and lime wrapped in fresh betel leaves are greatly liked for their rich pungent flavour.



It was that age when eyes speak the whole mind, when in a glance it is possible to discover a heaven brimming with immortalizing ambrosia. The girl had been watching his work; embarrassed by discovery she went back to arranging the *pan*. Her face flushed as red as her hands, which were stained by the water in which she washed the betel leaves.

When her work was almost done, Mukul said mischievously, "Pishi-ma, I'm very thirsty."

His aunt was busy with the vegetables and there was no one else nearby. So it was Renuka who had to be told, "Please give him a glass of water, dear. Why didn't you come yesterday, Mukul? I made so many kinds of sweetmeats."

Mukul smiled, "No, just a glass of water—"

"Hush, enough! Look into the meatsafe, Renu, please, and see what is there. Do you mind stale *luchi*?"

Renuka stepped over the crimson betel water on her pretty soft feet, wetting the edge of her pink sari, and left the room. She re-entered bringing a shining bell-metal plate. Slowly opening the meatsafe she took out *luchi*, *rashabora*, *pantua*, and *sandesh*, arranging them neatly. Setting the plate down in a clean corner of the room she spread an embroidered square carpet beside it and brought a glass of water. Then she sat down beside his aunt and undid her hair, shaking it loose. Her silent passing to and fro, the deftness of her young hand, her shy, happy face, as radiant as a full-blown lotus, the rhythm of her movements, the pink waves of her sari, the swaying of her hair, bewitched Mukul as he watched.

When he had begun to eat, Renuka asked slowly, "Is there anything else for me to do, Pishi-ma?"

Mukul had finished the *potols*. "No, there's nothing, dear." Her aunt looked at her affectionately.

When Renuka quietly stood up, Mukul remarked, "Your *pantuas* are excellent Pishi-ma."

His aunt was delighted. "Give him some more before you go, my dear."

Mukul made no objection. Renuka opened the meatsafe, took out several of the sweets, put them on his plate and went out a bit hurriedly.

He gulped down the last drop of the water in his glass and asked, "Who is she, Pishi-ma?"

"Oh, they live next door. How did you like her?"

Mukul got up hastily, "Good-bye, Pishi-ma."

"So soon? Sit down, I'll not ask any more questions."

"No Pishi-ma. I'll come tomorrow." He said and dashed out of the room.

After that he began to frequent his aunt's house more and more. Sometimes he would present himself at noon when his aunt was lying on the cement floor resting and Renu sat by her side reading aloud a story from some magazine. Renu's story-reading would come to an end and his aunt's scolding would avail nothing. Then Mukul would take up the book himself and begin to read.

One day during the conversation he suddenly said, "Pishi-ma, I lose so many handkerchiefs. Everyone takes them."

"Why don't you get them initialled?"

"Who would do it, Pishi-ma?"

"All right, I will. Give them to me."

"Take them then." Mukul took three handkerchiefs out of his three pockets.

"So this is how you lose them! Please initial them, Renu."

Renuka brought his aunt's sewing basket and began to embroider his name in red—"Mukul"

"Just an initial will be enough," his aunt said.

Renuka blushed. "No, auntie, that would be dreadful." She replied.

Sometimes of an evening his aunt would be sitting in the kitchen kneading dough. Beside her Renuka would be forming it into little balls. Suddenly Mukul would appear, pick up the rolling pin and board and seat himself on the other side of his aunt. "Let me roll out the '*luchi*,' Pishi-ma."

His aunt would be annoyed, "Oh leave it alone. Where have you sprung from?"

"Uh! I've been out since morning!"

"Then you've had nothing to eat, I suppose? Renu dear, fry some *luchis* for him."

Taking the rolling pin and board away from him his aunt would roll out the rounds, Renu would fry them, bring a bell-metal plate and arrange *luchis* and curries and sweets for him. Although she worked in silence, Mukul heard a sweet unsounded song in all she did—in her walk, in her gestures, the cheerfulness of her face and the sparkle of her face and the sparkle of her eyes.

And so, petal by petal, Mukul's heart

opened and was ready to bloom with love of Renuka. But the love-lotus was destined to be blighted in the bud.

His aunt made all the arrangements for his wedding with Renuka. His mother came to see the girl and liked her; but difficulties arose, his father refused his consent absolutely.

"You know how obstinate the boy is, my dear," his mother expostulated. "He has made up his mind and he will never marry anyone else."

His father replied harshly, "If he won't, he won't! Let him get out! Bhabesh Mitter's daughter will never enter my house as my son's wife!"

"Why not? What has he done?"

"Listen, you are women and know nothing of the world. I say no. Nabin Ghose is not the man to compromise a law-suit by marrying his son to the daughter of the man who started it!"

Even after this his mother entreated and quarrelled, but she could not win him. Later, when the law-suit had been decided in his favour and he agreed to the marriage with Renuka, her marriage to another had been settled. Bhabesh Mitter sent the reply, "I would die of starvation rather than wed my daughter to the son of Nabin Ghose."

Renuka was given in marriage elsewhere and Mukul's father, seeing that he stubbornly refused to consider any other as his bride, sent him to England.

Now his father was dead and his mother too. Staring up into a sky drenched with the light of the moon he kept recalling her face.

The church clock struck one. Re-entering the room he roused Rahim from the corner beside a bookcase of law books where he was lying asleep.

"Is it time, saheb?" Rahim rubbed his eyes.

"Yes, get up."

Together they came over to the table. A toy railway train, a toy dog, a big doll, a bottle of lozenges, a silk peacock-coloured sari, a frock, a little red *punjab* and various other gifts for Minu and her little brother lay upon it. These they had bought together, staying at the market until ten o'clock.

"I'll find out how good a thief you are, Rahim," Mukul said with a tender, pale smile. "You've always broken into houses to take things away. This time try to put something in without getting caught."

"I can do it all right," Rahim tugged at his red beard, "You'll see."

Wrapping up the toys Mukul handed them to Rahim. "Now go," he said, "It's one-thirty. Tell me where you will leave it."

"At the head of the little girl's bed."

"No, at the head of the little boy's bed would be better."

"But—"

"All right, give them back. We must make up two bundles."

Undoing the toys, Mukul separated Minu's from her brother's. Then he opened his almirah and took out a handkerchief. It was as white as a white lotus and in one corner was his name—Mukul—embroidered in thread as red as 'blood'-sandal. Rahim did up the toys for the little boy in it and Minu's things he wrapped in his own little daughter's sari. Then he left.

Putting out the electric light Mukul stretched himself on an easy-chair and mused. Why should it have been like this? The strings of his life had snapped as they were being fixed upon the instrument. The song could not be sung. Could the broken wires not be pieced together somehow?

He decided that he must expiate his father's pride and greed of property. If he offered to return all that his father had taken from Bhabesh Mitter by winning that law-suit, would not the old man accept it? Ought he not to take it for the sake of Minu and her little brother? But Mukul knew for certain that the old man would beg in the streets before he would accept a gift from Nabin Ghose's son.

He did not need to accept it. Mukul could no longer regard that property as his own; he dedicated it to Minu and the baby Mukul. He would manage it in their interest, accumulate the income from it in bank accounts under their names and give it to them when they came of age.

Tired with thinking Mukul shut his eyes and lay back in the chair. He thought of his mother. Amidst the saddening welter of worldly affairs there come into every young man's life times so devoid of all peace that he longs to rest his hot, distraught, and pain-racked head upon the soft tender breast of some good, loving woman. Mukul's drooping body and mind were hungry for the gentle touch of a woman's hand and the peaceful nest of a breast. With an aching heart he fell asleep.

Mukul's sleep was broken by a dream. The dream itself was gone but the magic of it

remained. The music of tiny pattering feet played over the floor of a room; the wall trembled like the string of a vina. On some strange instrument strung with threads of moonlight sounded the laughter of a child.

Slowly he came out on to the open roof. There was a faint flush of light in the east. Slowly a flood of gold began to tumble out through the eastern portal. Heaven's goddess of beauty, out of an uncovered ewer, was spilling nectar everywhere. Mukul gazed at the golden sky and mused. Perhaps Minu and her

little brother were awaking now. The house would fill with a joyous tumult as they discovered their toys and new clothes. More beautiful and far more charming than this exquisite sky must those little laughing faces be!

Mukul had been gazing long and was now calm. It seemed to him as though someone who loved him had sent this beautiful dawn even as he had sent gifts to Minu and her little brother.

(Translated from 'Mayapuri' by Srimati Lila Ray)

## WHY BRITAIN SURRENDERED TO HITLER

### Truth Behind "Chamberlain the Peace-Maker"

*Story of Britain's Poor Defences and Dominion's Failure to Help*

By CHAMAN LAL

BRITISH Propaganda is the mightiest weapon being used to conceal facts. Chamberlain is being immortalised as a great God of Peace. I am not his rival, nor his enemy, but I wish the truth should be told to millions of our countrymen who think Britain is an invincible power. Hitler has defeated the combined power of British and French Empire without firing a shot. The reader will think that I am a rebel and my statement can be full of prejudice. Hence I will quote the greatest imperialist paper, the *Daily Express*, which is a great supporter of Chamberlain's policy and a friend of Germany. This is what the newspaper says:—

#### WE WERE NOT PREPARED

Were we prepared? No.

In the dark days which are gone the citizens of Britain formed the view that this country is not in the position adequately to resist attacks from our enemies.

First of all, our anti-aircraft guns. Walk where you like, go when you choose, and see for yourself that almost all the guns set up to defend London are pre-war or early war types. There are very few modern anti-aircraft guns among them. The modern anti-aircraft gun is a weapon of accuracy and power. During the trouble an incident, which passed almost unnoticed, occurred over Vienna. There a German airplane was brought down by a single shot from an anti-aircraft gun. We want a multitude of guns like that to defend our citadel.

Next, our airplanes. Unquestionably our need is for the fighter plane, and our necessity is for the type of plane that can overtake and destroy the enemy bomber.

It is believed that our system of air defence depends on an unending patrol of the skies, day and night continuously discovering and warding off the attacking airplane. For this patrol system we need a host of fighter planes far greater in number than those which we have built already.

As for our Army, during the trouble reports were circulated damaging to the prestige of the War Office and its organisation. There was an alarming shortage of A. R. P. material such as sandbags, shovels, pickaxes and stuff to curtain windows. Profiteering of a most vicious kind took place in the sale of these commodities.

#### FOOD SHORTAGE

Then there was difficulty about food. The public began to hoard it. Why? Because the belief existed that supplies would run out. Mr. W. S. Morrison told us not so long ago that it would be foolish to grow food in Britain in preparation for a war which might never happen. We are entitled now to make our preparations for the next alarm by getting rid of Mr. W. S. Morrison and securing a Minister who will produce a programme of growing foodstuffs for emergency.

#### DEFECTIVE GAS MASKS

Rightly or wrongly, the citizens take the view that the gas masks they have been given are of doubtful value. It was disconcerting to the general public to see the supply of these gas masks failing in very many places, and also to learn that in most areas no form of anti-gas protection was ready for infant children up to four years of age.

#### DOMINIONS FAILED TO HELP

The Dominions which form the proud Empire failed to do anything practical except lip sympathy. Only Sir Sikandar and a few

Indian Rajas gave assurances of help. The paper laments:—

"But the most serious part of our unpreparedness was shown in our relations with the Dominions. It is well known that people were disappointed. They expected more encouragement and more support from the Dominions. They did not get it."

The *Express* concludes very honestly:

#### NO LONGER INVINCIBLE

No. We were not prepared. But if we learn the lesson, if we are resolute in repairing the gaps in our defences; if we labour to multiply the fruits of our soil; if we now and here decide to undertake no commitments and to make no pledges without the approval of the Dominions, then it can be said that out of evil will come good.

The same paper only a week ago had announced that Britain was invincible. It had never lost a battle except in America. And yet after 6 days the same paper confesses the truth.

#### AND YET ANOTHER VIEW— EVERYTHING WAS PRE-ARRANGED!

Many intelligent observers believe that everything was pre-arranged between Hitler and Chamberlain and that Chamberlain had long since decided to sell Czecho-Slovakia and . . . ?

Bewildered citizens are asking whether all the official war preparations of the last few days are not an elaborate "spoof" calculated to panic them into an acceptance of what are, after all, Herr Hitler's Godesberg demands.

It seems clear now that knowledge of what was going on was purposely withheld and the emotional tension skilfully increased from hour to hour while behind the closed doors of the conference rooms the poor remains of Britain's honour, prestige and future security were bargained for and sold.

On the eve of his flight to Munich, Mr Chamberlain himself told the crowd: "Everything will be alright this time".

As I foretold, he had decided to "do a Hoare" on Czechoslovakia, to sell out to the Dictators; and, having arranged that potential critics would not prolong the debate in the House of Commons on Wednesday, he took the lack of challenge to his recent activities as *carte blanche* to proceed with his betrayal.

#### TO COVER RETREAT

Many rumours seeking to explain the almost complete capitulation to Hitler after having worked up the nation to war frenzy are current. The most interesting is that the

Russian air-fleet was written down as unreliable on the authority of Colonel Lindbergh, who has visited Russia recently.

The plain fact is that stories of the alleged inefficiency of the French defences and the Russian attack were accepted without any real attempt at confirmation and were circulated in case they would be needed to cover Mr. Chamberlain's intended retreat.

#### TERROR-STRICKEN PEOPLE

The truth is the people of England have become ease-loving. They are afraid of war and not ready for any sacrifice except shouting at Trafalgar Square. This is proved by the way the civil population of Britain react to the threat of war during the crisis.

#### THEY FLED

Wealthy people fled into remote parts of the country, paying fantastic prices for houses and cottages.

In the West Country, regarded as one of the best "safety zones" country houses worth from £750 to £1,000 were being sold for over £3,000.

In other cases large sums were offered for cottages which will probably have to be demolished under slum clearance schemes.

In this area there is no unemployment in the building trade, every available man being engaged on altering and reconditioning property and constructing shelters.

Sudden boom has also saved many hotel proprietors from a lean season.

Graver side of activities has been the wholesale purchase of stocks of food by moneyed people.

Huge supplies of tea, sugar, coal and canned foods have been bought for hoarding.

Reports tell of van loads of food being ordered from London for small families who have moved to the country.

Another order was for £200 worth of groceries and one for six hundredweight of biscuits for pet dogs.

#### THOUSANDS GO TO WALES & IRELAND

Another interesting sidelight of the great exodus was the amazing rise in the population of Glamorgan. In one week it rose by over 193,000. Thousands of rich people rushed to Ireland and even to America. Everywhere the people were panic-stricken and except the poor working classes, everyone showed signs of cowardice.

**HEIL HITLER**

So the army being unprepared, planes being hopeless, Anti-Aircraft guns being old and Dominions refusing to help, Hitler commanded Chamberlain "Obey or die" and Chamberlain bowed and said: "At Thy Command" and shouted Heil Hitler.

The future historians will give Chamberlain his due reward. He saved his country. What if he sold England's honour. He believes in "Safety First".

London,

October, 3, 1938.

## FEDERAL RAILWAY AUTHORITY

### Imperium in Imperio

By D. V. DIVEKAR

ONE OF the many objectionable features of the Government of India Act of 1935 is the Federal Railway Authority proposed to be established according to the Act. Systematic attempts seem to have been made in the Act to curtail the powers of the Federal Ministry and the Federal Legislature. Not to speak of the Reserved Departments and the Special Responsibilities of the Governor-General, there is the Reserved Bank Act that restricts the liberty of action of the federal Finance Member. There is also the Federal Railway Authority that is cleverly designed to withdraw Railway Administration and Railway finance from the hands of the Federal Railway to Communication Member whatever may be his designation. The Federal Railway Authority is to possess wide powers and will practically be a Government within a Government. Efforts were made to see that a condition was laid down to the effect that Indian federation should not come into existence unless the Federal Railway Authority was duly brought into shape. At any rate this express condition does not appear to have been accepted. Nevertheless the device of the new Federal Railway Authority stands revealed.

It is hardly necessary to emphasise the importance of railways to a nation from the economic and political point of view. What arteries are to the body, railways are to the nation. Railways in India bulk enormously in India's economy. According to the recent report of the Railway Board, the total mileage in India is 43,128, the total capital at charge in all Railways is Rs. 880.13 crores. The whole staff runs up to 7,10,880 and the total income is Rs. 95.48 crores. These figures indicate the

extent of the control over Railways to be vested in the Federal Railway Authority alone to all intents and purposes. Railways do not form a static factor in the nation's life. Railways are bound to develop as economic condition permits. In 1908 the Mackay Committee had visualized extension of railway mileage in India to the figure of one lakh. Railways are therefore sure to be an increasingly important and vital function in the Indian Administration.

### BRIEF HISTORY

The history of the Federal Railway Authority can be easily told. There is no mention of it in the Simon Commission Report. The question was not referred to in the Round Table Conferences. Almost all of a sudden, the Federal Structure Committee remarked in January of 1931 that they are of opinion that the Federal Railway Authority should be formed if after expert examinations that course seemed desirable. In the discussion on this proposal Mr. Jayakar recorded his dissent. Mr. Jayakar admitted his failure to understand what the Federal Railway Authority was to be like. He laid stress on the fact that whatever that be, perfect freedom must be left to the Minister to control that Board and to make arrangements with regard to its constitution, functions and powers. Mr. Jinnah too agreed to the Expert Committee and not the Board. But any how the question was not thoroughly threshed out in the R. T. Conferences and its Committees. The Indian Consultative Committee met in India in 1932. In it there was general agreement that Railways should be run on commercial lines and that without depriving the Indian Legislature

of their legitimate powers of control over policy and general administration, the actual day-to-day administration should be in the hands of an independent authority. The Indian Constitution should contain a clause that a Statutory Railway Board should be appointed and its powers, functions and composition should be entirely determined by an Act of the future Indian Legislature. In the White Paper, paragraph 74 of the Introduction, there is a brief reference to the Statutory Board now called the Federal Railway Authority.

In June of 1933 the Secretary of State appointed a Committee of over twenty members and that Committee formulated its sketch proposals regarding the future administration of Indian Railways. Whether this was the Expert Committee contemplated by Federal Structure Sub-Committee was not known. Anyhow it submitted its report containing in great detail the constitution, functions, etc. of the Federal Railway Authority. The Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform accepted the sketch proposals with two modifications, *viz.*, that not less than three of the seven members of the proposed Authority should be appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion, and that the Authority should not be constituted on a communal basis. This latter modification is all to the good of the Authority itself and the nation. Excepting this fact the whole constitution of the Authority is deserving of condemnation.

#### INDIAN DEMAND

The unanimous demand of the entire British-Indian Delegation was that only a clause should be inserted in the Government of India Act that a Federal Railway Authority should be constituted and the constitution, functions etc. should be left to be settled by means of federal legislation in India. This demand has been completely flouted. Almost every detail about the Federal Railway Authority has been fixed up in the Act and in the 8th Schedule to the Act. Clauses 181 to 199, both inclusive, deal with the Authority and the 8th Schedule too covers with its sixteen clauses all the points that can be raised respecting the Authority. The distinction between a clause of the Act proper and a clause in the Schedule is a distinction between Tweedledum and Tweedledee; for like the Act itself the Schedule also cannot be modified but by the Parliament. All along, the popular Indian demand had been that a bare clause should be incorporated in the Act.

But obviously the British Government did not want anything to be decided either by the present Legislative Assembly or by the Federal Assembly. Now practically nothing is to be done by the Indian Legislature and thus that Indian "Parliament" has been balked of its right. The Government of India in its despatch recommended that rules under the Act about the Federal Railway Authority should be made subject to modification after a prescribed period by the Indian Legislature. Even this minor right has not been left in the hands of the Indian Legislature.

#### CONSTITUTION AND FUNCTIONS

According to the Act and the Schedule, the Federal Railway Authority is to consist of seven members, three of whom are to be appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion. The Governor-General is also to appoint in his discretion a member of the Authority to be the President thereof. The appropriations of money will be made by the Federal Railway Authority and not by the Federal Assembly. The accounts and expenditure of the Federal Railway Authority will come up before the Assembly only if the Authority stand in need of financial help from the Federal Treasury. This means that in ordinary circumstances the Assembly will have no control over the Authority. The 'policy' is to be determined by the Federal Railway Member or the Assembly; but 'the executive authority of the federation in respect of the regulation and the construction, maintenance and operation of Railways shall be exercised' by the Federal Railway Authority. If there is any dispute as to whether a question is or is not a question of policy, the decision of the Governor-General in his discretion is to be final.

#### RAILWAY RATES

The question of rates and fares is exceedingly important. The industrial and commercial development of India depends to a large extent on Railway rates on goods. So far the policy of the Railways has not been favourable to India. In broad terms the policy may be described as favourable to imports of manufactured articles and export of raw materials. In the new dispensation, the Governor-General may appoint a Railway Rates Committee to settle disputes about rates and traffic facilities. A Bill regulating the rates to fares to be charged on any railway cannot be introduced in either Chamber of the Federal Legislature.



except on the recommendation of the Governor-General. Thus it will be easily seen that the Governor-General and the Federal Railway Authority share between themselves most of the control over Indian Railways and the Federal Railway Member and the Legislature hardly come into the picture.

#### SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAY BOARD

Let me briefly point out the methods of Railway administration in other countries. There are Boards of Commissioners in Canada and Victoria, Queensland and other Australian States. But they are under the control of the Ministers in charge of Railways or communications and are not in possession of independent autocratic powers as is to be the case with the Federal Railway Authority in India. The South African Act is the most pertinent and apt. By the 1909 Act the control and management of railways, ports and harbours of the Union is exercised through a Board of three Commissioners who are appointed by the Governor-General in Council and the Minister of the State is the Chairman of that Board. In 1916 an amendment to the Act was adopted saying that the General Manager of Railways is to be governed by such regulations as the Minister may from time to time frame after consultation with the Board. As regards Railway Rates, the British method is the best from the nationalist point of view. The fixation of

Railway rates is assigned to the Railway Rates Tribunal of three experts. One is appointed by the Lord Chancellor, one by the Board of Trade and one by the Ministry of Transport.

#### VITAL MODIFICATIONS

These facts will reveal how defective and reactionary the proposed Federal Railway Authority in India is designed to be. If the Federal Railway Authority is to be generally acceptable to Indian nationalist public opinion, it must be under the control of the Federal Railway Member; all its members must be appointed by the Governor-General on the advice of the Federal Ministers; the Minister in charge of Railways should be the ex-officio President; all its funds must be appropriated by the Federal Legislature; and Railway rates etc. should be determined on the advice of a Railway Rates Tribunal formed on the lines of the British Tribunal, including representatives of the industrial and commercial communities. Unless these reforms are effected, the Federal Railway Authority will not be able to fulfil its professed purpose, *viz.*, that of acting on business principles, due regard being had by them to the interests of agriculture, industry, commerce and the general public. As it is, the Federal Railway Authority is bound to be condemned by all people and parties in India.

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#### Old dated manuscripts in the collection of the Dacca University

Dr Kalidas Nag, in the course of his review of the Virataparvan of the Mahabharata published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, deservedly congratulates the Institute on the acquisition of a manuscript (which parvan?) of the Mahabharata dated 1437 A.D. I send this note for the information of Dr. Nag, as well as of the public, that equally old MSS of the Bengal recension of the great epic are extant. A MS of the Adi-parvan dated 1390 Saka=1468 A.D. was

exhibited in the last Session of the Bengal Literary Conference at Krishnanagar. The Dacca University possesses the following early dated MSS in its collection: Padmapurana—1311 Saka. Sarada-tilaka Tantra—1361 Saka. Visnu Purana—1388 Saka. Mahabharata—Aranya Parva—1393 Saka. Harivamsa—1425 Saka. Saradatilaka—1430 Saka.

N. K. BHATTASALI

## THE NEED OF ORGANIZING THE JUVENILE AND SCHOOL LIBRARIES IN BENGAL

By Miss USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

If the love of reading for reading's sake is to be inculcated among our children, the juvenile and school libraries must needs be organized on proper lines. These should be far better equipped and should be much more adequately utilized than they are at present. The problem as to how to afford the juvenile readers ampler and more suitable library facilities should therefore seriously engage the attention of all the eminent educationists of the day. Dominated as the present-day educational system is by the bugbear of too many examinations, the preparation of the school lessons takes up most of the time of the pupils. To achieve success in the examinations they have to do a good deal of cramming, which proves too great a drudgery for them to beget a real love of learning. At the present time, the sole end of the schooling they receive seems to consist in preparing for the examinations. As a result of this, very few of them turn out to be great lovers of books in later life. Besides, as they have to finish the syllabus within a limited time, they are generally so much overburdened with their school studies that they have hardly enough time to read books other than their prescribed text-books. All this serves to stifle the individuality of the children, who are thus reduced to so many machines for reproducing the information imparted in the class room at the examination hall. This constitutes one of the most serious defects of school education at the present moment. The school children are, as a rule, lacking in general knowledge, as they have a tendency to confine themselves almost entirely to their text-books.

We must not also lose sight of the fact that the work of a librarian requires a good deal of expert and technical knowledge. In our country a librarian is generally looked upon as a mere "caretaker" of books, who does not need to have special educational qualifications or any professional training. If good libraries are considered to be so many assets of considerable value, the status of the librarians must also be raised. They should be recruited from the real lovers of books—from well-read and well-informed persons, possessing high educa-

tional qualifications. They need to be trained in the library technique too. It is quite gratifying to note that the initiative has already been taken by the Imperial Library of Calcutta in this direction by opening a training centre for the purpose of training some candidates in the librarian's work. But, to my mind, special training courses should also be provided for the prospective librarians of the juvenile and school libraries. It is a pity that at the average school in Bengal the work is ordinarily entrusted to inexperienced teachers, who are hardly well-equipped for the task and who hardly take it seriously enough. The attention of the heads of all the secondary schools of the Province should be called to the imperative need of trained and qualified librarians. If the juvenile and school libraries are to be properly organized in Bengal, first and foremost, an adequate number of qualified men and women should be trained in the librarian's work. In case no provision for their training can be made at the Imperial Library, special training courses may well be instituted by the Dacca and Calcutta Universities for the purpose. The minimum educational qualifications of the candidates eligible for such training should be fixed, and the standard of training as well as the length of the course is to be determined by a body of experts. Diplomas should also be granted at the end of these training courses, so as to enable the trained librarians to secure decent situations. Such a scheme is likely to prove practicable, and will not perhaps entail too much recurring expenditure.

In Bengal there are very few public libraries, which are specially intended to meet the needs of the juvenile readers. Sporadic efforts are, however, being made at the present time to supply this long-felt want by opening juvenile sections in one or two public libraries in Calcutta. But perhaps these juvenile sections contain only a number of books suitable for children, and are hardly what a model juvenile library should be like. Juvenile libraries need to be organized on far sounder lines. If possible, trained and qualified women librarians should be appointed for the purpose

of supervising the juvenile libraries, as women are expected to be able to appreciate the needs of small children better than men. Provision should also be made for suitable reading rooms in these juvenile libraries, where children can be provided with comfortable sitting accommodation. Care should be taken that the juvenile readers are afforded all other facilities for reading. The possibilities of opening a sufficient number of good public juvenile libraries in the rural and mofussil areas of the Province should be carefully investigated, as in these areas well-equipped school libraries are seldom available. Even in the urban areas of the Province all the schools cannot be expected to afford well-equipped libraries, the financial resources of some of them being quite meagre and insufficient. A good deal of economy can be effected by the interborrowing of books among the schools, if such a practice can, at all, be introduced. Such schools as have no well-equipped libraries of their own can, however, be benefited by public juvenile libraries also, as these latter institutions can perhaps be organized on a much bigger scale than what the limited funds of the schools permit of. If an adequate number of well-organized public juvenile libraries can be started throughout the Province, school children may well be taken round these institutions, now and again. Occasional visits to these places may help to engender a love of reading among the youthful visitors, even if these visits do not serve any other useful purpose. The pupils must needs be impressed with the value and importance of such institutions. The outward appearances of these juvenile libraries should also be imposing and attractive. "A direct appeal to the eye" being the most effective means of securing children's interest. The very atmosphere of these places should be conducive to the sacredness of feelings, with which the juvenile visitors ought to be inspired, when visiting these institutions. Much more systematic methods of lending out books should be devised, and the rates of subscriptions to be realized from the juvenile readers should be as small as possible, as otherwise these institutions will fail to be popularized. School children should be allowed special concessions.

In Bengal, perhaps only a small number of schools can boast of possessing well-equipped libraries. In each school, there should be a separate library for the use of the teachers. In addition to the common and general library (including the reference library), each class should have a library of its own, which should

contain a choice collection of books, suited to the varying needs of children of different tastes. A good deal of discretion is to be exercised in the matter of selection. The books should be very carefully graded according to the ages of the children, and should be well adapted to the needs of each class. The subject-matter should be both instructive and interesting. It should also be of varied interest, so as to suit the different tastes of individual children. Attempts should therefore be made to cover the various branches of knowledge, such as fiction, science, travels, biographies, mythology, history, geography, stories of adventures and hunting expeditions and the like, and thus to enlarge the range of the pupils' reading. The bindings and the get-up of the books meant for the smaller children need to be pretty and attractive. These books should also be profusely illustrated with nicely coloured pictures. As children are apt to take a fancy to coloured things, they will naturally be attracted by the pretty colours and feel tempted to go through the contents of the books. Efforts should also be made to create the right type of tastes. The librarians in charge of the school and juvenile libraries should therefore be good psychologists too, as one of their main duties should consist in forming healthy tastes and developing the habit of reading. They must be keenly alive to the needs of the growing minds of the youthful readers and must be conversant with child-psychology. These librarians should also be well-acquainted with juvenile literature, as they are supposed to guide and help the children in the matter of selection. They should try to keep in touch with all the important up-to-date publications in the domain of juvenile literature and all the modern developments in the library technique. The stock of books should be added to from year to year. Some funds are to be annually ear-marked for the purpose. The children should be encouraged to borrow books regularly from the school libraries. Provisions should therefore be made for the regular and systematic lending out of books to the pupils.

The books should be nicely and properly arranged in the cupboards, and should be within easy reach of the pupils, so that they may not experience any difficulty, whatever, in choosing and securing the books of their choice. The children must have free access to the school libraries, which should form an important instrument of their education. It is a treat to see the juvenile scholars rummaging these storehouses of learning in quest of the

invaluable treasure hidden in the books. The pupils must be afforded the opportunity of slaking their thirst for knowledge as much as possible. So it will not do to restrict the use of the school libraries, the object of which should be to whet the children's desire for learning and not to abate it. Their intellectual curiosity should therefore be stimulated, and their spirit of inquiry is to be roused. They should not be allowed to take things for granted and should always be encouraged to find them out for themselves. Books should be the main sources of their information. The teachers are only to help and guide them in the acquisition of knowledge. Some of the school authorities may object to letting the children have free access to the libraries on the ground that a good many books are thus likely to get lost and damaged. Such apprehensions may not be absolutely groundless. But, to my mind, much depends on the training. If the pupils find that the teachers are relying on them and trusting them absolutely, they will perhaps try to prove worthy of their trust, and may not feel inclined to abuse it. Their sense of responsibility, too, will thus be appealed to. The teachers in charge should see that the books taken out are put back in their proper places by the children themselves after they have done with those. The necessity and importance of neatness and tidiness should also be impressed on the pupils, who should be taught how to take proper care of the books borrowed by them. The monitors and monitresses of the classes will be directly responsible to the teachers for any loss or damage of the books taken out by their fellow pupils.

There should be regular periods for study during the school hours. Suitable reading rooms should also be provided for the purpose. These must have a bright and cheerful aspect, and should be well-ventilated and well-lighted. The teachers in charge should see that strict silence is observed by the pupils during the reading hours as the seriousness of the purpose needs to be brought home to the latter. The children should never be allowed to indulge in idle talk, so that they may not thus disturb their fellow pupils in their reading. They will thus be trained in the powers of concentration as well as self-control. The school library can thus be

the indirect means of developing the pupils' moral character too. If education is to act as a dynamic force in life, the training of character should go, hand in hand, with the development of the intellect.

It is no good collecting and preserving books only, unless these are well utilized. To test as to whether the children have actually gone through the books borrowed by them should be one of the important duties of the class teachers. Regular questions are to be set on the contents of the books, and marks are to be given on the merits of the answers. Provision should also be made for some special prizes for those who will be able to secure the highest marks in these tests at the end of the year. The general tendency of the juvenile readers is to borrow books on fiction only, which are ordinarily in great demand in the schools. But the children's education will turn out to be defective, if they fail to gain an all-round knowledge. So a versatile taste needs to be cultivated. Specialization is to begin at a much later stage.

The library movement, which is comparatively a recent development in Bengal, needs to be popularized throughout the Province. It is high time that organized efforts should be launched to give an impetus to the movement. Annual conferences of the librarians may be of great help in popularizing the movement and disseminating information regarding the scientific organization of libraries. In the future sessions of these conferences the juvenile and school libraries of the Province should be adequately represented, so as to enable these librarians to discuss their common problems, to evolve useful schemes and to profit by mutual exchange of experience and ideas. In connection with these conferences, book fairs and exhibitions of libraries may well be organized. In these the valuable collections of the juvenile and school libraries may also be exhibited. A special section may be assigned to the juvenile and school libraries. Such functions are likely to give rise to a healthy spirit of competition among the schools, and to focus the attention of the educated public upon the juvenile and school libraries, the practical utility of which can thus be borne in upon them.

## THE LOGIC OF KARNATAKA'S DEMAND

By V. B. KULKARNI

TO THOSE who have doubted the wisdom of creating linguistic provinces, the recent unedifying episode in the Central Provinces should serve as an eye-opener. Whether the C. P. wrangle was the outcome of personal rivalries among its Cabinet Ministers, or was a sequel to the inevitable conflict that arises out of a promiscuous grouping together of distinct and highly evolved linguistic units, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the existing structure of the Central Provinces does not conduce to a smooth and orderly evolution of its administration. Small wonder, therefore, that a movement has been set on foot for detaching the Marathi area from the Hindi portion and linking it to Maharashtra. The Khare episode has been of especial significance to us of Karnataka, for, our erstwhile opponents have, by a strange fatality, suddenly turned themselves into staunch supporters of the principle of linguistic provinces.

Scenes such as those enacted in the C. P. are not peculiar to that Province alone. Madras and Bombay are faced with a similar problem, perhaps in all its worst aspects. Public life in the Southern Presidency is often vitiated by a perpetual quadrangular fight between four divergent linguistic units, Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu and Kannada, although the sanity of the contending parties has so far prevented their rivalries from assuming the blatancy of the C. P. imbroglio.

In Bombay the friction between Gujerat and Maharashtra is wellknown. Although Karnataka has always wisely kept itself aloof from these bickerings, the very fact of its presence in full force as a distinct unit has added to the complexity of the problem. An example of the deep-seated linguistic rivalries that exist in this Province is provided by the Khare episode, which has been utilized as a welcome opportunity by a certain section of the vernacular press to indulge in unbridled vituperation against some of India's most respected leaders. It is suicidal to ignore developments such as these, for, they constitute a grave danger to our national solidarity.

But we cannot remove this canker from our body-politic by merely tinkering with the

problem. With the best of intentions, the government of a composite province can bring justice to none. Take, for example, the Southern Presidency. The Tamilians preponderate. As a majority community, their interests and stake in the Presidency are, naturally enough, greater than those of the other three linguistic units. The Government of Madras, which has the the responsibility of ministering to a variety of interests, cannot, theoretically at least, give that exclusive attention to the majority community which it could undoubtedly secure in a province of its own. But its numerical superiority and the consciousness of its importance ensure its being accorded preferential treatment which is, however, not half so advantageous as having a separate province. Favoured treatment must always be at the cost of others, resulting in an unequal distribution of governmental amenities and patronage. Thus none of the communities get that full measure of justice which they have a right to expect at the hands of their Government. Speaking for Madras Karnataka, it has scarcely received any attention at the hands of its Government.

In the Bombay Presidency the situation is equally unsatisfactory. Despite their long-standing rivalries, Gujerat and Maharashtra have taken good care to see that the strings of political power do not slip off their hands. Karnataka is nowhere in the picture, except that our pliant legislators are often made convenient pawns in the game of political ascendancy. It might be an exciting game for those who stand to gain by it, but we of Karnataka who are 35 lakhs in number and constitute 25% of the Presidency's population, cannot share their edification. The consequences of such an arrangement are obvious. Heart-burning, friction, jealousy and covert antagonism have become a chronic feature of the administrative and public life of the Presidency.

The only panacea to these provincial ills is, therefore, to accord the right of self-determination to each linguistic area, provided it satisfies certain fundamental criteria. Below are given the opinions of some of the competent

authorities on the subject to reinforce my argument in favour of creating linguistic provinces.

Sir Bamfylde Fuller wrote thus:

"It would have been well for the country (India) had its divisions into provinces for purposes of government followed the lines marked by race and language, so as to reinforce the sympathy which arises by similarity, by feelings of pride in local government. The existing administrative divisions are heterogeneous, so as to have a directly contrary effect"

Mr Lionel Curtis in his famous *Letters to the People of India on Responsible Government* says.

"To a detached observer one of the most pathetic features in the Indian situation is the tenacity with which certain elements of its people, and those the most vocal, cling to features in the system organised by us foreigners, which are in fact the greatest obstacles to popular government. One is our educational system, another is the Permanent Settlement, a third the vast satrapies into which our system has divided India. . . . The defect of the present areas (of administration) is that they are too mechanical. . . ."

The observations of the Montford Report, which was written after a personal study of India's problems by the late Mr. Montagu, are equally trenchant. Says the Report:

"We are impressed with the artificial and often inconvenient character of existing administrative units. . . We cannot doubt that the business of government would be simplified if administrative units were both smaller and more homogeneous. . . . It is also a strong argument in favour of linguistic or racial units of government that, by making it possible to conduct the business of legislation in the vernacular, they would contribute to draw into the arena of public affairs men who were not acquainted with English. . . ."

An outcome of these recommendations was that a specific provision under Sec 52-A of the Government of India Act, 1919, was made for creating new provinces whenever it was found possible and desirable. The Simon Report supported the Montford recommendations. What is more important, Sec. 290 of the present Government of India Act has provisions essentially similar to Sec 52-A of the Act of 1919.

I have before me quite a sheaf of authorities urging the wisdom of reshuffling our provincial boundaries on rational grounds, but I have quoted enough to prove my point. However, before I pass on to the next topic, let me set down here what the Nehru Report has to say on the subject. The observations of this Report are of especial significance to us for, the Congress, which is now in power, stands committed not merely to honour but to implement the recommendations made therein.

After making a powerful indictment upon

the present provincial distribution, the learned authors of the Report came to the weighty conclusion that

"There must be a redistribution of provinces. Some of us favour small provinces, other prefer large province. But small or large, the question of redistribution has to be tackled."

Referring to Karnataka's demand the Report contains these observations:

"The case for the Karnataka was placed before us by a representative of the Karnataka Unification Sangh and the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee. It had been ably prepared with a wealth of information, historical, cultural and statistical. All our questions were answered satisfactorily and in our opinion a strong *prima facie* case for unification was made."

The readers of *The Modern Review* are not unaware of the disabilities from which Karnataka suffers under the present arrangement.<sup>1</sup> I shall, therefore, spare them the boredom of wading once more through a catalogue of our grievances. But one point deserves particular emphasis. In the recent exchange of memorandum and counter-memorandum over what is popularly known as the Bengali-Bihari controversy, the chief grouse of Bihar against its incorporation with Bengal was that

"As the Government installed in Calcutta was popularly known as the 'Government of Bengal,' the joint provinces came to be known as 'Bengal,' in common parlance, and the very name of the historic province of Bihar gradually came to disappear, even from the text-books on geography."

But, Bihar was saved from such a catastrophe by a timely recognition of its right to self-determination.

The Powers-that-be that undertook the dismemberment of Karnataka, at a time when its people were scarcely aware of the magnitude of the injustice done to them, were untrammelled by any considerations of maintaining the racial, linguistic and political integrity of a historic and cultured community. The dissection of our vast and compact territory was accomplished with ruthless thoroughness nearly two centuries ago, and about twenty ravenous powers of varying bulk and ferocity were unleashed to bite off as much area as they could. So successful were they in their work of destruction that the name of Karnataka does not occur in any map of India, whether political or geographical. The Congress alone is responsible for saving it from being consigned to the limbo of oblivion<sup>2</sup>

1 I have dealt with this in sufficient detail in my articles in *The Modern Review* of November 1937 and July 1938 and in the *Tribe* of August 1938.

2. The four districts of Bombay Karnataka are



That Karnataka does not deserve this treatment can be easily proved. I am aware that it is not a healthy sign in a community to glue itself irrevocably to the pages of past achievements, but I do submit that an occasional peep into the past is necessary, if only to prove that we are not a superficial and inconsequential people, over whose extinction not a tear need be shed.

At the end of the 13th century A.D. the Deccan was threatened with a danger, the manner and magnitude of which was totally alien to the experience of the people. The Muslim conquerors, having consolidated their power in the north, began to press southwards carrying everything before them and dealing ruthless blows to all that the Hindus held dear and sacred. The Hindu States were too disunited and feeble to organize a successful resistance to the menace. It was given to the rulers and people of Karnataka to rescue Hinduism and all that it stands for from certain extinction, by building up a powerful Empire with Vijayanagar, the City of Victory, as its proud capital. For two centuries and a half this Empire of Karnataka lived in unsurpassed splendour, serving as a citadel of Hindu Dharma and a terror to its enemies. Hostile historians like Ferishtah, foreign ambassadors like Abdur Razaak, European visitors like Paes, Nuniz and Barbosa, Court historians, and the numerous contemporaneous and subsequent epigraphical records and literary works unanimously testify to the greatness of Vijayanagar, which may be summed up in the following description of the capital by the Persian ambassador:

"The city of Bidjanagar (Vijayanagar) is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world."

This seemingly exaggerated description is corroborated by the accounts of the chroniclers mentioned above. It is indeed a sad irony of fate that the very champions of the civilization of the South are today faced with a threat to their distinctive existence.

Doubts have been expressed in certain quarters about the benefits which might accrue by bringing together only the eight districts and

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designated as "Southern Division" although it is not evident what enormity the Government of Bombay would have been guilty of, if they were styled as "Karnataka District." The States in Karnataka are called "Southern Mahratta Country State" with what justice it is difficult to say. Even the railway that runs across our country is known as the "Madras and Southern Mahratta" Railway.

five talukas of British Karnataka, and whether it would not be more advantageous to wait till political circumstances in the country would favour the amalgamation of all the now widely scattered Kannada areas in the Deccan. While we have nothing but admiration for the grandness of this ideological conception, I am afraid we cannot postpone our demand to Greek Calends by placing reliance upon some fortuitous development. The sponsors of the unification movement, whose demand is and must necessarily be confined for the present to British Karnataka, will certainly welcome to their fold their brethren in the Karnataka States, if the latter develop sufficient strength to transcend the existing political barriers. The move must essentially come from themselves.

A certain amount of perturbation was recently caused in Karnataka by a persistent rumour that the Government of Madras had already submitted proposals, with the full support of H. E. the Governor, for the separation of Andhra and that no steps were taken for supporting our case. With a view to obtain an authoritative expression of opinion about the latest attitude of the Congress on the separation of Karnataka, the Chairman of our Unification League wrote to Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, apprising him of the profound dissatisfaction that prevailed in Karnataka over the reported partial attitude of the Madras Government. In the course of his reply Sardar Patel observes thus:

"If the question of redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis is to be tackled hereafter, as it some day will have to be, I have no doubt that it will be done uniformly without any regard to the strength of agitation or the volume of noise that can be made by any particular province. If, however, your apprehensions about the Andhra province being separated turn out to be true, your path of separation of Karnataka would certainly be very easy. I do not know if Madras Government has done anything recently, but you may be assured that on this question no discriminatory policy will be adopted. It would be unwise to rely too much upon rumours, press reports and representations from provinces. The policy on that question has been fully defined by the Working Committee and you need have no apprehensions on that question."

It is but fair that the attitude of the Congress should be as set out in the Sardar's letter, for nothing would be more harmful to the cause of that organization in Karnataka, than the adoption of a policy of discrimination. Karnataka's case is as strong as that of Andhra and her necessity for separation is perhaps greater than that of the latter. To ignore this is to commit a great political blunder.

## SECOND WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

By SATYA N. MUKERJI, M.A. (Columbia University),  
*Member of the Indian Delegation*

WHILE war was raging in Europe and Asia every moment threatening to embroil the whole world, the youth of the world took the helm of international affairs at the second World Youth Congress, which was held at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, from August 16th to August 24th. In the sylvan surroundings of the Vassar campus far from the atmosphere of gloom and despondency of the foreign offices of the world powers, five hundred delegates and observers assembled representing forty million peoples of various organizations from fifty-three countries of the world. It was a replica of the League of Nations.

The first opening reception was held at Randall's Island Municipal stadium in New York City. It was a great spectacle: twenty-two thousand people watched and cheered lustily as each delegation walked in formation behind the national flag. A colourful program of music, songs and folk dances was presented by talented artists of various nationalities. Coro d'Italia supplied Italian songs and Inter-Club Chinese youth gave a program of songs of China. An expression of youthful frolic was offered in the form of folk dances by America, Russia and Czechoslovakia. The American Negro Choir sang spiritual songs of their race, which stirred the emotions of the audience to the highest pitch.

The Mayor of New York City, Fiorello H. La Guardia, said in the course of his address of welcome:

"If the youth of the world does not want war, there won't be war. Let your slogan be, 'Let there be peace'."

He urged the American and the foreign delegates, "to hand the world over to the next generation in a better and more happy state than we handed it over to you."

Mr. Adolph A. Berle, U. S. Department of State, in extending the official welcome of the Federal Government, emphasised collaboration between nations as the key to his government's policy.

"It is the conviction of this government that so, and not otherwise, can nations meet, can misunderstanding be

avoided, can difficulties be resolved, and can people find the way of peace."

Towards the end of his address, Mr Berle said:

"You must be ever on guard and capable in your watch against the many groups who seek to use you, not to forward the ideals of youth, but to forward some unspoken aim of power, ambition or conquest."

After the meeting at Randall's Island, the delegates returned to the International House, the temporary headquarters of the second World Youth Congress. Here, a secretariat had been busy looking after the registration of the delegates, observers and visitors, and their various needs.

The following day, Tuesday August 16th, all the delegates and observers except the American delegation left for Poughkeepsie on the 'Robert Fulton' of the Hudson River Day Line. The American Delegation took the train so that they would be at Vassar to welcome the foreign delegates. The boat trip to Poughkeepsie afforded an opportunity to see some of the beauty spots of the New York State. On the trip all the delegates were full of mirth and joy, especially the Czechoslovakian group and the Latin Americans, who sang native songs all the way to Vassar College.

The city of Poughkeepsie did not extend any official welcome to the delegates. The Congress was branded as Communistic. However when we landed, we were welcomed by a band which played various national anthems, the members of the board of trustees of Vassar College, professors and local citizenry. The delegates got into the buses which were waiting there to take us to Vassar College. When we arrived at the campus, we all walked in groups behind our national flags. Press and movietone took our pictures. Finally, we were escorted by volunteers—Vassar girls—to our rooms.

It was planned to have the opening meeting and reception at the Outdoor Theatre, but due to rain the plan was changed at the last minute. It was held at the College Chapel. The President's wife, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, addressed the delegates, citing the success of the "good neighbour policy."

"I think the good neighbour policy of the United States with its Central and South American neighbours is something of which we can be justly proud"

"For some time it had been apparent that the United States with its neighbours to the South was a rather bullying big brother who was not always tactful," she said. The "good neighbour" policy, she said, was brought about through the wishes of the people.

"No government or leaders can successfully carry out a policy when the people are not at the back of it" "It is the people of a country who really have the deciding voice in whatever policies the leaders of the country may wish to carry out"

After the address of Mrs. Roosevelt, the President of Vassar College, Dr. Henry N. McCracken, addressed the audience. He sounded a note of optimism

"Isolation is fatal. The idea of peace can be destroyed by distortion. Organized society can talk people out of the idea of peace and turn them to war. War is not only a trade and art,—it is a profession."

According to him, the greatest dangers to peace are the idea of justice and the various types of honour. He pointed out the attempt made at Vassar College in teaching history to correct the mistakes of past wars. He emphasized "common sense" as the basis of peace

"It is reassuring to learn that youth is wishing to hear of peace," he said. "The reform of freedom is our call tonight."

Mrs. Roosevelt is a prolific writer and a very good speaker. I have heard her speak over the radio, I have read her speeches in the papers, but this is the first time I have heard her in person. She is sincere in what she says and leaves an abiding impression upon the listener. She has a column in a daily paper. She holds a union card of the Newspaper Guild. She is one of the outstanding women of our time, and probably the greatest living woman in America. She not only writes for American journals and papers but takes great interest in youth and education. She has addressed hundreds of meetings all over the United States embracing practically every subject under the sun. After the meeting was over, the delegates were invited to an ice-cream party at Ely Hall. Mrs. Roosevelt and Dr. McCracken were present. Mrs. Roosevelt shook hands with each delegate as they were introduced one after another by Joseph Cadden, Chairman of the United States committee of the World Youth Congress. President McCracken was occupied with ice-cream and at the same time, talking to various delegates. He is considered to be a truly liberal American. In his opening address to the delegates he said, "The

college is yours while you are here"

The Main Building of the College was the centre of activity. The Congress Office was in this building, where practically all the foreign men delegates lived. Breakfast, lunch and dinner were served here. Dr. McCracken said, the only complaint he had was from the cooks: the delegates ate twice as much as he thought they would! Many small committee meetings were also held here.

On the morning of August 17th, the first session of the Congress opened at the Student Building. It was called "the mutual information session". Three languages were used throughout the sessions of the Congress: English, French and Spanish. In the Student Building where the "mutual information sessions", "plenary sessions," and all the other meetings of the Commission A were held, every seat on the main floor was equipped with a pair of earphones which had five pegs. No matter what language the speaker used, it was immediately translated, and relayed over the earphone so that every delegate could understand the speaker at the same time. In other meetings, the interpreters had to explain every word that was uttered at the Commission. The entire procedure of the Congress was carried out on the basis of the League of Nations Assembly.

The international secretary, Elizabeth Shield-Collins of Great Britain, submitted her report. In the course of her report, she said that the gathering was a much more truly representative one than the first World Youth Congress at Geneva two years ago, when eighty per cent of the delegates were from Europe. She noted that this time fifty-six nations were represented.

She appealed to the delegates to join hands and work together for world peace.

As soon as the election of the presiding committee was over, the main business of the session began. The head of the delegation from every country read a report dealing with the conditions influencing youth in the country he represented. The time of each paper was limited to ten minutes.

It would not be an exaggeration to mention here that over five hundred speeches were made by delegates in all the four Commissions. They all centered around world peace, collective security, and the League of Nations in all their various ramifications. Since it is not possible within the scope of one article to mention what everybody said, I shall attempt here to

mention the chief points of what some of the delegates have said at the Congress

For several years the discussion of American youth has been divided between isolationism and collective security, but at the Second World Youth Congress they agreed on a common Peace program of seven points, closely resembling that enunciated recently by Cordell Hull, Secretary of State. The individual members of the American delegation reserved the right to express their own opinion at general sessions

The text of the announcement embodying the American program follows:

"Each day's developments make more and more clear the fact that our situation is profoundly affected by whatever happens elsewhere in the world.

"Whatever may be our own wishes, we cannot, when there is trouble elsewhere, expect to remain unaffected. When destruction, impoverishment, and starvation afflict other areas, we cannot, no matter how hard we try, escape impairment of our own economic well-being.

"When freedom is destroyed over increasing areas elsewhere, our ideals of individual liberty, or most-cherished political and social institutions are jeopardized.

"When the dignity of the human soul is denied in great parts of the world, and when that denial is made a slogan under which propaganda is set in motion and armies take the field, no one of us can be sure that his country or even his home is safe. We well know, of course, that a condition of complete chaos will not develop overnight, but it is clear that the present trend is in that direction and the longer this drift continues the greater becomes the danger that the whole world may be sucked into a maelstrom of unregulated and savage economic, political and military competition and conflict.

"To reverse the present ominous drift toward international anarchy and armed conflict we propose the following program:

"1. Limitation and progressive reduction of armaments.

"2. Economic reconstruction, with the assurance of justice to all peoples as the basis of international well-being and stability.

"3. Adherence to the basic principles of international law as the guiding and governing rules of conduct among nations. Respect for and observance of treaties freely entered into. Modification of treaties by orderly processes when the nations concerned feel the need arises.

"Respect for treaties should not, however, become the basis for freezing the status quo. Nations must undertake to evolve a new code of international law based on the principle of dealing out justice to all peoples.

"4. Abstention from the use of force in pursuit of national policies and from interference in the internal affairs of other nations.

"5. Collaboration in the freest possible intellectual exchange among nations.

"6. Support of international cooperation in such ways and by such methods as may be practicable and which will advance and not contradict the program.

"7. The equality of all peoples and races is basic

to the securing of a peaceful world order. Economic, cultural and political rights should be guaranteed to racial, religious and political minorities within nations to lessen war tension. Subject nations and colonies should be started on the road to self-determination through the introduction of educational opportunities, abolition of oppressive tax laws, discriminatory employment laws, segregation legislation and through the establishment of universal suffrage."

Mr P. Y. Yin of China was greeted with an ovation when he took the floor. He declared that,

"since the invasion of China by Japanese militarists, the youth of China from all walks of life have achieved an unprecedented solidarity"

The representatives of the Czechoslovakia delegation said:

"We are ready to collaborate with all people who hold the same ideal as we do—that is to say, a faith that international disputes must be settled by peaceful means, and according to the principle of liberty and equality"

Mr Yusuf Meherally presented India's report which was widely discussed among the delegates from all countries. Many of the delegates who have spoken to me privately, said, "The report of your delegation was the best." This is what Frank Adams said in the *New York Times* of August 18th, 1938:

"A scathing indictment of British rule in India was delivered by Yusuf Meherally, who declared that one hundred and eighty years of 'foreign imperialist rule' had reduced 'a prosperous India to an appalling condition of poverty, mass illiteracy, and malnutrition.'

"He asserted that at present India was ninety-two per cent illiterate, and quoted Will Durant as authority for an estimate that it was fifty per cent illiterate when the British came. He said the expectancy of life in India was only twenty-six years, against fifty-six in Great Britain and that four hundred of every one thousand Indian babies died before the age of eight.

"The British delegates joined in the applause indicating their approval of Mr. Meherally's words."

It was not possible to finish all the reports in one day. So those who were unable to present their reports on the first day did so in sessions later in the week.

The first meetings of Commissions A, B, C, and D was held in the evening of August 17th. They were largely devoted to technicalities, such as what procedure should be adopted in conducting the meeting. Some time was devoted to discussing the agenda and very few papers were read in Commission C. I came to know next day at breakfast that the same difficulty held in other Commissions. Although there were five Commission meetings scheduled, there were a few extra sessions in some of the Commissions in order to wind up the work of the Commissions.

The British foreign policy was defended as well as criticised by a number of British delegates. Miss Mary Stanley Clark of the Youth section of the British Conservative party defended the Chamberlain policy of non-intervention in Spain as a measure of keeping the Spanish civil war from spreading beyond its boundaries. Gabriel Caritt, delegate of the British Youth Peace assembly, attacked the Chamberlain foreign policy. He said it was necessary for England to revise its foreign policy with respect to Spain for three reasons:

"First, the bombing of British merchant ships in Spanish waters sets a terrible precedent. Second, toleration of Moorish soldiers in Spain may have harmful implications in colonial India, and thirdly, Britain's key defense positions in the Mediterranean, such as at Gibraltar, are in danger."

John Ballard declared:

"The British youth opposes and condemns the domination of one people over another."

A formal statement was issued by the delegates from Great Britain and her empire, read and approved by Elizabeth Shield-Collins. It declared:

"The British National government, as instanced by its departure from the League of Nations obligations to Ethiopia, Spain, and the Far East, and its refusal to take decisive steps to prevent aggression, has prejudiced the security of our country and of all peoples"

The delegate of Spain, Emanuel Azcarates, son of the Spanish Loyalist Ambassador to London, said in the course of his speech:

"We come to defend the principles of collective security and the League of Nations. . . . The fundamental problem is not to discuss pacts or treaties, but to talk of the ways of carrying them out. One must find ways of mobilizing the forces of world peace. The victory of the Republic means peace for the world"

Mr. Paul Maurice of the American delegation asked Dr. P. C. Chang of China: "Under what conditions will the Sino-Japanese conflict come to and end?"

Chang's proposal was a Pacific agreement in which, he declared, all foreign troops should be withdrawn from China, and "not Japanese alone". His program was:

(1) the possibility of naval limitation; (2) political settlement, withdrawal of all troops from China; (3) make an improvement in the Washington treaty including economic readjustments."

An earnest listener to the Chinese plea was Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, wife of the President.

At the plenary session on Monday, August 22nd, each of the four Commissions submitted their report to the Congress. The important parts of those reports are as follows:—

*Commission A, The Political And Economic Organization of Peace—The Report was presented by Emlyn Garner-Evans of Great Britain.*

"A new world order could be established in which a lasting peace could be founded on justice and preserved by the cooperation of mankind. In this regard, emphasis was laid on Democracy as a safeguard of peace. As an ideal it was a great unifying factor making for solidarity among all people. As a system it placed international affairs under the control of the people and provided a guarantee that overwhelming opposition could be raised to the force of aggression.

"It was generally agreed that permanent peace required not only justice between nations, but also, social justice among peoples.

"It was strongly urged that cooperation among all the states of the American continent should be extended and many delegates saw in the closer unity of the Latin-American countries a positive guarantee for the maintenance of peace over the whole continent. There was a general welcome for the 'good neighbour' policy inaugurated by President Roosevelt as a contribution to this end."

The organization of peace through disarmament—a general reduction in armaments was urged, and the problem of China, Spain, Austria, Ethiopia, and Czechoslovakia, adequately treated. Peaceful settlement of dispute and peaceful change were advocated, and the question of minorities (racial persecution—especially persecution of the Jews) was noted.

Under the title, Economic Organization, the report points out economic causes of war and suggests the solution of economic difficulties by creating an international economic commission to deal with the economic problems.

The last point in the report is that of imperialism.

"Delegates recognized that not only is the economic and political domination of one people over another immoral, but it is also a constant source of conflict—between the natives and the imperialistic state, and between the imperialist states themselves.

"There was general recognition of the right of all peoples to self-government and self-determination. The achievement of this end within a specified time limit should be the object of all colonial policy. This requires education, freedom of speech movement, political and economic association, the prohibition of economic exploitation and the prevention of militarization. The extension of these rights should be internationally guaranteed."

*Commission B, The Economic And Cultural Status Of Youth and Its Relation To Peace; the Report presented by Miss Renu Roy of India.*

"We realize that the youth of most countries are faced with the same problems of war and peace today, of unemployment, bad labour conditions, defective education, etc. What is needed today is an improvement in the material situation of youth which will help in giving them that confidence and hope in life which is a

guarantee of peace and liberty in the world. We are also convinced of the necessity of bringing economic help to those countries menaced or suffering from aggression. In order to save peace, it is necessary not only to unite goodwill in the political, religious or philosophical spheres, but also to find the necessary cures which will end the difficulties which trouble the world today.

"The aspirations of youth are identical everywhere. We want to enjoy security, leisure, health, to mould our lives in a free and progressive atmosphere and it was interesting in the Commission to note how identical were the opinions expressed by almost every country on questions such as illiteracy, unemployment, labour conditions, vocational training, etc."

The rest of the report deals with various problems of youth point by point. The report emphasized, "free and compulsory education up to the minimum age of 16."

*Commission C, The Religious and Philosophical Bases of Peace; the Report presented by Ian MacLaren of Australia* included the following aims:

"1. To work against those forces in human nature and society which cause war.

"2. To reaffirm those principles upon which a just and durable peace rests.

"3. To develop an international mind in youth and those new forms of social, economic and political relationships which are essential for the advancement of civilization."

These are the two important points which the Commission C, recognized as obstacles to peace and desires to remove —

"(1) Idealization of hatred between races and nations.

"(2) Imperialistic domination over dependent peoples and aggressive policies toward weaker nations."

Of the six points which it reaffirmed, the most important is number one.

"Man's loyalty to religious or philosophical truth which comes before allegiance to any institution or individual."

*Commission D, The International Role of Youth, the Report submitted by Olga Schieslova of Czechoslovakia:*

"The youth of all lands must affirm its unity in building a world of peace through international co-operation and social justice.

"We reject completely the theory that youth must give unquestioning obedience to the state and leaders, but we stress the fact that the democratic youth feels no enmity with the youth of the totalitarian states, and will do all in its power to establish friendly contact with them."

In Washington, while the Youth Congress was in session, H. L. Chaillaux, American Legion official, brought charges against the World Youth Congress as a "front organization for Communism" before the Dies Committee on un-American Activities.

In the first place the city of Poughkeepsie refused to extend an official welcome to the

delegates to the Second World Youth Congress because the municipal government of the city will have nothing to do with "Internationalism," "Communism", and "Red". However, the Chairman of the American delegation, Mr. Joseph Cadden, and Dr. Henry N. MacCracken, President of the Vassar College, denied the accusation as false. The Congress may have a few Communists but certainly it is not made up of Communists. All kinds of views were expressed by delegates from fifty-three countries representing various organizations.

The Indian delegation was composed of eight members, four of them from England: Mr. M. Iftikar and Mr. Yusuf Meherally were from London, Mr. Arun Bose and Miss Renu Roy, from Cambridge. Mr. Tarapada Basu came from Paris. Mr. K. A. Abbas of the *Bombay Chronicle* came directly from India. Two members were added from the United States: Mr. Krishna Lal Shridharani and myself of New York. Yusuf Meherally was the head of the delegation and Arun Bose, the secretary. The latter showed me a memorandum which was drawn up in consultation with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Paris. The line of policy that the Indian delegation was to adopt at the Second World Youth Congress was outlined. The members of the meeting at London left out *Commission C, The Religious And Philosophical Bases of Peace*, as unimportant,\* and so gave no consideration to it in the memorandum. When I was added to the Indian delegation, I was put in charge. In a nutshell the memorandum states that the Indian delegation must take a stand for self-determination, collective security, and the League of Nations.

While I supported the point of view of the Indian delegation, nevertheless, I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that the League of Nations had failed utterly to stop war in Ethiopia, Chaco, China, and Spain; it has been occupied mostly with European affairs, it has not helped India to achieve her goal of independence—a problem of worldwide importance.

Having observed the trend of political movement in the Western Hemisphere for a number of years, I find it difficult to believe that collective security can be achieved on a worldwide basis under the aegis of the League of Nations. Since the Buenos Aires Conference, the tendency to solidify the Western Hemisphere is growing every day. Today if a

\* This was a superficial, short-sighted and regrettable decision.—Editor, M. R.



nation of the Western Hemisphere is attacked it becomes the joint responsibility of all the republics of the Western Hemisphere to defend the victim of aggression. On August 18th, 1938, President Roosevelt declared in the course of an address at Queens University, Canada:

"I give you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire."

The interests of Canada are swinging the Canadian foreign policy more and more towards the United States. Whether Canada will throw in her lot with Western Hemisphere or maintain neutrality in case of war, as a dominion of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and a member of the League of Nations, is a matter which ultimately will be decided in the Canadian Parliament. While a number of Latin American Nations are still members of the League of Nations, others have already left the League; not to speak of the four big powers who are already out of the League of Nations: the United States, Japan, Germany and Italy. All these facts indicate that a new orientation of international policy is in formation in the Western Hemisphere. Under the circumstances, it is, I believe, unwise for India, anymore to support collective security on a worldwide basis. That is why I am in favour of regional collective security—a League of Nations for each continent, and the World Court as a final resort to settle all international disputes.

At the Congress there was a considerable number of delegates who affirmed that "mutual assistance could best be organized on a regional basis."

The Indian delegation joined hands with other colonial delegations such as those of Africa, Indonesia, Palestine, etc., in condemning imperialism. Imperialism had a very bad day. There was great indignation against racial discrimination in the world. Nearly everyone stood up for self-determination and racial equality. There was a general recognition of the right of every people to self-government and self-determination.

There was a severe condemnation of Germany, Italy and Japan. No delegation was present from either Germany or Italy, but Japan was represented by a small group. An Austrian came to the World Youth Congress who was recognized as a delegate of Austria and there was a German who represented at a special meeting the views of dissatisfied youth of Germany. He distributed a copy of printed

literature which gives the picture of present-day Germany. He condemned Herr Hitler and requested everybody to think of the German people who have contributed so much to human progress, emphasizing that German youth want peace and send us their greetings.

The threat of war, and its concomitant reactions in every fiber of civilized human beings today have roused the passion of youth as never before to banish war forever from this earth. There was an intense feeling in the Congress against all sorts of exploitation of the weak by the strong which in its train creates grave social injustice that invariably leads to war. The sentiment for world peace was very strong. At the same time there was a severe condemnation of imperialism. There was practically a universal cry for the recognition of equality of all peoples and races as a basis of a new world order. Regardless of what we have actually achieved at the Second World Youth Congress the fact remains, that in the name of world peace, youth have flocked to Vassar from the four corners of the earth to take part in the deliberation of our common cause—the cause of peace. That is a great step forward in the right direction.

To dream great dreams, to live in the high hope of achieving them in one's own life-time, or to make an endeavour to attain some high ideal is the eternal privilege of youth. What youth dreams today mankind shall realize tomorrow.

The Second World Youth Congress has proclaimed to the world what work it has set before itself for the future in the form of a resolution. With solemnity the head of the delegation from each country signed the Vassar Peace Pact.

#### RESOLUTION ON FUTURE WORK

Whereas the Second World Youth Congress, held at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York State, from August 16th. to 24th., has been an unqualified success, and

Whereas a great advance in the matter of the number of countries represented has been made over the First World Youth Congress held in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1936:

The International Secretariat of the World Youth Congress Movement is hereby required and requested:

1. In view of the large representation from the states of Central and South America present at such a Congress for the first time to make special efforts to extend and strengthen the cooperation already existing between the youth of those countries and the rest of the world.

2. In view of the considerable representation again for the first time at such a Congress of the youth from Colonial countries to make special efforts to help the youth of those countries ; to offer them support from the youth of richer and more mighty organised countries ; and to bring even more of the youth of the Colonial countries into the work of the World Youth Congress Movement.

3. With the object of extending the work of the World Youth Congress Movement the Second Congress charges the council to approach the big organisations which do not as yet collaborate officially with the movement with a view to obtaining their collaboration. The attention of the council is drawn particularly to the necessity of approaching the Socialist Youth International (who have already sent a fraternal representative to the Second Congress), the international Catholic organisations, and the International Trade Union organisations.

4. In view of the continued absence of the representation of the youth from several important countries to make fresh efforts to obtain their cooperation.

5. To convey to all those young people who have had the misery, waste and destruction of war forced upon them, the most profound sympathy of the youth of the rest of the world ; and to help and alleviate the sufferings of the victims of these wars as a practical demonstration of the desire for peace of the delegates to the Second World Youth Congress.

#### THE VASSAR PACT

The delegation of youth from 53 countries present at the Second World Youth Congress

Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind ;

Convinced that war and militarism are inherently brutalizing forces, destructive of all that is valuable in civilization and human personality ;

Confident that war is not inevitable if the law between nations can be upheld and justice for the peoples established in accordance with the peaceful and democratic will of the peoples in each nation ;

Hopeful that they may contribute their share to the preservation of peace which is existing, to the restoration of peace where it has been shattered by aggression and to the laying of the foundation for a universal and enduring peace ;

Certain that the World Youth Congress movement has proved the profound desire of youth, regardless of nations, race and creed, to cooperate for peace, and has demonstrated that agreement on practical measures of common

action can be achieved while differences of conviction are fully respected—

Have decided, on the tenth anniversary of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, to conclude this solemn agreement :

#### ARTICLE 1.

We swear to develop a spirit of fraternity and collaboration between the youth of all nations, to help unite the youth of our own nations and to work for unity with young people of all other countries without distinction of race, creed or opinion under the leadership of the World Youth Congress Movement.

#### ARTICLE 2.

We solemnly condemn any war of aggression directed against the political independence or the territorial or administrative integrity of a State.

#### ARTICLE 3.

We pledge ourselves to do all in our power to guarantee that the youth of our countries never participate in any war of aggression against other states.

#### ARTICLE 4.

We agree to bring pressure to bear, whenever the circumstances arise, upon our respective authorities to take the necessary concerted action to prevent aggression and to bring it to an end, to give effective assistance to the victims of treaty violations and aggression and to refrain from participating in any aggression whether in the form of supply of essential war material or of financial assistance.

#### ARTICLE 5.

We solemnly declare that the bombardment of open towns and civilian populations constitutes a violation of the canons of humanity and the rule of conduct among nations and undertake to mobilize the forces of world opinion to condemn any such action and to give aid for the relief of the victims.

#### ARTICLE 6.

We, recognizing that there can be no permanent peace without justice between nations and within nations, or without their recognition of the right to self-determination of countries and colonies seeking their freedom, undertake in a peaceful manner to set right injustices against peoples, regardless of race, creed or opinion, to establish political and social justice within our own countries and advocate that international machinery be immediately instituted to solve differences between nations in a peaceful way.

## INDO-AMERICAN COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

*(First dinner-conference on the subject in America—Held on July 21st, 1938, under the auspices of the Indo-American Association of Commerce. Head Office: 225 Fifth Avenue, New York, U. S. A.)*

The 14th floor of the Aldine Club where not so long ago the 77th birthday of Tagore was celebrated by the India League of America, again became the center of another great occasion—the first of its kind in America—when under the auspices of the Indo-American Association of Commerce a banquet-conference was held on July 21st to present and discuss the status of Indo-American trade relations.

Messages and telegrams reached the conference from British Guiana, Canada, India and various sections of America, from Mr. G. R. Channon of India Importing Co. of San Francisco; Dr S. C. Ghose of India Incense Co. of Chicago; Mr. Oscar Thompson of Indo-Persian Fine Arts, Montreal, Canada, American Asiatic Association of New York, National Council of American Importers, Inc., New York, and South Indian Chamber of Commerce, India, and Indian Chamber of Commerce, Lahore, India. All wished success of the conference.

Mr. N. R. Checker, Chairman of the Indo-American Association of Commerce, presided. He opened the conference as the last course of the dinner was being served, and welcomed the guests with the remark that "India has always had international relations in the field of commerce, and it was due to India's great name as a trading nation that Columbus landed on the American soil. And this evening on this very soil—the romantic result of India's commerce—we have gathered together to discuss problems affecting trade relations between India and America. The objectives of the Indo-American Association of Commerce are (1) to find ways and means to facilitate and improve trade relations between India and America, and (2) to study the conditions affecting Indo-American trade relations with a view to create goodwill between the two countries"

The chairman sprung a surprise as he announced the presence in the gathering of Mrs. Charles Perrin. In introducing the distinguished guest to the gathering the Chairman took this opportunity to pay tribute to her late husband, Mr. Charles Perrin of the Perrin Marshall Co of New York, in these terms:

"India's progress in the iron and steel industry is due almost exclusively\* to America. Not so long ago a very distinguished American engineer and a specialist in Steel went to India at the invitation of that most far-sighted of India's captains of industries, the late Jamshedji N. Tata, to make a survey of its iron resources which ultimately resulted in the establishment of one of the largest Iron and Steel Works in the world. Today India enjoys the third place among the steel producing countries. We feel greatly honoured, therefore, for having with us, this evening, the distinguished wife of that great American, Mrs. Charles Perrin." Mrs. Perrin rose amidst cheers and said:

"Gentlemen and all this distinguished company: I am greatly honoured at your words to my lately deceased husband who was so fond of India and her three hundred

and fifty million people, and through whose hands flowed millions of rupees each year in connection with the Tata Iron and Steel Works. It is a wonderful thing that you are doing here tonight. I can only say that I wish success (and good wishes) for future accomplishment"

Mr. Checker then introduced the speakers of the evening in fitting words.

## INDO-AMERICAN TRADE RELATIONS

By Mr. HEMENDRA K. RAKHIT,  
*Sogani & Co. Inc*

Commercial relations between the two countries like the United States and India are always fascinating: one of the foremost industrial nation in the world; the other still mainly agricultural. Yet it would hardly be true to say that of India. The fact is she is at once an agricultural and an industrial country. You will find India dotted with cottage industries; you will still find the village potter moulding his clay in the age-old way: he goes on working with a song in his heart. The theme of his song may be a sort of conversation between him and the lump of clay he is giving a shape to "Mr. Clay," he says, "you must be thankful to me. I am giving you a beautiful shape. Hundreds of people would come to see you and admire you." "Oh, no, Mr. Potter, you are mistaken," the Clay replies, "for, had I been where I was, a lump of clay, a rose might have shot through my bosom to proclaim my glory" You can imagine the wealth of culture that must have gone into the making of the potter to sing and appreciate and enjoy such a song.

And not very far from him you will find the great Tata Iron and Steel Works, according to Mr. Saklatwalla, the head of the Tata Works and an Honorary Member of the Association of Commerce, the largest of its kind in the British Empire, employing over 25,000 men. India, today, takes the seventh place among the industrial nations of the world. To deal with such a growing nation of 350 million will require of you patience, courage, study and understanding—a task which is being admirably done by your Trade Commissioners in India. Thanks to their labour, those so-called unsurmountable barriers are no longer considered so; and today the trade between the two countries assumes a significant figure.

But this evening we want to draw your attention to certain factors that seem to retard the natural growth of trade between India and the United States. One of these factors is the existence of discriminating trade barriers.

The Hon. Mr. Francis B. Sayer, Asst Secretary of State, addressing a distinguished audience in April of last year, remarked:

"Every time the United States loses a foreign market for its cotton, for its hog products, for its automobiles, or for its machineries, men are thrown out of work and economic dislocation follows . . . throughout the country."

This is true of any exporting country. And here the significant fact is that India is perhaps the only country where you sell less and buy more. The balance of trade has always been in favour of India and against the United States.

\* The name of the late Mr P. N. Bose should also be mentioned.—Ed., M. R.

This is not a healthy sign. This unhealthy situation is largely due to the existence of the Imperial Preference system, commonly known as the Ottawa Agreements, a preferential tariff arrangements entered into among the nations within the British Empire in 1932. According to a great authority on the subject, the Hon. William S. Culbertson, former United States Ambassador to Roumania and Chile, and a valued member of the U. S. Tariff Commission, such preferential agreements as the Ottawa Agreements "are in violation of the unconditional most-favoured-Nation Principles." It is to remove such discriminatory trade barriers as these that the Secretary of State Hull is so busily and, so far, so successfully engaged to bring about a genuine liberalism in the regulation of trade movements and equal and non-discriminatory commercial treatment.

We trust that as a result of Secretary Hull's continued negotiations with Great Britain this discriminatory trade barrier between the United States and India will be done away with. Only then can the two countries increase their trade to mutual benefit. For, as Dr. Taraknath Das, of the City College of New York, pointed out at a conference of the Academy of Political Science on International Trade last year, "India should not be treated as a colony of Great Britain, but should be treated as a nation of 350 million people, one of the greatest industrial powers of the world." An Economic peace cannot be ushered into this world when such a large country as India is subject to artificial trade restrictions. For, it is as clear as daylight that unless you sell us more you will not buy from us more. There lies our common interest to see to it that the trade between the two countries grow at equal space.

The harmfulness of the Ottawa agreements can be gathered from the trade reports such as these. In his report of the Indian Trade Commissioner's activities in London, Dr. Meek observes :

"The grant of preference to our (India's) exports in the United Kingdom have, it must be observed, resulted in a policy of retaliation from several of the countries with whom India has had her trade relations for a long time. Owing to the Preference, Indian trade was diverted from those countries and her relations with some of them are not as cordial as before. A tendency is visible in the various countries for purchasing their requirements from those countries which purchase from them."

The General Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of India also, in a course of an article discussing the serious effects of the discriminating trade regulations such as the Imperial Preference agreement, stated : "Germany is now purchasing large quantities of raw materials which she formerly purchased from India."

It is to curb these tendencies in so far as the trade relations between India and America is concerned that we are in favour of Secretary Hull's untiring efforts to discontinue all discriminating treaties so that commerce may take its natural course.

I now come to my next point. Commercial discrimination abolished, a trade treaty between the two countries on a reciprocal basis becomes an urgent necessity. It is really unthinkable that these two great countries have gone on doing business amounting to millions of dollars without any treaty at all. The nearest to such a thing was a convention held during the Napoleonic Wars between Great Britain and U. S. A. whereby India was mentioned in a casual way, as a result of which Americans enjoy all the privileges that the citizens of England do in India while we of India were given no such privileges here. It was decidedly an one-sided treaty. There is no criticism here of the

United States. We did not know much about you then. The U. S. was mainly a country of the Redskins and a romantic land of power and promise. And to you we were perhaps nothing but a race the mothers of which were supposed to throw their darling babies on the Ganges so that the crocodiles might not miss their early breakfast ! But we are living in a new age and we know each other better.

It is true that the recent immigration laws may not permit us to become citizens of the United States, as in the case of Chinese and Japanese people. But that is the national policy of the United States which we must respect. However, while China and Japan have special commercial treaties which enable their businessmen freedom of movements in this country, India has no such treaties. Yet the volume of trade between China and the U. S. A. and between India and U. S. A. are approximately the same. Time has certainly come when negotiations between the proper authorities for such a treaty between the two countries should begin. The opinion of the business groups in America and India, we take it, will whole-heartedly support such a reciprocal trade treaty; and we feel sure that the two governments will look upon such a treaty with a favourable eye. But, we trust the business of America will take the lead in this matter, for, as I have said before, the balance of trade is still in our favour and you must sell more to us. Among the countries that have trade agreements with you under Secretary Hull's reciprocity plan, India is the only country where you can so easily export more. Removal of discriminating trade barriers and a trade treaty will go a long way to increase your trade with India.

Thirdly : We also propose establishment of permanent exhibition of typical American merchandise in India and Indian merchandise in America. America and India are at once agricultural and industrial countries. Industrially speaking their development must follow somewhat on similar lines, for India is comparable with the United States in size and varieties of resources; both have huge home markets and can afford to be liberal to each other in their export trade policies. India with its aroused millions under a most reasonably nationalistic regime that the world has ever witnessed, thanks to its great leaders, is bound to be a very important country in the world strategy of raw materials and the strategy of war and peace. You have such a market before you. And it is with this in mind that your Trade Commissioner in Bombay, Mr. W. G. Flake, wrote, "If only 1% of the population of India buys, United States will have more customers in India than the entire population of Cuba."

Fourthly : In the development of American Trade in China the presence in large numbers of Chinese students in this country was a no mean factor. It stands true of students from India also, who come to study in your universities. The knowledge they gain, the habits they form, and the friendships they make—the flavour of all these last much longer than the flavour of those certain products that Mr. Wrigley ships to India ! A large percentage of the trained men in responsible position in Tata Iron and Steel and Hydro-Electric plants are American trained men. We therefore urge our American friends to keep an eye on these students who are here, and even facilitate their coming in larger numbers.

The arrival of the first Trade Commissioner from India to this country at this time is a godsend. We feel sure that we will find our Trade Commissioner, Mr. H. S. Malik, very responsive to our objectives toward further-

ing the growth of trade between India and America, removing all unnecessary barriers that seem to choke the natural flow of trade. Mr. Malik's presence here with his deep store of experience as India's Trade Commissioner to Germany and England, will be of immense value to us. For he is in a key position to promote and guide the course of commerce between the two countries. We wish he were here; but duty takes him to Washington. Nevertheless, we have his sympathies. Mr. Malik is intimately and sympathetically conscious of all our problems as outlined above and we expect great help from him.

Let me briefly summarise these points which are essential for increase of trade between India and America :

1. Removal of all discriminating trade barriers between India and America.
2. The urgent need for a Trade Treaty between India and America on a purely reciprocal basis.
3. Creation of permanent exhibitions of American merchandise in India and Indian merchandise in America.
4. Presence of students from India in this country must not be overlooked as they are an important factor in the development of trade between countries.
5. And lastly, in view of the fact that Indo-American trade is certain to assume significant importance, we request that the Foreign Trade Council create a India Department within their organization.

MR. C. B. SPOFFORD, JR.

*Former American Trade Commissioner to India*

I was American Trade Commissioner from 1922-1930. I was in India three years before that time working for an American firm, so all together spent 12 years of my life there.

I don't want to abuse the privilege of being allowed to say a few words, but I am very touched for several reasons: About 10 years ago, I had occasion to speak on India in the United States. That makes me feel ten years younger, because I did have a great personal interest in India, although not in an official capacity. What I think might be of interest to you to know is that in 1938, Sir Feroz Sethna, one of your distinguished members of the Council of State in India, whom I came to know quite well, asked if I could give some suggestions to support a resolution for the Council of State to form an Indian Trade Commission to this country. Of course, I was very anxious to further such a move, and I did give him some arguments in favour of it, that, along with his own experience apparently was sufficient, and the resolution when moved was accepted by the government without dispute. He did not attempt to question the desirability of it except in principle, and had visions of someone being sent in a few weeks. But, I found that due to one reason or another, it had been delayed. But I am very pleased to learn that at least now a trade commissioner has been appointed to this country. I hope to meet him and can only urge those present and all others interested in furthering business relations between the two countries, especially Americans, to give him full support and help, as good support and co-operation as members of the Indian community gave me while I was there. I received excellent co-operation, and am very pleased to see that this association is formed, and that you are now to have an Indian trade commissioner. There is so much to be gained by having an Indian trade commissioner. It seems that for too long we have had to know each other through third parties or through the press and unfortunate books that have been written which did anything but further our relations. I know that we

have very much in common, and I think that the good that will come to both, will be beneficial to all.

## TRENDS OF COMMERCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND INDIA

MR. S. M. AHMED,

*Munds, Winslow & Potter*

### INFLUENCE AFFECTING TRADE :

Economic activity to a large measure regulates the flow of goods and commodities between the nations. The United States being an industrial country, its foreign trade is influenced by manufacturing production trends; India being a predominantly agricultural country, its volume of commerce is affected by crop yields and commodity prices. In general, curves of foreign trade volume of both countries have been running parallel to each other. The value of total exports and imports of the two countries reached extraordinary high levels during 1928-29, and was followed by severe declines caused by world-wide depressed economic conditions. In 1932-1933 the volume of foreign trade of the U. S. fell to approximately one-third, and that of India, to one-half of the 1928-29 levels. Improving economic conditions experienced in the following years enabled the foreign trade of both countries to recover substantially. The U. S. Dept. of Commerce reported an increase in international trade larger in 1937 than in any other year since the depression low of 1932, and the quantity of foreign trade of the United States was the greatest since 1929, and that of value was the highest since 1930. Likewise, Indian trade enjoyed an exceptionally good year in 1937. The value of United States imports to India last year, amounting to \$43,747,000 was the highest figure reached since 1930, and was 63.2% more than in 1936. The value of exports to the United States reached a high level of \$103,622,000 or a gain of 47.3% over 1936.

Tariffs and changing price levels are two other prominent influences affecting volume of foreign trade. Import tariffs have undergone extensive revisions, principally in an upward direction, and have been a retarding factor. Happily, during the last year or so, the reciprocal trade agreement program of the U. S. Government has reduced these handicaps appreciably. By the end of 1937, the U. S. Government had negotiated trade agreements with 16 countries, which together with their colonies account for well over one-third of the total foreign trade of the U. S. Benefits resulting from these trade agreements were promptly reflected in the trade between the 16 nations, which showed a greater rate of increase in trade volume last year than the non-agreement countries. In the absence of a treaty of commerce between India and U. S. the trade between the two countries is at present without the benefit of reciprocal or low tariffs. It is hoped that steps will soon be taken to negotiate a trade treaty between India and U. S.

In preparing statistics and summarizing results of trade between India and the United States, certain modifying factors must be considered. The figures in this report are compiled from United States Dept. of Commerce publications. Due to the fact that India is port d'entree for Afghanistan and other Central Asiatic countries, the United States statistics include goods shipped to and from these countries *via* India. An important influence upon the value of trade is the price of goods exported and imported, and the price indices never remain the same. This yearly comparisons must take into account not only the value of goods exchanged, but also the

quantity. The change in the gold content of the dollar in 1933 made a realignment of statistical tables necessary. Of considerable significance is the volume of trade done by American corporations through their British subsidiaries to take advantage of lower tariffs, and is not reflected in the figures covering direct trade between the two countries.

#### PROPORTION OF TRADE

American trade with India represents only a small portion of the total United States volume of commerce with the world. United States exports to India have averaged about 1.3% of total exports during the past several years, and imports to the United States a little over 3%. However, among the Asiatic nations, next to Japan, Philippine Islands, and China, India accounts for the largest volume of the United States trade. In recent years volume of the U. S. trade with India has been expanding more sharply than with any of the principal Asiatic countries. Using the 1931-1935 average total value of exports and imports as 100, India's volume of trade with the United States in 1936 and 1937 was 123 and 187 respectively, as compared with China's 109 and 139, Japan's 118 and 155 and Philippine Island's 118 and 154 in these years.

#### TOTAL EXPORTS AND IMPORTS (Million Dollars)

	1937	1936
Japan ..	493	376
Philippine Islands ..	211	162
China ..	153	120
India ..	147	97

On the other side, Indian trade with the United States is only exceeded by the volume of trade with the United Kingdom and Japan. India's commerce with Germany, which at one time was the third largest, has substantially fallen off and now lags behind the United States.

The value of India's exports and imports to the United States has undergone relatively little change in relation to the total volume of exports and imports. In 1937, a marked gain in this ratio was reported. Trade with Japan has become of greater importance since 1930.

In 1936 of the total value of imports to India, the United States accounted for 66%, the United Kingdom 39%, Japan 17.2% and Germany 9.8%. On the export side the United States took 9.2%, the United Kingdom 31.9%, Japan 15% and Germany 4.4% of total Indian exports.

India has enjoyed a favourable trade balance for the past several years; its export being sizeably in excess of its imports. While the total value of Indian exports has been running 15% to 20% in excess of its total value of imports, the excess margin of exports or imports from the United States has been considerably greater, and has run as high as 40%, in one year it reached 58%. In other words, India buys about two-thirds as much from the United States as she sells to the United States.

Being an agricultural and raw material producing country, exports of raw material account for more than one-half of total Indian exports. Food beverages, tobacco and semi-manufactured goods constitute the balance. On the other hand, imports of manufactured articles represent nearly three-fourths the value of total imports. United States principal exports to India have been manufactured goods, and Indian exports to America have been largely raw material and commodities, with semi-finished goods playing only a minor part. India, eager to develop its economic resources, is interested in American machinery, electrical and agricultural, auto-

mobiles and finished goods, and willing to ship raw materials so useful and important to industrial enterprises here. The natural conditions in both countries are such that trade possibilities could be further exploited without any conflict of interest.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

On the basis of 1936 trade statistics, the latest available, imports from the United States to India consisted of the following principal items:

	in \$1,000	% of Total Imports
Machinery ..	\$6,406	20.6
Autos & Trucks ..	5,320	17.1
Lubricating Oil ..	3,212	10.3
Hardware ..	997	3.2
Canned food and provisions ..	689	2.2
Leather goods ..	652	2.1

Other articles of relatively less importance were tires, copper, zinc, patent medicines, coal-tar dyes, stationery, wearing apparel, paints and colors. The importance of India as a potential market for American products can be better appreciated by examining the proportion which she received from the United States in relation to total imports. In 1936, India imported machinery of all kinds to the amount of \$63,290,000 and only 10% came from this country. Of the total value of automobiles and buses shipped to India, approximately 40% originated from the United States. Hardware, tools and cutlery from America accounted for less than 8% of the total value of imports of these articles. Of the many other lines which India imports heavily—textile piecegoods, raw cotton, yarn and fabric, paper and cardboard, iron and steel, rubber goods and chemicals—representing nearly two-thirds of the total imports, only a negligible portion comes from the United States. In these fields especially, India offers the greatest fertile field for expansion of the American market.

The bulk of exports from India to the United States consists of raw material, and among the conspicuous items are:

	(1936 figures)	% of Total
Jute burlap ..	\$1,000	48
Jute raw ..	\$30,002	8
Goat skins and hides ..	5,071	9
Lac ..	5,505	5
Cashew nuts and fruits ..	3,076	6
Raw cotton ..	3,711	4
Tea ..	2,604	2
Mica ..	1,473	2
	1,047	

With the exception of jute burlap and goat skins, exports of Indian commodities to the United States again represent only a small portion of total exports.

In the past few years there have been little changes in the shipment of individual items. The chief articles of trade have remained the same, showing variation in increases or decreases, except that volume of raw cotton, kerosene oil, tubing, piping and fittings have experienced a declining trend, while demand for lubricating oil has been steadily rising.

#### AMERICAN INVESTMENT IN INDIA

The total value of American direct investment in foreign countries at the end of 1936 was estimated at \$6,700,000 of which very little has been invested in India. It seems that most of the American investment has been centered in countries like Canada, South and Central



Americas, and the United Kingdom, all closely situated to the United States. India, in my opinion, offers equally great opportunities for the employment of capital. She has enjoyed a stable government under British influence, and much capital is needed to exploit her natural resources, and to build up communications, utilities, and other service enterprises. Of note has been the interest of American and Foreign Power Company in several important Indian public utility properties.

It has not been possible in this brief paper and time allotted to discuss trends of Indian trade with the United States at length, but it is hoped that this brief summary may contribute something to the purpose of this conference. The statistical evidence supports the belief that much could be done to develop and promote trade relations between the two countries, and there is a need for compilation and dissemination of information on trade opportunities in the two countries.

### AMERICAN EXPRESS COMPANY AND TOURIST TRADE TO INDIA

By Mr. RALPH E. TOWLE

*Vice-President, American Express Company*

If I may, I will speak on the subject dear to me and to you in regard to India in travel and transportation. It is a subject in which the American Express Company is chiefly interested, in spite of the fact that we do a large banking and international trade of a highly specialized sort. I am old enough to remember when there was in this city of New York the first "Round the World" Club with a very limited membership. Only those could become members who had proof that they had the courage to completely encircle the globe. That is not so very long ago. Today, tens of thousands of Americans could join the club, if that were the only requisite of membership. This happened within my lifetime and yours.

It was in 1921 that the American Express Company operated the first cruise which completely encircled the world. This was on the steamer *Laconia* that left from the Port of New York. Following 1921, we began to operate annual cruises around the world for seven or eight years.

The next was the Steamer *Franconia*; then the *Belgium Land* of the Red Star line. These boats touched Calcutta, Colombo and Bombay on their way around the world.

If the American Express Company in that way had anything to do with a change of trend in travel for pleasure and business in India, I am very happy. I want to pause to pay tribute to a great name and a great man, who on his own name, his own courage established a fortnightly ship for passengers around the World, Robert Dollar. It meant a great deal, I am sure to India. I want to thank those who are Indian citizens here for the co-operation and consideration they have shown to their country. We have three offices in your country, Ceylon (if we may call the Island of Ceylon a part of India), Calcutta and Bombay. You have been very kind to recognize the sky-blue money of the American Express Company, for which you always seem willing to give your money in exchange for the name of American Express on our bills.

We have a great interest in sending tourists and travellers to India. We have gone so far as to transfer one of our Indian Managers, Mr. Wilson, to our London branch, in order to establish an Indian Travel Dept., thus

enabling each and every traveller to hear all about India. He has lived for many years in India, and held many offices. His only duty these days is to increase travel to India.

We have just completed a thorough survey of all the transportation and other facilities and sights of India to the traveller. These facts have been brought down to date in one very large document and distributed throughout the world showing that anyone in any part of the world may have all the information they desire on India. I had hoped to meet the new trade commissioner here tonight, and tell him how anxious the American Express Company is to work with him, and also hoped that he would like America well enough to invite his friends of India to come and visit America.

### COMMERCIAL POSSIBILITIES BETWEEN INDIA AND AMERICA

By Mr. C. G. HOGG

*General Motor Overseas Corporation*

I feel honoured by the invitation to be your guest tonight and to have the opportunity of speaking on trade relations between India and the United States.

When I consider the present chaotic conditions of the world in general, with certain nations apparently doing all in their power to endanger peaceful relations with their neighbors, it is a pleasure indeed to have this opportunity to be one of a gathering whose object is to promote an ever-increasing flow of trade both ways between two great nations.

In international commerce, just as in our dealings with each other domestically, reciprocity is essential to the smooth flow of trade. International commerce cannot flow down a one way street for very long and no nation can isolate itself and live in comfort.

Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, has taught us much in this regard. Mr. Hull has always been in favour of the peaceful and profitable exchange of goods between nations. When he came into office he set about putting into practice the theories he held for some twenty-five years, and turned to the task of building up our foreign trade. Free intercourse between nations is his gospel.

If the standards of living in the countries of the world are to rise to a higher plane, then the products of these countries must be easily available to each other.

Having spent some years in India, it is extremely interesting to me to be associated even for a brief hour or two, with the affairs of that great country. Speaking the languages as I do and knowing as I do conditions as they exist there, I appreciate the necessity for an improvement—a great improvement—in the standard of living of the masses in the cities and towns and particularly in the villages.

Rather than launch into a discussion on trade agreements and reciprocal trade programs, I would prefer to talk about some of the circumstances that might well be used to create more trade between India and the United States. I would like to speak as one extremely interested in the welfare of India and as a practical business man, looking for business opportunities that would result in benefit to both countries.

It is by being in close contact with other countries and nations that the masses in India will be educated to desire the better things of life and just as the wish is father to the thought, so is the thought parent of the act.

Looking back down the years, one finds that trade

relations were the vehicle for the transfer of ideas and ideals in modes of living. Nation learned from nation as well as bought from each other the good things of life and it is to consider how this objective may be best achieved between our respective countries, that we are here.

In this regard, one thing above others occurs to me. Being a free trader myself, I naturally think of representation, we, in India, and India here.

A great stride has been made in this direction, even during the last few days. I refer to the arrival of Mr. Malik to these United States as Indian Trades Commissioner. I am in no position to know how many Indian business houses have offices or agents here, but it is indeed gratifying to see India appoint a Trade Commissioner to our country.

Although we are apt, when considering international commerce, to have in mind the big staple products, such as cotton, rice, iron and so forth, there are many other products of the soil that may become of importance in international trade. For instance, I was sailing down the Malabar Coast in one of those small steamers—the *Sarasvatty*, or the *Parvatty*,—I just forget which, when I met a young American. He told me he was interested in the collection of Caju nuts and Cocomut kernels to be shipped to the United States. He said he saw a great future for this business. Some years afterwards, I again met him and found that he was exporting Caju nuts and Cocomuts from India to the United States in large quantities. Factories for the roasting and husking of the Caju nuts and shelling and drying the cocomut kernels had been established along the coast, and many people were employed in the work. This new activity undoubtedly brought prosperity to the neighborhoods where the factories are located and increased the purchasing powers of the communities involved. Here is a concrete case of how trade with the United States started, a practically new industry, and benefited both countries. The cocomut, I believe, is sold in this country in desiccated form and the Caju nuts as we know, are very popular as an item of food. There must be many such cases scattered through the length and breadth of the land.

I recall that his Highness the Maharajah of Mysore has been very progressive in the matter of establishing new industries in his State. On the occasion of one of my visits to the State of Mysore, I happened to arrive very shortly after his Highness' private secretary returned from a leave in England. It appears during his stay in England, he had noticed certain children's toys displayed for sale. They were cut from thin pieces of wood gaily painted to represent Fairy Tale and other figures, such as "John Bull" and mounted on pedestals. They were simple but very effective in appearance.

Knowing the capabilities of the Mysorian carpenters, his Highness' Secretary purchased some of these figures as samples and brought them back to Mysore. He showed me the figures that had been cut and finished by the Mysorian workmen, and I must say that they were in every way equal to the samples. Other figures representing personalities of interest in India, such as the Mysorian "John Bull"—I just forget the very well fed gentleman's name,—were added to the line to meet local choice.

Here is a case where a foreign market was found, which an Indian product could fill. Unfortunately I don't know whether these figures were ever exported from India in quantities, but I don't see why they should not be.

A business might well be developed from so small

a thing and if many such businesses could be developed and their products exported, to me it seems a better thing than having one's eggs all in one basket, so to speak, by depending entirely upon the exporting of staple products with their ever-fluctuating prices. During my travels, I often used to wonder why certain commodities were not produced in greater quantities and exported to our country.

Take tea for instance, some years ago, during my visit to the Nilguis, I have talked to tea planters about the possibility of importing tea into this country, specifically for the purpose of making iced tea, for, as we all know, iced tea is a very popular beverage in this country during the summer-time, and great quantities of tea could well be used in the making of iced tea. On one occasion, I had the good fortune to meet a gentleman who was an official in either a tea-growers' organization or a Government commission, I forget which, to do with the advancing of Indian tea interests, and I also had a long chat with him on the same subject and he was very interested. Not that I for one moment believe that any of these very casual conversations of mine have had anything to do with it, but it is of interest to me to note that the tea growers of India are now staging a big campaign in this country along those very lines.

I tell this story to stress the point that I have been and am trying to make, which is the necessity for Indian merchants to be as aggressive as their Western brothers in the matter of advertising and campaigning, for I firmly believe that other things being equal, India can achieve more in the way of reciprocal trade with the United States by these methods than any others.

India produces good rugs. I know that because I own some, and since there is a ready market in the United States for rugs, it seems to me that here at least there is an item that could be investigated and probably profitably. True some Indian rugs are sold in this country, but many of them are of inferior quality, such as "Numdahs."

In India I found very shrewd and able merchants who had for generations been importing into India the things that are necessary to Indian life. I came across a few exporters of products other than cotton, rice, and the big items, but not many.

While visiting Trichinopoly, where I went many times, I inquired of the cigar manufacturers there why they did not export. They told me their difficulty lay in the fact that there were many small concerns making cigars, but that there was not one really large manufacturer amongst them. I am convinced, conditions such as these exist in other industries, and it seems to me that much of India's foreign trade problem will need to be tackled right in India itself.

We know that Indian workmen, properly trained and provided with modern tools and machines, can produce good work and good products, and though there are diverse opinions on the advisability of industrializing a people, I, for one, think that within reasonable limits it is a great benefit to any country.

To launch an enterprise of this character, even after the product and the market have been found and fitted, if it be rugs we are considering, much work is necessary in the way first of educating the public to the fact that Persia does not have a right to pre-eminence for India too produces good rugs. It would then be necessary to create in the public mind an Indian rug consciousness, so that when rugs were mentioned, Indian rugs would come to mind. This would need to be done through systematic advertising in American Journals, establishing distributors in this country, who in turn, would place the commodity

with the retailers, in brief, as we would term it, a complete merchandising organization.

Now this may sound somewhat fanciful and these words may appear to be those of a person who has not given much thought to the subject under reference, but believe me gentlemen, this is not so, and I know that unless we engender in our minds some definite plan and set for ourselves a goal that is really worthwhile—we shall achieve little.

I must make myself clear and say, that notwithstanding these high ambitions I speak of, I fully realize that we must walk before we run and this organization would need to be built up slowly and with thought and composed of carefully selected men, each of whom would not only need to be an expert in this line, but would also need to be fired with that eminently necessary quality which we call enthusiasm.

It seems to me that to effectively establish lasting and ever-increasing commercial intercourse, it will be necessary to have a very well-thought out plan of campaign. I visualize an organization here, studying the American markets, trying to find out how many of its needs India could well supply. An organization in India studying availability of material, both staple products and manufactured articles and then these two organizations working in such close cooperation, that the staff in India would know the kind of market open to them and would keep the Indian staff in the U. S. informed as to the possibility of their supplying the commodities for which there seemed possibilities.

I know that it is easy to stand here and suggest that, this, that or the other be done to achieve a certain objective, and the fact that I have lived in India makes this knowledge all the more significant to me, but I do say that no matter what we essay to do, must necessarily spring from small beginnings, and be carried on to completion through the many stops that business grows.

India is so full of years and wisdom, she has a civilization at least as old as that of ancient Egypt, and a philosophy that has been found to fill not only the needs of our own people, but those of many foreigners. It is therefore not easy for a westerner to essay to give advice to the East and I make these suggestions with due reservation. It would seem that some industrialization, some departure from the now prevalent method of doing business in a restricted and in many cases family manner toward business on a bigger scale, might do a great deal toward the improvement of Indian foreign trade.

## NEW PRINCIPLES IN THE PROMOTION OF INDO-AMERICAN TRADE

By DR. VAMAN R. KOKATNUR

*Autoxygen, Inc.*

### INTRODUCTION

I am very happy to be able to participate in this conference. My pleasure is doubled as I have interests in both countries. I was born in India, but I am a naturalized American citizen. As an American I am naturally interested in the promotion of American trade with India. As a son of India I am deeply solicitous of the welfare of the land of my birth. It is exceedingly fortunate that the two countries which are so intimately related to me are on such friendly terms. I feel proud that India, the most ancient democracy of the world, and the United States, the modern leader of democratic ideals, are meeting together on the same platform to discuss mutual trade relations. If I did not believe that the

development of commercial relations between the two countries contributed greatly to the peace of the world and to the enrichment of the two countries that are dear to my heart, I would be reluctant to take active part in tonight's proceedings.

My approach to the subject is not that of a practical business man. Although I have had considerable contact with certain aspects of trade, it is as an industrial chemist and a research worker that I undertake to present some new principles for promoting trade between India and America. It may be unnecessary to speak of the importance of trade relations between the two countries. Suffice it to say that India is one of the largest importing countries, only second in importance to the highly industrialized countries of the West, namely, England, Germany, United States and France. Although India is on a par with countries like Italy, Belgium, Holland, Japan and Canada in her world trade, Indo-American trade relations are not on a par with America's trade relations with Belgium, Holland, Italy and Canada.

While the increasing trade relations of the two countries prove that India needs American products and her market, and that America needs products of India and her vast but still unexplored market, a great deal still needs to be done if the trade relations of the two countries are to be at all commensurate with their potentialities.

I propose to outline briefly certain suggestions for the construction of an Indo-American trade bridge that will serve well today and with timely improvements will serve the future even better.

### PREFACE

In my treatment of the subject I will deal mainly with three topics:

I. Indo-American Trade should be promoted on Mutual or Reciprocal Lines.

II. Although all the factors involved in trade promotion must of necessity be considered, certain factors are of greater importance than others in reciprocal trade promotion.

III. The lines which both countries should follow for effective and profitable reciprocal trade promotion.

### I

Trade relations between countries are either built by natural forces operating between them, or are deliberately moulded to fulfill certain definite objectives. Up till now only the natural forces operating between the two countries have been for the most part responsible for the Indo-American trade.

Historical study of international trade and commerce will show two definitely marked tendencies.

Up to the latter part of the 18th century the trade of the world was based primarily on the principle of exchange. Up to this time the principles of "laissez-faire" and "give and take," played the prominent role. Trade during this time followed the path of least resistance and no particular effort was made either to promote it or to discourage it. Whichever country had the excess of commodities was willing to exchange her excess for other commodities she did not possess.

Since the beginning of the industrial revolution, international trade has taken a new turn. This has been characterized by deliberate planning, the profit motive, and the application of force backed by financial, military or political strength. There has been a seeming disregard of the principle of exchange as well as the principle of "live and not live." This has given rise to many ills such as competition, subsidies, tariff walls, economic upheavals,

labor troubles, etc. Dictatorships have undoubtedly arisen due to the necessity of enforcing means for economic nationalism and national self-sufficiency. These ills have been particularly aggravated during the last two decades. But at last we are beginning to see some hope of remedying, partially at least, this unfortunate world situation. Our distinguished Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, following the "good neighbor" policy of President Roosevelt, has introduced a refreshing idea in international trade policy. This is popularly known as a "theory of reciprocal trade relations." Although it is likely to be misunderstood in some quarters, it is without question an outstanding contribution in this field.

The European countries, not being self-sufficient in resources, have been compelled to push their trade by fair or unfair means, into international markets. Fortunately, the United States has ample resources in agriculture, forest products and minerals. This has given to the United States trade policy a liberal trend. For this reason the American point of view on trade is very different from that of the European countries.

Reciprocal trade relations are based on the exchange of products having their origin in natural complementary differences in resources. When blessed with such a relationship neither nation steps on the toes of the other. When two countries are competing to sell the same commodity to each other, due perhaps to certain advantages of subsidy, lower wage standard, lower price level, process monopoly, etc., conflicting interests are certain to develop. This may lead to retaliatory measures, shifting of economic balance, depressions, dictatorships, and even to war. We all know how the center of gravity of world economics and finance shifted from London to New York at the end of the World War.

To have reciprocal trade, the countries must have resources of men and material so differentiated that they are complementary, that is, for complete trade each should require the resources of the other. Although no absolutely ideal situations are to be expected, the greater the number of complementary resources between the two countries, the greater the possibility of reciprocal trade relations.

India and America each requires for complete existence what the other possesses in complementary resources. No other two countries are so similar in certain resources and yet so complementary in others, as the United States and India.

## II

If we wish to increase this trade relationship without following the beaten path, and plan deliberately for reciprocal trade relations, we must study some of these factors.

Without attempting a long enumeration of the various factors, I will mention just a few that seem to me the most important:

### 1. THE EFFECT OF RELATIVE INDUSTRIALISATION OF THE TWO COUNTRIES UPON EACH OTHER

The high industrial development of America, on the one hand, and India's lack of industrialization, on the other, make the two countries complementary to each other.

India's vast population and her consequent home demand, automatically set a limit on her export of common commodities such as sugar, cotton, iron, food-stuffs, etc. India requires these common resources for her own consumption. Even if she wanted to export them, she lacks the necessary manufacturing skill as well as the capital. Although India is nationalistically inclined, and

determined on industrial expansion, this need create no fear. In fact, this will create an expanding market for equipment goods such as industrial, transportation, power, plantation, engineering, etc.

### 2. THE POSSIBLE NATIONALISTIC BARRIERS SUCH AS TARIFF WALLS, ECONOMIC POLICIES, ETC.

While India has a tariff, it makes no distinction between one country and another. From this standpoint India remains to this day a country of free market.

### 3. CULTURAL DIFFERENCES AND THEIR EFFECT

From the traditional standpoint all other political philosophies except that of democracy, are foreign to India. American ideals have made a greater imprint upon India than upon any other foreign country, due to the common English language as well as training and experience of many Indians in America. Abraham Lincoln and George Washington are better known in India than perhaps in any other foreign country, be it in Asia, Africa or Europe. For these reasons direct American representation in India would be desirable and helpful.

### 4. CERTAIN BUSINESS TRADITIONS AND THEIR EFFECT

Certain set ways of carrying on business in India are in general foreign to American methods. The managing agency system and conducting import business on "Indent" seem to be definitely under discard, due to impact of American business methods carried by Indians trained in America.

### 5. TRADITIONAL CUSTOMS AND WAYS OF THOUGHT AND THEIR EFFECT ON EXPORT ADVERTISING

In this connection Carl Crowe's book "Four Hundred Million Clients" comes to mind. India is a vegetarian country and yet I recall an American firm advertising its bakery goods as containing the finest triple-pressed stearin. If idioms and trends of thought are not understood, export advertising becomes very ineffective.

This brings to my mind an instance in which the entire meaning of an idiom was changed after being translated into Japanese and re-translated into English. The idiom was "Out of sight, out of mind." This was translated into English by a Japanese to read "Unseen is insane."

### 6. LIFE HABITS AND THEIR EFFECT ON COMMODITY SHIFTS

One can easily see the difficulty of selling a large volume of tooth paste to India which has used from the remotest antiquity the shoots of certain trees to clean teeth. Although India buys over \$10,000,000 worth of drugs it would be difficult to increase the sales of endocrine products because of India's prejudice to animal products.

### 7. THE DIFFERING EFFECTS OF CONFLICTING AND COMPLEMENTARY RESOURCES, HUMAN OR MATERIAL

Although India and America possess certain conflicting common resources, due to the high industrial development of America and to India's vast home demand, these resources become complementary instead of conflicting, as shown in my discussion on the effect of the relative industrialization of the two countries upon each other.

Although comparatively little serious study has been given to the effects of these factors on mutual trade relations, it seems to me that no thinking person can take successful issue to my thesis that India and America meet quite fully—perhaps as fully as any two countries—

these requirements for successful, mutually profitable trade relations.

### III

India and America are ideally situated for reciprocal trade. In the development of the milling, sugar, canning and steel industries, and in the development of the manufacture of chemicals, America can be very helpful to India. India's gratitude for this help will be America's best guarantee against competition in products based on common resources.

India has been blessed more graciously by Providence in natural monopolies than any other country in the world. Compared with Canada's nickel and cobalt, America's helium, Russia's platinum, Brazil's coffee, China's antimony, Malay States' tin, India has the world's monopoly in jute, shellac, castor beans, monazite, mica, sandalwood oil, rubies, sapphires and tea, and virtual monopolies in manganese, chromite, magnesite, graphite, tannin-producing materials, crude drugs, coconut oil, etc.

If India wants to improve her trade relations with America with economy and least resistance, she should follow the reciprocal line of trading based on complementary resources.

In her program of industrialization India should devote greater attention to the production of semi-finished or finished products in her international trade. For example, she may find it profitable to export chromium-steels, ferro-manganese and other ferro alloys instead of selling as at present, the raw ores. Or again, she may profitably extract oils from such raw products as castor beans, sesame, safflower, for export. In general, the aim should be to export only such raw materials as cannot be utilized either for domestic consumption, or for profitable processing at home. India has already followed this procedure in at least three commodities: jute, shellac and cashew nuts.

India should attempt to control her exports to the United States in such a way that they conform to the tastes, fashions and traditions prevalent in America. As a wealthy country, the United States requires luxury items, delicacies in foods, and unusual artistic products that have taste in color and line. America should offer a great field for the export of tropical fruits and vegetables both preserved and fresh. The fragrant rice of India, canned green chick peas, safflower oil, special nuts like the cashew and bibba, special preserves from cashew fruit, custard apple, mangoes and amla, canned shewagas, pickles, chutneys, perfumes from Kevada, vetivert, mogra, jasmin, ashoka, champaka, etc. should open a profitable export field.

America is developed along manufacturing lines, while India has developed, from antiquity, in handicraft. India's handicrafts are finding a profitable outlet in American trade. India should devote greater attention to exporting these handicrafts catering to American taste.

Sialkot in Punjab has special resources in men and materials in producing sport goods. The Sialkot Importing Company has done pioneer work in the introduction of the Sialkot sport goods to America. The line appears to offer splendid prospects for the future.

As to America's part in the promotion of mutually profitable trade, it would seem to me that the danger of future misunderstanding can be avoided almost completely by a policy of frank assistance in the industrialization of India, for this can be done in such a way that America will earn the eternal gratitude of India and be sure of mutual co-operation. As an example of this kind of co-operation the enterprise of General Foods in the introduction of India's cashew nuts to America is worthy

of note. If more companies follow in the footsteps of General Foods, both America and India will benefit thereby.

Without resort to aggressive methods and following the "good neighbor" policy, the United States has achieved second place in some of India's imports.

The fact that America is fourth or fifth in her exports to India in things where she should be the first or second, clearly proves this non-aggressive policy between the two countries. The United States is foremost in the development of textiles, hardware, steel, electrical and metal-working machinery, rolling stock, scientific instruments, sport goods, glass, drugs and pharmaceuticals, dyes, chemicals, paints, soap, toilet requisites, paper and petroleum products. She could well afford to hold the first place in India's importation of these. Except in toilet requisites, metal-working machinery and soap, she holds fourth or fifth place in India's imports. The fact that Japan and Germany and even Belgium and Italy should supplant the United States in some of these products, is a sad irony in Indo-American trade relations. In view of facilities of language, training, experience and political institutions, there is no reason why America should not take a place at least second to England in India's trade.

## MERCHANDISING INDIA'S PRODUCTS IN AMERICA

By MR. J. A. KEILLOR

*Vice-President, B. Altman & Company*

There is probably no great country in the world that is so little known to the average American merchant as India. I am looking over the guests: I see that there is a sufficient number with thinning hair to know that they completed their studies in the last part of the century, who if they had looked at the map of Africa would have seen great spaces marked undiscovered. And yet, in the Atlas of the average American merchant, it is still unexplored, and it is little wonder. It was a long way off. It seems but yesteryear that I took 17 delightful days from Trieste to Bombay, and only a few days ago, you and I sat with bated breath in front of the radio while a little group went around the world in 3½ days.

India is no longer remote. But, we must understand one another and one must understand what the other wants. It is not my province to say what India wants of us; but I can still hear the laments of the Bombay merchants who received a shipment of raisins packed in cardboard boxes during the monsoon season. Perhaps you and me have been in the great Bazaar on the day of the arrival of the Caravan from Tivoli. If you have done so, you have a memory that will live with you forever. But ladies and gentlemen, glorious as that memory may be, it is not the bazaar merchandise that is going to make the growth in trade. It is an understanding of what the people here want, and create merchandise suitable to this market that in itself is a long dreary task, but one that is filled with the joy of accomplishment.

We can market goods from India. We should go every year with the seasons to bring an understanding of what is wanted here, and have it developed, and only after long, long patient years be successful in our results.

Take the textile industry: It is in fields like that, cardinals. As I sat and listened while the speaker told



the potter of his clay. I couldn't help but think of the Cardinacs industry developed in Czechoslovakia and Japan, that are not working so hard today. This is the future of India. The great exports of India will always be raw materials, and millions of Rupees of manufactured products that can be sent to this country. But, it avails us nothing if the colors are not fast. It is of no avail to you ladies here to have beautiful luncheon sets, that have taken us a long time to design, to have them run in the wash.

There has been more set backs from various parts of the World than you have any idea. The aim is not to get the price down, but the quality up.

There are many markets of this world closed today. This, I point out to you, is a great opportunity for India.

## COTTON TRADE BETWEEN INDIA AND AMERICA

By Mr. C. THACKAR

*Member, Bombay Cotton Exchange*

It is with a feeling of great pleasure that I address you, as representatives of business; which has become a problematical question of this modern world. I very much appreciate such opportunities and that, too, in this great country of America amongst its good business people.

Anyone who happens to travel through various lands will be impressed how free international business spirit is capable of creating world-wide co-operation and peace. This ideal, to which I wish to call your attention, should be cultivated zealously for the future prosperity of this unbalanced world. Now we are passing through the age of frequent world business depressions; and to our mind this "too much machinery" is responsible for it, which we fear is a serious problem before the world, and the only solution for it, as we believe lies in co-operation of all the nations of the present 'distrust' world.

Now to be frank I must admit that our big country still lies undeveloped with every scope of immense progress in every direction. As a result of my saying this, naturally the question arises that why so much behind. To this, painfully I have to say that Indian commerce and industry is still controlled by the ruling power to suit its own ends. At the same time, it gives me pleasure to disclose before you freedom-loving people, that a movement of great international significance is going on in India with Mahatma Gandhi at our head, and it will not be long before the Indian commerce and industry will spread to enrich the commercial world.

In the first place, India is fighting a peaceful battle to gain her independence from a foreign power which has kept her for a long time out of the community of free nations. The all 350,000,000 people of India are not only becoming conscious of their sovereign political rights, but also they are anxious to increase their contact and intercourse with the rest of the world. This will ultimately mean a systematic exchange of cultural thought as well as increased commercial relations with other nations.

And, in the second place, India is sending her representatives as unofficial ambassadors to other countries with a definite aim to study their conditions and to gain their good-will. Now we are sure in due course of time India will participate in the councils of the world to make its contribution for the advancement of business.

Now coming to my own business "cotton" and its relations with the world, I am happy to say that America stands at the head not only in cotton but many more

factors and leads the business world. India stands next as a cotton-growing country having its average production nearly 6,000,000 bales every year. Your country imports our cotton several hundred bales every year and we also import your several hundred thousand in spite of we both are big cotton-growing countries.

Our agricultural methods are still very poor; and labor inefficient. For improved cultivation we look to this country and like to carry away modern equipments to enrich our soils and growths. Up till now we have only 350 textile mills producing cloth, 85% of our requirements, but as a matter of fact, the majority of our population is still without proper clothing and as we advance, would probably require three times the number of textile industries and so the great scope of importing machinery is still there. If we do not do this we shall have to allow imports of cloth to fulfill our increasing demands. Japan is our common cotton export market but having different varieties we have no competition there with American export.

Our other products are wheat, rice, jute, tea, tobacco and so on.

American automobiles and radios are very popular in India and an overwhelming demand will be forthcoming as we advance. As an Indian business man, I feel it is my duty to remind you that the benefits of free trade and co-operation, much as we understand them, are as old as Indian civilization. But, unfortunately, the influence of Hindu culture has not been sufficiently felt by the west. At the same time, we feel that with the genuine co-operation of business nations, we shall popularize Indian commerce.

### GENERAL DISCUSSION :

At the end of Mr. Thackar's speech a general discussion followed in the light of the addresses delivered by various speakers.

Mr. S. Anhalt of National Drapery Association emphasised the importance of India's having an exhibit in the World's Fair in New York. It was suggested that several of the merchants get together to further the interest of private merchants in an exhibit. In this connection India's art and culture should not be forgotten. Mr. K. C. Ghose reminded the gathering that inasmuch as other types of fibres and paper are cutting into jute and burlap business it is high time that the Jute Mill Owners Association and Jute and Burlap Shippers Association engage in research to find other uses of jute and to increase consumption. He would also like to remind the industrialists in India that since America changes its factory equipments oftener than any other nations a buyer of second-hand machineries would get a better bargain in the United States both as to quality and price. Mr. Hogue of General Motors and several members, both from India and the United States, felt that Secretary Hull's trade policies and the presence of Mr. Malik will be of great help in the solution of problems as outlined and discussed during the evening. The following resolutions, as representing the sense of the gathering, were passed :

*Resolution No. 1.* This conference held under the auspices of the Indo-American Association of Commerce, welcomes the First Trade Commissioner of India to North America, Mr. Haidit Singh Malik, and offers its cordial greetings and pledges its co-operation.

Moved by—Mr. B. V. Mukerji, Secy. Indo-American Assoc. of Commerce.

Seconded by—Mr. C. G. Hogg, Sr., General Motors Overseas Corp.



*Resolution No. 2.* Be it resolved that approach should be made to proper authorities to remove discriminatory trade barriers between the U. S. A. and India, and to start negotiations for a new reciprocal trade treaty between the two countries to carry out the principles of Open Door.

Moved by—Mr. C. G. Hogg, Sr., General Motors Overseas Corp.

Seconded by—Mr. H. K. Rakhit, Sogani & Company, Inc.

*Resolution No. 3.* Be it resolved that a committee be formed for the purpose of engaging in research work covering the present tariff situation and along the lines of reciprocal trade agreement between India and America, with the following members constituting the committee :

1. Mr. S. Anhalt, National Drapery Association.
2. " L. F. Blenheim, the United Agencies Corp.
3. " John F. Chapman, Foreign Editor, "Business Week."
4. " N. R. Checker, Indo-Persian Fine Arts Co.
5. " K. N. Ghose.
6. " C. G. Hogue, General Motors Overseas Corp.
7. " H. K. Rakhit, Sogani & Co., Inc.

Names of the Business Concerns and their representatives who attended the conference :

1. Allied Purchasing Corporation—Mr. J. W. Cance.
2. Altman, B. & Co.—Mr. J. A. Keillor, Mr. Milton S. Klein.
3. American Exporter—Mr. Franklin Johnston.
4. American Express Co.—Mr. Ralph E. Towle.
5. Automobile Manufacturer's Association—Mr. Joseph A. Jones.
6. Autoxygen, Inc.—Dr. V. R. Kokatnur.
7. Baldwin Locomotive Co.—Mr. J. Remix.
8. Birla Bros. Ltd. New York Office—Mr. Simon Swerling.
9. Bombay Bullion Exchange Ltd.—Mr. C. S. Thakar.
10. Calco Chemical Co. Inc.—Mr. J. L. Clark.
11. Checker Brothers, New York, Bombay—Dr. B. V. Mukherji.

12. Dayton Price & Co.—Mr. H. H. Hort.
13. Electro-Chemical Industries Ltd.—Mr. N. R. Chowdhury.
14. Export Trade and Shipper—Mr. W. R. Bickford.
15. Fairchild Aviation, Inc.—Mr. C. A. Harrison.
16. Furs, Skins Merchants—Mr. G. J. Sawal.
17. General Electric International Co.—Mr. F. C. Callahan, Mr. H. C. Maher.
18. General Motors Overseas Corporation—Mr. C. G. Hogg.
19. General Shaver Corp. (Remington-Rand)—Mr. William Moss.
20. George E. Mallison Importing Co.
21. German Department Commerce, New York—Dr. Herbert Gross.
22. Gondrand Shipping Co. Inc.—Mr. K. N. Ghose.
23. Heeramanek Galleries—Mr. C. Heeramanek.
24. Indo-Persian Fine Arts Co.—Mr. N. R. Checker.
25. Industrial Plants Corporation—Mr. Paul F. Lowinger.
26. Kenyon Importing Co. Inc.—Mr. C. F. Bedigan.
27. Lambert Pharmacal Co.—Mr. R. Clairmont.
28. Manufacturer's Trust Co.—Mr. Jack O'Halloven, Mr. J. Patterson.
29. National Assoc. of Manufacturers of U. S. A.—Mr. B. H. Horchler.
30. National Drapery Association—Mr. S. Anhalt.
31. National Export Advertising—Mr. Paul Kruming.
32. New York Trade Sugar Laboratory—Dr. F. W. Zerban.
33. Sialkot Importing Corporation—Mr. J. R. Vadra.
34. Sogani & Co. Inc.—Mr. H. K. Rakhit.
35. Studebaker Export Corporation—Mr. D. J. Elmore.
36. United Agencies Corporation—Mr. R. N. Daugherty, Mr. L. E. Blenheim.
37. U. S. Steel Products Corporation—Mr. M. S. Borrisson.
38. Westinghouse Electric International Corp.—Mr. I. F. Baker.
39. Woman's Wear Daily—Mr. Edward Atkinson, Mr. Lewis.



# POSITION OF INDIAN MERCHANTS IN AMERICA

By RAMLAL B. BAJPAI

THE position of Indian merchants in America is humiliating and disgraceful. An Indian merchant is not allowed to acquire real estate holdings in California, or to become an American citizen. On the one hand he is prohibited in the state of California from entering into a marriage contract with a native-born American and on the other hand not allowed to bring an Indian wife into this country. All this in spite of an Indian investment running into hundreds of thousands of dollars in America, Indian merchants live here like tourists who must leave this country after a short stipulated stay. And yet the Secretary of the Indian Government, pocketing a salary larger than that of any member of the American Cabinet, derived from the taxation of poor Indians, has persistently side-tracked this momentous issue of making official representation and protest to the American Government in behalf of Indian merchants wishing to trade in America.

The appointment of commissions to look into such matters, conferring fat-salaried posts on Englishmen and a few selected Indians, and pointing to the favourable balance of trade enjoyed by India in her dealings with the U. S., etc., are standard alibis to stall off any effort at direct action in the matter.

If similar treatment was accorded to British merchants or for that matter to the merchants of any other civilized nation and their accredited government agents or councils had failed to protest or to bring about honourable adjustment of trade relations with the U. S. A., a Cabinet crisis would arise resulting in the demand by those nationals for the resignation not of one member but of the whole Cabinet. The representative who is paid sumptuously out of the taxes collected from the poor Indian people, however, sleeps undisturbed over the iniquitous treatment accorded to Indian merchants by the Washington Government.

There is reason to suspect that since about 95 per cent of the business between India and the U. S. A. is directly in the hands of British merchants it is to their advantage that such conditions and odds against Indians in America continue to prevail. If a new agreement is made on just and honourable terms, a larger

share of trade would go into the hands of Indian and American merchants.

Will not the members of the Legislative Assembly, Chamber of Commerce, Indian National Congress, and President Subhas Chandra Bose stir the Indian Government to take immediate action to negotiate a new trade treaty between India and America and thus help to lift this stumbling-block in the way of Indians wishing to engage in normal commercial relations with the American people?

The Indian people have great confidence in men like Mr. Ghanashyamdas Birla, Walchand Heera Chand, Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, Bhulabhai Desai, Satyamurti, Kumarappa and others from Congress. If an official delegation of such representative and reliable persons were sent to represent the Indian people and their Government to the U. S. A., it would be possible for such a delegation to study actual conditions and opportunities here and to undertake negotiations for furthering commercial relations between India and America.

Scholars like Dr. Taraknath Das, Mr. S. G. Pandit, Attorney-at-Law, Principal Shanker Rao Gokhale, retired consulting engineer for the General Electric Co., and Mr. Maganlal S. Dave, Vice-President of the newly formed Indian Chamber of Commerce of America, and others will co-operate and benefit the delegation by a knowledge of the situation gained from years of study and experience.

It is obvious in this day and year of disturbed international balance that imperialists while striving to perpetuate their stronghold upon defenceless peoples, and dictators are busy forging new chains for enslaving humanity once more, leaders of the Indian National Congress and other enlightened persons interested in India's economic reconstruction should take all possible steps to establish direct trade relationship with the U. S. A.

India cannot make headway unless and until artificial trade restrictions placed upon her merchants are removed, and all normal avenues of commercial intercourse are opened to her. Both India and the U. S. A. stand to gain by mutual understanding and co-operation.

New York.

# FUTURE AND GANDHISM,—AND WHAT THEN MUST WE DO?

By X

WHILE the twentieth century has been a witness to the greatest display of violence on wide areas, on unprecedented scales, it has also witnessed the emergence of non-violence as an active and dynamic force in the shaping of the history of a nation. While the school of violence camouflaged as Fascism is out to proclaim that "Life is essentially appropriation, conquest of the weak, suppression, incorporation and exploitation"—a plea for spiritualization of politics or economics, and of the very springs of human activity is put forth with singular simplicity and beauty by a Man who is content to give it no higher name than his Experiments with Truth. Thus Militarism, Class-war and Profiteerism stalk a world whose only hope lies in the predominance of the fear of losing what has been gained, over the desire to gain more, in its dictators. The dawn of Gandhism in such a world of warring nations and interests has arrested attention and compelled admiration. What will be the future? Will the seeds of non-violence sown in a remote corner of the world by a saintly man and fostered by his limited followers, be shrivelled by this terrific world-temperature, or will non-violence grow and spread by its all-conquering strength?—this question is before the thinking men all over the world, but we in India who have been privileged to see the saintly sower taking infinite pains and nurse the seedlings against enormous odds that seem to rise out of the stuff of human nature itself, can and ought to answer with hope and faith. And faith and hope and prayer of millions are just the requisites needed for clearing the heavily charged atmosphere that is stifling the growth of the mighty seedling today.

And yet, just at the present moment, the world-situation as well as the Indian atmosphere both seem to arrest all hope and faith. Though the credit of the Mahatma as a practical idealist appears to have reached the peak, and though the associates of Gandhiji in the Congress function as members of the Government in 7 out of India's 11 "autonomous" provinces, many events have recently combined to bring to a prominence the question of the Future of non-violence as Gandhiji interprets

it, and it is even said by those who ought to know best that of late, the Mahatma has shown himself as seriously afraid that even the Congress as a whole does not understand and is not prepared to follow the doctrines, he has always considered essential.

Writing under the caption 'The Choice' in *Harijan* of April 9, 1938, Mahatmaji in confirmation of some of these fears, has even gone to the length of suggesting an alternative to Non-violence, and has pointed out that a retracing of the steps may be necessary if the Congress wants to do what is being done all over the world—'Forbear when we can, hit when we must'. In moving words he has stated 'If that is to be our policy, we have lost 17 precious years. But 17 years in the life of a nation are nothing.' Rather than playing with what he considers to be Truth, he is prepared to make the supreme sacrifice of obliterating his life-work, though in his modesty, he calls this nothing in the life of a nation which has no faith in it. Those who have made an intimate study of Mahatmaji's personality know that he is capable of making any sacrifice provided he feels that his principles demand this. Many years ago, in *Young India* of August 1920 when he set forth his ethics of non-violence, Gandhiji wrote prophetically:

'India's acceptance of the doctrine of the sword will be the hour of my trial. I hope I shall not be found wanting. If I have a living faith in my religion it will transcend my love for India herself.'

Very significant words these, and when we read together with this Mahatma's recent statement on the communal riots—'to the extent the Congress ministers have been obliged to make use of the Police and the Military, to that extent we must admit our failure.' We may very well appreciate the spiritual crisis in which we find him engulfed. When the world stands amazed and perplexed to hear that for the first time in the past fifty years, he finds himself in a 'slough of despond' must we also join the gaping crowd while the culmination of a supreme career is thwarted before our very eyes? Surely we can not afford to be passive onlookers like the rest, we who saw him fashion

his monumental deeds ablaze with the flaming light of vision.

What then must we do? What must be done to save this vision for our all-encompassing problems and for the world seething with racialism, class-war and militarism? But perhaps we are wrong in stressing only the visionary aspect of the message of Gandhism. Have we not seen the vision translated to tangible deed? Have we not witnessed his ceaseless giving of himself to the last limit of sacrifice, and what is more—have we not had demonstration that the 'unconquerable spirit that creates has already been released?' There may be a question as to the nature of the Congress non-violence. As a matter of fact there has been question, 'Can national and social groups imbibe sufficiently this individual creed of non-violence, for it involved a tremendous rise of mankind in the mass to a high level of love and goodness?' But the fact has also been admitted that the only desirable ultimate ideal is to raise humanity to this level so that hatred and ugliness and selfishness may be abolished. That at any rate is above all question. Now Mahatma has shown us a way which, if we follow, will not only lead us to this level but help us to lead others as well. It can not be morally or intellectually questioned that the ideal and method of Gandhism is fundamentally sound. As Dr. Tagore stated only the other day:

'Arduous indeed is the quest of Righteousness while we are beset with the battling forces of evil around and within us. But whether any one of us is or is not capable of rising to the heights of Ahimsa, accept it and believe in it, we must; for have we not in this very modern age, a man who by his own life and example, holds aloft this standard for us to follow?'

So the only question is why in spite of our intellectual acceptance we do not take up this quest of righteousness? Why we are content to give it formal assent rather than practical realisation? It is freely said that he has brought a new force into public life but it has not had time enough to be universal, and until it does, be it the Congress Ministry or any other, they will have to use old and recognised method of keeping law and order. Gandhiji however is unable to fall in with this view. All along he has tried to make his own ideal—the universal ideal. He has not been content to make it even the ideal of a social group, and he has been against grouping unities as such. As he pointed out in a celebrated article,

'My modesty has prevented me from declaring from the house top that the message of non-violence is a

message to the world. It must fall flat, if it does not verily bear fruit in the soil where it has been delivered.'

So he took pains all along to make his movement neither exclusive nor aggressive but health-giving, religious and humanitarian. Still there has been the danger of its falling flat, and this is due not to any inherent weakness in his technique but to the poverty of response even in those who took the pledge of non-violence under his guidance. With failing health and with the sands of life running out, the Mahatma who is human through and through in spite of his great soul tells us what he feels. Those familiar with his autobiography know that in spite of his great soul, he has the spirit of a child. So he feels a bit the child's desire to share his sorrow, and the world's sympathy is with him in his hour of trial. But it is dynamic response more than passive acceptance, actual application rather than sympathy and smooth words that can preserve for India and for the world,—the redeeming force that is in Gandhism. So the problem before the world and India today is how to release mass energies through non-violence. The passing phase in India shows that with many chances of success—we have not solved the problem. This does not show however that the problem is insoluble. No doubt some amount of violence appears to be the basis and foundation of our acquisitive society and it is also true that the machineries of property and of governments and of the present order stand between and hide the hearts of man and man, yet as Gandhiji said:

'If only we watched the latest international developments in Europe and Eastern Asia with an eye to essentials, we could see how the world is moving steadily to realize that between nation and nation as between man and man force has failed to solve problems.'

Apparently this increasing realization has not meant much, for in spite of a wide-spread belief that failure would lead to world-catastrophe, the repeated failures of international conferences to find a solution even for the problem of disarmament show that 'the approach was wrong and the people concerned did not dare to go the right way.'

We make bold to claim that in Gandhism not only India but the world as well can find a clue to that right way. Indian politicians who adopted it as a right policy deserted the implications of its practice as soon as a measure of success gave them the right to use its alternative. Situated as they are, perhaps there is some justification for their action. But cer-

tainly more was expected of them. That they failed to apply against their own erring countrymen what they so often preached and sometimes practised against an alien government, and that they put up with a major evil for fear of a lesser one, can hardly be gainsaid today. But that disappointing performance can not mean defeat of the principles or of the technique of non-violence. As Gandhiji wrote in 1932,

'Those who have to bring about radical changes in human conditions and surroundings can not do it except by raising a ferment in society. There are only two methods of doing this, violent and non-violent. Violent pressure is felt on the physical being and it degrades him who uses it and it depresses the victim, but non-violent pressure exerted through self-suffering works in an entirely different way. It touches not the physical body but it touches and strengthens the moral fibre of those against whom it is directed by making their conversion easy.'

Now these principles of Ahimsa were explained by him again and again. He has called it Truth-force or Satyagraha, as its root-meaning is holding on to Truth. From his own experience, he discovered that the pursuit of Truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent but he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy. For what appears to be Truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of Truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but one's own self. At one time, on the political field the people could use it in opposing error in the shape of unjust laws. But the application of the mighty principle need not be restricted to this. The same struggle between might and right, the spirit and the flesh and between Truth and untruth is going on all over the world. Why not apply this solvent which though re-discovered is as old as the dawn of human conscience, and which the *Mahabharat*, Buddha, and Christ preached through the gospel of overcoming evil by good? Mahatma's unique and powerful contribution is in his application on a mass scale to political and social movements what was formerly an essentially religious and individual method. He has always regarded man as a man first, and brute afterwards. Nobly optimistic he states:

'I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist. The religion of non-violence is not merely meant for the Rishis and saints. It is meant for the common people as well.'

Elsewhere he has explained the object he aimed at and its metaphysical implications in the following words:

'I do not believe that an individual may gain

spiritually and those who surround him suffer. I believe in Adwaita. I believe in the essential unity of man and, for that matter—of all that lives. Therefore I believe that if one man gains spiritually, the whole world gains with him; and if one man falls, the whole world falls to that extent.'

This stress on the religious and spiritual side of non-violence was not heeded by those who took it up as an expedient, and they gave his teachings a partial homage and tried it as a policy piecemeal. Hence the trend today is towards 'Forbear when we can, hit when we must' or worse still 'Hit when we can, forbear when we must'. The results Gandhiji promised and expected have not been fulfilled though there have been splendid instances of individuals going up in the human scale. But as Pandit Jawaharlal has rightly pointed out.

'Groups and communities have not improved greatly though a non-violent technique has affected the odd individuals on the other side and gained over world opinion.'

But then the blame must be with those who took to the letter rather than to the spirit of the doctrine. They omitted to note Gandhiji's stress on righteousness and character and forgot that Gandhism—though not a dogmatic religion, meant a religious outlook on life. And it is only such religious approach that can save the world by going to the root of the evil whose manifestations we see everywhere today in class-war and militarism on the one side, and in imperialism and profiteering on the other.

That Gandhiji is not the only solitary thinker on these lines will be apparent from the following quotation from Dean Inge's famous book on England:

'There is no disguising the fact that England is in a state of chronic civil war today, and that the forces of law and order are on the defensive against anti-social organizations which have no aim except to wreck the existing civilization.'

After dilating on several other dark spots in England today the Dean formulates:

'In plain living and high thinking will be our salvation or the salvation of the remnant which will survive the turmoils of our age of transition. Plain living will be forced on us whether we will or not, for the conditions of prosperity are in part slipping from us, and in part are being wantonly thrown away. High thinking will not only make us citizens of the city whose type is laid in heaven, but will mitigate the acerbities of a struggle for which the responsibilities cannot be laid on the shoulders of any class.'

Mahatma Gandhi is much more radical and universal than the gloomy Dean. Only in one point are they at one—and that is with regard to the present social system. Rather than abolish it altogether, both would have a change

of heart on the existing superstructure, involving a root and branch change of the mode of living. Still Mahatmajī has been called a reactionary by communists, because, with all his sympathy for the underdog, he can not imbibe an anti-feeling against the top-dog. Here again it is impossible for the irreligious to understand a religious personality of the highest order. Gandhiji however has made his position, as a lover of men rather than of ideas, clear as ever.

'The socialism and communism of the west is based on certain conceptions which are different from ours. One such conception is the essential selfishness of human nature. Our socialism and communism should be based on non-violence, and on the harmonious co-operation of all.'

Even prominent people like Pandit Jawaharlal however fail to see the truth in the reasoning that if non-violence is successful against foreigners with their pride of racialism and power, *prima facie* it would be easier to use it against indigenous selfish interests and communal acerbities. But Mahatmajī hopes to convert them all. As he briefly put it at the end of his Congress presidential address, 'Truth-force is my Kalpataru—my *Jam I Jam*—the

universal provider.' At any rate, that it may serve as a panacea, if rightly applied—is beyond question. The question is whether it will be applied at all? The question is whether in this imperfect world, the gospel of moral perfection will not fall flat?

Yet with gloom and despair prevailing all around, the Mahatma has put in a plea for a non-violent army in India who will act unlike armed men in times of peace as of disturbance, and would be engaged in constructive activities that would make riots and clashes impossible. The need for such armies is great not only in India today but perhaps in every country of the world. While the mad race for armament is going on and while world-catastrophe is looming large in the horizon, will humanity fail to note these portents? Will not even a handful of men in every country stand up and practise this long-suffering and all-redeeming gospel? If they do, undoubtedly the great idea of non-violence will grow, and more and more affect the action of the world. And a day may at last dawn when mankind will be disinclined to use violent methods and will try and succeed in peacefully meeting every situation. It must take time, but for those who have faith there is no haste.

## THE GUJARATI THEATRE

By PROFESSOR HIRALAL GODIWALA, B. A. (Oxon.)

WE LEARN from a reliable source that the Bombay Radio Station proposes to broadcast two of the famous plays of Nanalal, *Jaya-Jayant* and *Shahjahan*, some time next month. Syt. Chandravadan Mehta—the well-known poet-dramatist-producer of Gujarat, now working as the Director of Gujarati Programmes with the V. U. B.—deserves to be congratulated on the venture. It is rarely that Nanalal's plays are produced—more rarely still, with a mixed cast, as is proposed in this case; and we do not know of any brilliant or even successful production of Nanalal. It is time some fresh attempt was made in this direction.

The difficulties of producing Nanalal's plays—great as they are in other respects, and certainly literature of a high order—are the same as those which would present themselves to a producer of say Shelley's *The Cenci*. Even

Harindranath Chattopadhyaya's plays suffer from the same handicap—to a lesser extent, may be—except when a brilliant and original producer like the author himself undertakes the task, when his acting, wit and music and his original, often symbolical, settings carry away the audience. Nanalal's are a poet's plays, meant more for the study than for the stage. Dialogue rather than situation, poetry rather than drama, idealism rather than realism—these are some of their characteristics. May be, production on the air may make a difference, doing away as it would with the necessity of settings and, to some extent, of the convincing management of stagecraft. There is a technique of radio production as of stage production. And much depends on how these plays are handled.

The production not only of Nanalal's plays



but of any good play is a rare phenomenon in Gujarat today. One almost feels like saying that the film has driven out the play, but then one remembers that there was not much of a 'play' to drive out before the advent of the film. There has always been a paucity of good plays in Gujarat—thanks to the want of talent or taste displayed by the professional theatre and to the general apathy or superiority, resulting in a neglect of the theatre, on the part of those respectable writers and gentlemen who knew, or professed to know, better and had better taste. The attempts of a brave writer like Rancehodbhai Udayram to give some good stuff to the Gujarati theatre in the last century—attempts pursued with almost missionary zeal—met with remarkable success, and even made the theatre a popular and respectable resort of the middle classes, a centre not only of entertainment but of instruction and social reform. But though Rancehodbhai left some lasting influence on the theatre, his attempts were not followed up. No great literary writer took up the task after him as earnestly as he had done; and the novel took the place, in the popular imagination, of the drama.

Meanwhile the professional theatre continued the tradition of cheap, vulgar farce or bombastic 'history' and 'tragedy'—occasionally accompanied by first-rate histrionic talent (as in the case of 'Sundari' or some Parsi actors) which should have been given better opportunities and a better environment. When a good play like Ramanbhai's *Raino Parvat* or later, Ramanlal Desai's *Shankit Hridaya* appeared, the contact with the professional theatre was not established; and such a play only remained a play for the study till some amateur producer thought of producing bits from it at some school or college theatricals.

\* The hero of the professional stage carried on, in the Elizabethan manner, rattling off fustian and 'making damnable faces'. And the heroine—some effeminate, undergrown boy with a shrill, piping voice—attempted to entertain the audience with her affected coyness and exaggerated sexy gestures. The songs too fitted ill into the play and hardly deserved to be called music, depending as they did for effect more on their sex-appeal or their cheap didacticism—which had a great appeal for the degenerate taste of the overfed city bourgeois who formed bulk of the audience—than on their musical content. The writers of these plays were mostly unknown and lived and died in obscurity. Sometimes a brave young soul

like Barrister Vibhakar attempted to refine the professional stage and even seemed to succeed for a while. But it was difficult to break the vicious circle of bad plays and the bad taste of the audience to which they catered; and soon things became what they had been before.

During the present century, the theatre has sometimes attempted to produce some historical play giving a glorified picture of the feudal times and seeking to appeal to the national sentiment. Or, sometimes some effete, sentimental 'social comedy' has appeared—a none-too-bold 'problem play' where some conventional social problem has been taken up and solved by resorting to a too easy or impossible idealism and where Jack has always succeeded in having his Jill and all has ended happily. These plays must have satisfied the bourgeois audiences to whose decadent taste the theatre-managers have been in the habit of catering. And it would be but in the scheme of things when—as used to happen during the years of the Satvagraha movement—the hero appears in a plain khaddar *kurta* and a Gandhi cap (and not in the gaudy expensive-looking clothes in which all ranks used to appear in former times) and even goes to jail if the occasion demands it.

A professional theatrical performance has become a rare thing these days. The bourgeois audience has taken to films. But when occasionally a professional company appears in a provincial town like Surat, one notices welcome changes like the acting of female roles—at least the main role—by females. And the plays are always acted to full houses, showing that while people are fond of films these days, they have not forgotten that a good film is no substitute for a good play.

The growth of something like an amateur theatre movement—particularly among the middle class youth of both sexes—has been a notable tendency in Gujarat during recent years. But even here the difficulties have been many. Even when the right talent is available, goodactable plays are all-too-rare. Mixed acting—females acting female roles—has not yet been universally accepted by the social conscience. Amateur circles in Bombay and sometimes in Ahmedabad—and in some of the colleges (after a great struggle)—have taken to mixed acting. But even among educated circles in some of the big towns, it is not rare to come across people who—probably out of fear of orthodox reaction—would 'rather not see a play produced than have a woman to act the female role.'

The insistence of a young playwright like Chandravadan Mehta—and even of old, venerable, greatly respected writers like Prof. B K Thakore—on only females taking female roles in their plays whenever they are produced has helped the social forces in the right direction though it has sometimes prevented some young enthusiast from producing one of their plays.

The frequent and successful amateur production of Syt. K M. Munshi's social comedy *Kakani Shashi* and of Syt. Chandravadan's plays have been notable features of the amateur theatre movement in Gujarat. The latter has written many plays. Poet, scholar, teacher, (and now a director of programmes on the radio), this young writer has already given proof of remarkable original talent in the direction of writing, acting and producing plays. He has a versatile genius. He has successfully rendered foreign plays into Gujarati—plays that almost seem to spring from the soil—thanks to his mastery over local colour and his knowledge of dialect. He has written realistic plays like *Ag-Gadi* ('The Iron Road')—frequently produced by the author, and once with an all-writers cast—giving a kaleidoscopic picture of the life of our railway workers. *Naga-Bava* ('The Naked Faquirs'), depicting the multi-coloured life of our beggars; *Santa-Kookdi* ('Hide-and-Seek'), dealing with the problem of our backward primary schools; and *Ramakadan-ni-Dukan* ('The Toy Shop'), a fascinating musical play for children—produced by children once under the direction of the author. Syt Chandravadan's genius lies in the direction of comedy; and there is something Shavian about his ways. He has successfully introduced the practice of writing critical prose prefaced to plays and has attempted innova-

tions like introducing the 'Sutradhara,' the author and the audience as characters in his latest play—*Veer Narmad*—woven round the life of the famous poet rebel of nineteenth century Gujarat. It is only fair to add that Chandravadan owes not a little of his success to the co-operation of other writers and of some brave young girls who have come forward to act in his plays and to the support given him by his appreciative audiences.

Mention must also be made, in this connection, of the numerous plays—mostly one-act plays—written by Syt. Yashvant Pandya, Syt. Batubhai Umarvadia and many young writers. Some of these are sometimes produced at school or college gatherings or at charity concerts. But even today the dearth of goodactable plays and of first class productions is felt. And, despite well-meaning, enthusiastic Ranga bhoomi Parishads (Theatre Conferences), a 'National Theatre' or 'People's Theatre' remains but a distant cry in this philistine world of Gujarat.

It may be said by way of conclusion that the theatre in Gujarat—even the amateur theatre—has up to now been catering to the needs of the middle class; and the great masses of the countryside have had to remain content with very rare—and now almost extinct—crude, productions of semi-mythological plays (*Bhavs*) given by some wandering players. 'Proletarian plays' have been attempted by young writers like Chandravadan, Umashankar Joshi, 'Sundaram' or Indulal Gandhi. But no attempt has yet been made to approach the masses directly—in town or country—and to revitalize the theatre from this great fountain-source of life.



# KESHUB CHUNDER SEN AND "NATION-BUILDING"

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN was born on the 19th November, 1838. This year, 1938, is the centenary of his birth. It will be celebrated in various places in India and abroad in the current month and in December. In fact the celebrations began some time ago in England, many Indian and British notabilities taking part therein.

Keshub Chunder is rightly known as, above all, a man of religion, and all his other activities sprang from his deep and intense spirituality. In this brief article, however, we shall refer mainly to those activities of his which have, directly or indirectly, gone to the making of an Indian nation.

India has been inhabited for centuries past by many religious communities. In order that these may form one united nation it is necessary that they should respect one another's faiths. Like his "spiritual grandfather" Ram-mohun Roy, Keshub Chunder respected the scriptures and the prophets of all religious communities. Inspired by his teaching and example some of his co-workers made particular studies of the scriptures of particular religions. Girish Chandra Sen translated the Quran into Bengali from the original Arabic, his being the first Bengali translation of the scripture of Islam. He also wrote and published in Bengali a book entitled "Tāpasmāla," containing the lives of eminent Muslim saints. Protap Chandra Mozoomdar wrote "The Oriental Christ," forcibly reminding Western Christendom thereby that Jesus was not an occidental priest but an oriental teacher of spirituality. Aghorenath Gupta wrote his biography of the Buddha entitled "Sākya-muni-Charit." Gour Gobinda Upādhyāy wrote learned works on the Gita and other Hindu Sastras. The Bhakti movement was started in which the emotionalism of Bengal Vaishnavism was revived by means of *Sankirtan*, in which the "singing apostle" Trailokyanath Sanyal took prominent part. An anthology of sayings culled from the Hindu, Jewish, Zoroastrian, Buddhist, Christian, Islamic and Sikh scriptures was published under the title "Shloka-sangraha." Keshub taught the harmony of all faiths. He did not stop short there.

"He practised and prescribed for his immediate friends and co-adjutors a form of spiritual culture known as Sadhu Samagam or 'Pilgrimage to saints and prophets' By close study, meditation introspection and prayer these devotees sought within their hearts to commune with the departed saints and prophets—nay, the messengers of truth and light in every sphere of life. The life and personality of Moses, Socrates, Buddha, the Hindu Rishi Fathers, Jesus, Mohamed, Chaitanya thus formed the subject of special study and contemplation and were followed up by those of Faraday, Carlyle, Emerson and the like."—P. K. Sen, *Keshub Chunder Sen*.

So long as the caste-spirit, caste and 'untouchability' remain, the solidarity of a united Indian nation must remain more or less a dream. Keshub Chunder, therefore, determined so far as as he could to do away with caste not only in matters of food and drink but in marriage also. Act III of 1872, which was passed at his initiative, validated intercaste marriage. Many such marriages were celebrated during his life time and more continue to be celebrated.

In no country is it truer than in India that the nation dwells in its hovels and huts and cottages. Therefore, he who would uplift the nation, build it up, reconstruct it, must be one in spirit with the masses, must sympathize with them literally. Keshub felt that he was one of them—one with the poor. The following is from his *Jeevan-Veda* (Scripture of Life):

"Often have I asked myself whether my soul is of rich or poor lineage. The answer to this question forms an important chapter of my *Jeevan-Veda*. One must know the caste in which one's soul is born . . . I am convinced that my soul belongs to the class of the poor. The articles of food, my daily habits—all bear ample evidence of the spirit of the poor . . . The practice of poverty is not a difficult exercise with me; it comes naturally. My nature takes delight in (plain) rice and herbs. This fact reveals to me an unspeakable secret of my inner life. I take it to be a sign of God's special grace for me. If I have to travel by railways, I usually go third class. I hesitate to travel first class lest I transgress my own province and trespass on the domains of the rich; lest things and thoughts foreign to my nature rob me of rest and peace of mind. And the decision comes in an instant,—the mind instinctively seeking the place where the poor and the lowly are. If ever I travel first class, it is because I am obliged to. Where the poor are there is rest for me, there is life for me. I never learnt this poverty by effort, it came to me naturally."

Here it would be appropriate to give the

translation of a few sentences from Keshub's pice weekly, the "Sulabh Samāchār" of 1871:

who are the really great folk? In our country the humble people (*chhota lok*) Had they not existed, who could have then food ("bhat"), who could have driven in their carriages to see the races, or who could have smoked their naigilehs propped up against bolsters? See, how the humble folk are giving us our all. We are posing as big people with *their* wealth. But who think of expressing special gratitude to them? Taking trouble day and night, perspiring—they are giving us our food, but how many of us think of their condition? That England has so much wealth, so much power and prestige—whence did these come? From those same humble folk. In this world a day will come when the humble people will no longer remain dumb, no longer lie prostrate on their earth-bed. Even now in England they have become so strong that they do not care for or obey the king, do not care for or obey the rich men;—they are asserting their rights and expressing their puissance themselves.

Keshub then goes on to give the example of Ireland, and sums up by saying: "Thus in all great countries a struggle has begun between the common people and the big folk." Addressing the readers of "Sulabh Samāchār," he says.

Our readers, those among you who are tenants (*rayats*), or artisans or craftsmen, stand up and gird up your loins together. Make the utmost effort for your own welfare, and for putting a stop by your own strength to all tyranny, cruelty and repression of the *prajas* (the people or the tenants). It is for your good that we have published this small newspaper. Do not sleep any more. Rise, the time has come. See, there is no one to speak for you. The King's officers do not get to hear what you have to say, the big folk slight you, do not care for you. Will you bear such insult for ever? Are you not men? Has not God created you with knowledge and intelligence? Then why do you lie asleep in the sleep of ignorance? *You are the great men of this country.* Do you not know that, but for you, this country would go to wrack and ruin? Therefore, take pains, make earnest endeavours, acquire knowledge. Then when you will understand your own rights, when you yourselves will do your own work, then the officials will be compelled to listen to your demands, the tyrannical big folk will become afraid seeing your valour, and ultimately will not be able to refrain from honouring you."

These words, addressed to peasants and workingmen sound very much like those of a Marxian labour leader addressed to the proletariat. But Marx's German book on *Capital*, was translated into English for the first time in 1886, and the words from the "Sulabh Samāchār" translated above were published in 1871. Some Marxists and Leninists appear to believe that it is their atheistic masters and 'comrades' who care for the proletariat, but that believers in God do not. But evidently the theistic Keshub did care for them—a fact of which there are other proofs in his writings and pronouncements.

But he did not rest content with merely writing and speaking.

The third department of the Indian Reform Association established by him, namely, Education, undertook to educate the labouring classes, and also to instruct the middle classes in industrial arts—thus seeking to obliterate the distinction between the labouring and the intellectual classes. The Working Men's Institution and the Industrial School were opened on the 28th November, 1870. Besides imparting to the labouring class elementary education in the mother-tongue and English, the Working Men's Institution afforded them such recreation after the day's work as might keep them from bad company, intoxication, idleness and demoralizing amusements. The Industrial School gave instruction in useful arts with a view to training the middle class students thereof for independent occupations. Carpentry, tailoring, clock and watch repairing, printing, lithography and engraving were among the subjects in which instruction was given. Keshub himself took to these occupations with workman-like avidity, and could turn out little pieces of furniture so neatly executed that it was said that "he could not have done better if he had given his whole life to carpentry alone."

The Indian Reform Association mentioned above was established in 1870. Its object was comprehensive and was to be attained through five departments of activity—Cheap Literature, Improvement of Girls and Women, Education, Temperance, and Charity. The object of the first department was to disseminate useful and scientific information among the masses by the issue of a cheap newspaper and the publication of cheap and useful tracts. Accordingly on the 16th November, 1870, a week pice paper, the "Sulabh Samāchār," mentioned before, was started. It was the first of its kind in India. In two weeks its circulation rose to 5,000, and in two months to 8,000—high figures for those days. It attained still higher circulation afterwards. Keshub's friends and co-adjutors went about hawking the pice paper from door to door and from street to street. It had great influence in those days. It wrote vigorously against the tyranny of the officials and the landlords.

Under the auspices of the Female Improvement department was started a Women's Normal and Adult School for the education of adult ladies who wished either to be instructed themselves or to be trained for imparting

instruction to others. A small Girls' school was shortly after attached to it, which served also as a practising school for the students of the Normal School. There was a Bāmā-hitaishini Sabhā (society for the welfare of women). There was also the women's monthly journal, the "Bāmābodhini Patrika", established in 1864. The ideal of Keshub Chunder and of the Brāhmo Samaj was that women should be meet companions of men in knowledge and spirituality, participating in the larger life of the world.

The activities of the department of Education have already been referred to.

The object of the Temperance department of the Indian Reform Association was two-fold: first, to instil into the minds of the rising generation a definite aversion to the drink habit, which was a growing evil in the seventies of the last century; secondly, to wage war against the drink evil by exposing the iniquity of the Government's liquor policy and by reforming the excise administration of the country. The first object was served by the Band of Hope for young men. The members took the vow of total abstinence. They walked in processions, banners flying, singing temperance songs with great gusto. They had lectures and pamphlets and tracts, through which they carried on the crusade till the membership swelled to large numbers. Many a young man of those days has, later in life, testified to the tremendous influence which the Band of Hope exercised on the life and conduct of that generation. The second object of the Temperance section was served by a vigilant propaganda, by publication of statistics of crime, disease and death arising from intemperance, by formation of branch societies and by co-operation with the leaders of the Temperance movement in England, specially with the United Kingdom Alliance. A Bengali paper under the name of "Mad nā Garal" ("Not Wine But Poison") was started and broadcast gratis. Various substantive proposals for reform were pressed on the Government in a variety of ways.

Equally active was the Charity section. Apart from almsgiving or extending help to the distressed and the indigent, it organized distribution of medicine and food supply to large tracts of country suffering from epidemic diseases.

Here a reference to the first Youth Movement in the country would be appropriate. It was also a Movement for Inter-provincial Amity and Goodwill.

In the first quarter of the year 1861 came

the terrible famine that devastated Upper India. Keshub organized a special famine relief campaign after divine service. Maharshi Devendranath Tagore delivered a soul-stirring address. All members of the Brāhmo Samaj and others under its influence did their part to the best of their ability. They begged for alms at every door. The poor helped with their mite. Women parted with their jewellery. Thus considerable help could be given to the famine-stricken.

In November of the same year there was an epidemic of fever in Lower Bengal. Relief was given to the sufferers by organised co-operation.

These were the beginnings of the first Youth Movement in the country harnessing the enthusiasm of youth to the noble cause of relief.

No nation can remain or grow strong in mind and body if it consists for the most part of the offspring of child marriages. Keshub Chunder struck a blow at child marriage by the same Act by which intercaste marriages were validated. The minimum age for marriage of the bride and the bridegroom was fixed at 14 and 18 respectively, these ages being generally exceeded in Brāhmo marriages.

The various kinds of publicity and agitation which a growing nation requires cannot be carried on without organs for moulding and giving expression to public opinions. One organ, the "Sulabh Samāchār" in Bengali, which Keshub established, has already been referred to. Another organ, the *Indian Mirror* in English, was established by him earlier, in August 1861. It was started as a fortnightly newspaper. At that time the *Hindu Patriot* was the only other English newspaper in Bengal under Indian control and editorship. It gave a warm welcome to the *Indian Mirror*. The *Mirror* had a distinguished career as a Nationalist journal started as a fortnightly, subsequently it became a weekly, and in 1871 it became the first Indian daily paper in English—at the time of the starting of the *Indian Mirror* Keshub Chunder had conceived a comprehensive scheme of education to which he could give effect only in part in later years. As he died when only 45, he could, alas! complete little indeed of what he began to do for India and the world. Keshub proposed a simultaneous agitation in England and India for educational reform to bring home to the public and the Government the urgency of certain radical changes in the educational machinery of the day.

"If Brahma Dharma was the religion of love, he said, then it must be realized that it could not consist of a belief, or a passing rush of good impulses. Nor could it exhaust itself in empty praise of God in the *Mandir*. It must become the sovereign law of life and bear abundant fruit in acts of service. It must invigorate the body, inspire the soul, and fire the will for serving those around. It must naturally manifest itself in initiating movements of reform all along the line, and in co-operation with existing movements of reform wherever found. It would not do to depend on Government for help in every particular . . . Self-help and self-reliance must be the watchword for all workers . . . Education should not be the monopoly of the rich and the prosperous. Of what avail would it be if education merely touched the surface and left the bulk of society in darkness? How would the barriers of caste be broken unless education were thrown open to all, irrespective of so-called rank and respectability? . . . The country could never prosper unless and until the light of education penetrated the zenana. Educate the men as you might, the women folk, if left uneducated, would always be a drag on society. Women must first be rescued out of their deplorable condition before salvation could come to India."

With all his zeal for education, Keshub was absolutely against the least denationalization. In his day the process of denationalization was in full swing. There was a tendency to eschew all that was of the East and to ape and adopt what was occidental. Keshub was against this indiscriminate rejection and adoption. He himself never wore European costume. In many a speech in many places in England he spoke against the denationalization of Indians. Speaking at Bath he said:

"While other nations that are now in a state of refinement and civilization were sunk in ignorance and barbarism, India possessed a high order of civilization . . . I can never look upon the redeeming features of India's past history without feeling a thrill of patriotic fire running through my heart. Proud of our nationality we shall ask you to give us all the good things you have in England, but not your corruptions."

In Birmingham he said:

"I for one would not allow myself to be denationalized. Bring the influence of English education to bear upon the work of Indian reformation, but I would ask to let the spirit of Indian nationality develop all that is good therein in a national way."

The following passage occurs in a letter written by Elizabeth Sharpe to Rajnarain Bose on the 28th August 1870:

"I cannot help wishing to tell you that one of the things we greatly admire in Babu Keshub is his strong wish that his country shall not be denationalized, but that it shall be elevated and improved according to its own nature; it seems to us India can only be thus truly reformed, having life of its own as the basis of reformation, not adopting in all things foreign ways and habits."—*Autobiography of Rajnarain Bose*, pp. 164-165.

In another letter to him, dated the 15th March 1871, she wrote:

"I can give you another instance of how strongly we respect those who honour their own country and national life. Another friend of mine was struck with pleasure by nothing so much by Keshub Babu's last speech in London as by his saying: 'I came here an Indian and return a confirmed Indian'."—*Ibid.* p. 165.

He was opposed to the advocacy or promotion of the interests of any particular community, class or section of the people of India. In the course of his speech on "England's Duties to India," he said:

"I do not this evening represent any class or sect, political or religious; I stand here as an humble representative of the people of India. . . . If you desire to do good to India as a whole you must look to all the numerous sections of its varied community, and try as far as possible to do justice to the whole nation."

Keshub was critically appreciative of British rule in India and of the British connection. His criticism was as vigorous and unsparing as his appreciation was ungrudging. With reference to some of the criticism in the lecture referred to above, Bepin Chandra Pal observes in "The Brahma Samaj and the Battle of Swaraj in India" (pp. 60-61):

"For the time Keshub was abused by the Anglo-Indian Press with an energy and unanimity which caused some anxiety to his friends. Every Englishman who subscribed for our newspaper, the *Indian Mirror*, withdrew his name, Keshub's motives were cruelly aspersed, and one late Briton in Bombay publicly threw out a challenge that he would give Rs. 500 to any one who would venture to read the lecture on England's duties to India in his presence while he stood horsewhip in hand."

Communism as regards property has prevailed in India among some orders of Sannyasins (Hindu and Buddhist monastic orders) from ancient times. In his *Bharat Ashram* Keshub Chunder introduced and maintained it so long as it lasted. Pratap Chandra Mozoomdar writes of it:

"About twenty-five families, consisting of men, women, and children, thus lived together, having their devotions, studies, and meals together, and showing the noblest dispositions of love and good will towards each other. The Brahma missionaries and their families formed the centre of them all . . . He meant it to be a modern apostolic organization, where the inmates should have a community of all things, and where every worldly relation should be merged in spiritual fellowship."

Keshub probably meant this Ashram to be the experimental nucleus of the organization of the brotherhood of man, on a national and international scale.

The political bearing of monotheism cannot have escaped the intellect of Keshub Chunder Sen. Walter Bagehot writes in his *Physics and Politics*:

"Those kinds of morals and that kind of religion



which tend to make the firmest and most effectual character are sure to prevail, all else being the same; and creeds and systems that conduce to a soft limp mind tend to perish, except some hard extrinsic force keep them alive. . . . Strong beliefs win strong men, and then make them stronger. Such is no doubt one cause why Monotheism tends to prevail over Polytheism; it produces a higher, steadier character, calmed and concentrated by a great single object; it is not confused by competing rites, or distracted by miscellaneous deities. Polytheism is religion *in commission*, and it is weak accordingly. But it will be said the Jews, who were

monotheist, were conquered by the Romans, who were polytheist. Yes, it must be answered, because the Romans had other gifts; they had a capacity for politics, a habit of discipline, and of these the Jews had not the least. The religious advantage was an advantage; but it was counter-weighed."

[This article has been compiled in great part from Dr. P. K. Sen's book on Keshub Chunder Sen. The writer is responsible for the arrangement. He is indebted to Mr. Yogananda Das, son of Dr. Sundarimohan Das, for the extract from the *Sulabh Samachar* and Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal's book.]

## MASS LITERACY CAMPAIGN IN BIHAR

BY THE HON'BLE DR. SAIYID MAHMUD

*Minister of Education and Development, Bihar*

BIHAR occupies a most minor place in the literacy map of India. It was therefore natural that the first opportunity should be taken to initiate measures to improve her position. India could not afford to wait for another generation to see the results of a renovated system of primary education on the children of today, as the presence of millions of illiterate adults was a drag on all progress, and it was a positive impediment to the spread of primary education itself. Hence was inaugurated the Mass Literacy Campaign to liquidate the illiteracy and ignorance of the masses, widen their intellectual horizon and make them better citizens.

Our financial position is not strong and the demands on a fast dwindling Provincial Exchequer are steadily growing; hence it was idle to think of the investment of large sums of money and the recruitment of a large number of paid teachers in our attempt to liquidate the illiteracy of 70 lakhs male and 80 lakhs female adults between the ages of 15 and 40. We had, therefore, to fall back upon the vast resources of man power with which we are luckily endowed. We impressed on all educated persons that it was their duty to pay their personal tax to society by undertaking individually and jointly to teach our illiterate fellow countrymen. This appeal was made to the teachers and students of all grades just before their Summer Vacation and the response was very favourable.

The Literacy Campaign was inaugurated on the 26th of April last and on that day meetings and processions were organised all over the Province. Messages were received from eminent persons in the country and they created

a good effect. The Mass Literacy Committee, within a very short time, recruited and trained thousands of volunteers, printed Charts and Primers based on the Rapid Method of Teaching Adults and organised Literacy Centres all over the Province. The buildings of Colleges, and High and Primary schools were utilised for holding classes. Boys of the Junior classes of Schools formed themselves into bands for persuading adults to attend the Centres. College Professors and School Teachers organised series of lantern lectures on useful topics to supplement the ordinary instruction given at these centres. The funds for the contingent expenditure were raised locally by subscriptions and in some cases grants were given by Local Bodies. The text of the Charts and Primers was in Hindustani and they were printed in Nagri and Urdu scripts. In a large number of Literacy Centres both these scripts were taught with the result that many Hindus and Muslims have learnt both these scripts. It was found that an adult learnt to read and write after 6 to 8 weeks' regular attendance. At most of the Centres caste Hindus as well as Harijans sat side by side to acquire knowledge.

Literacy work was organised in the Jails and the prisoners showed great enthusiasm in joining these classes. This has given them a new outlook on life and the Jail looks like a real school when the Literacy Period begins. Teaching work is conducted by literate prisoners, outside volunteers and the Jail Staff.

Arrangements have been made to make the army of Police Choukidars literate within the next six months.

The industrial magnates in the Province have evinced marked interest in this work.

The Tata Iron and Steel Company have started a network of Literacy Centres at Jamshedpur where thousands of labourers are receiving instruction. Many of the Sugar Mills also have started this work in their Reserved areas.

The Government have recently granted a sum of Rs. 80,000 with a view to make this movement permanent. Under this scheme the existing machinery of the Education Department will be utilised for the organisation and supervision of this work. The main agency for instruction as before will be the voluntary labour of teachers, students, unemployed young men and social workers, but in some cases, with a view to enable the workers to devote more time to this work, provision has been made for the payment of a small honorarium of Annas Five per adult made literate. Small grants-in-aid will also be paid for meeting the cost of contingent expenditure. To ensure lasting literacy a graduated series of Readers on a carefully drawn up plan is being prepared and provision has been made for the publication of

a Fortnightly News Sheet in Hindustani printed in Nagri and Urdu scripts. Special provision has been made for the expansion of literacy among women and this work will be entrusted to a Ladies' Committee.

The experience gained during the past five months has been very encouraging. During the months of July, August and September when the agricultural work was in full swing and large tracts were flooded it was apprehended that the Movement would collapse, but although the attendance has suffered the fall is not alarming. If the Movement can be intensified it may be possible to liquidate illiteracy from Bihar in less than 10 years.

The figures so far received, till August, show that *over 3 lakhs of adults have been made literate during the last four months.* A sub-division has been selected for intensified work and *it is hoped that within one year the entire population of that sub-division will be made literate.*

## COMMENT & CRITICISM

### Indians in East Africa

DEAR SIR,

I have the pleasure to have read the contribution that appeared in *The Modern Review* of the current month under the heading of 'Indians Abroad' and I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my great admiration for the informative articles that I find appearing in your paper under the 'Indians Abroad' section.

But, the immediate and special reason for my

Indians	who	number	41,000	have	5	elected seats
Europeans	"	"	18,000	"	11	" "
Africans (Natives)	who	"	3,000,000 (3 Million)	"	no	seat
Arabs	who	number	10,000	have	2	seats 1 elected & 1 nominated
Nominated Officials all Europeans					21	seats
Europeans nominated to represent native interests					2	"
					41	

The picture you will appreciate is gloomier than the port quoted in your paper will make out to be. I realize the error is unintentional and the reporter seems to have mixed up the number of the seats for Europeans with the population figure of the Indians. I think it would serve the purpose of putting the truer and of course the more unpleasant picture before the public as well as that of correcting the misreporting if you can print the figures I am giving above in the September issue of your esteemed 'Review.' I may add that I am

writing this letter is that the report that has been used of my speech at Lucknow in connection with the conditions of Indians in East Africa is incorrect in one serious particular and the mistake gives a more favourable picture of the conditions of the Indians than they really are. I refer to page 273 column 2 where I am reported to have stated that the Indians in Kenya who number 41,000 have only 11 seats on the Legislative Council of the Colony. The truth is more serious than that. It is that in the council which consists of 41 members—

the person supposed to have spoken as reported. I had the honour to be the Member and the Honorary Secretary of the East African Indian Deputation. And, I am at present the Honorary Secretary of the East African Indian National Congress. If you desire I can later on send the figures regarding the position in the other territories of East Africa.

I am,  
Yours most appreciatively,  
S. G. Amin

SIR,

After writing the accompanying letter but before the posting of it, it occurs to me that it might be more appropriate for you to publish the figures regarding the composition of the legislative councils of the four territories of East Africa under the British Rule and governed directly by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The figures regarding Kenya colony are already given in the other letter, but, for the convenience of the printer I am

putting them here also along with those of Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar. The much trumpeted equality of all races under the British Crown is exposed in its ughest nakedness in these parts of the world which are not yet enjoying Self-Government and the Imperial Government cannot excuse themselves under any pretext of local opinion forcing them to the policy of Racial Arrogance for which South Africa is notorious.

KENYA COLONY			
Indians	population	41,000	have 5 seats (elected)
Europeans	"	18,000	" 11 " "
European Officials	"		" 21 " (nominated)
Europeans to represent	"		" 2 " "
native interests	"		" 2 seats 1 " "
Arabs	population	10,000	1 (elected)
Africans (Natives)		3,000,000 (3 million)	No seat at all
TANGANYIKA TERRITORY (MANDATED)			
Indians	population	32,000	have 3 seats (nominated)
Europeans	"	8,926	" 7 " "
Europeans Officials	"	ex-officio	13 " "
Africans (Natives)		5,105,705 (5 million)	No seat at all
UGANDA PROTECTORATE			
Indians	population	14,860	have 2 seats (nominated)
Europeans	"	1,994	" 2 " "
Europeans Officials	"	ex-officio	6 " "
Africans (Natives)	population	3,646,245 (3½ million)	No seat at all
ZANZIBAR PROTECTORATE			
Indians	population	14,242	have 2 seats (nominated)
Europeans	"	278	" 1 seat "
European Officials	"		" 8 seats (Ex-officio)
Arabs	population	33,401	" 3 " (nominated)

The Imperial Government's declared policy in East Africa is that native interests will be paramount. 'Paramountcy of Native interests' and the Theory of

Trusteeship is carried out in practice as the figures given above so eloquently describe.

I beg to remain

Yours,

S. G. Amin

## AN EXHIBITION OF MADAME SMULDERS' PAINTINGS IN PHNOM-PENH, CAMBODIA

AN EXHIBITION of Madame Smulders' paintings was held some time ago in Phnom-Penh, Cambodia. It met with great success, and was important not only from the artistic, but also from the ethnological point of view.



Portrait of the artist, Madame Smulders

Madame Smulders is a Dutch artist. Many of her pictures were a revelation to all sections of the art-loving public of Cambodia, whether Cambodian, European or Annamite. A wonderful variety of types was presented to the public. Her powerful drawing does not prejudice the delicacy of her pencil, and the touch of colours that she adds does not alter the classical simplicity of her art.

Mrs. Smulders who is a Doctor of Law, practised for several years in the Dutch Indies as legal adviser. She gave up her post, so that she might be able to give herself entirely to her art and study the soul of the people she met, by fixing in her drawings either the expression of their physiognomies or their feelings as revealed by their gestures. An artist with such a rich variety of portraits is rarely to be met with. Mrs. Smulders is going to exhibit her work also in America and Europe.

FAR EASTERN TYPES  
Madame Smulders' Paintings



The Cambodian dancing girl



Modern Chinese young woman



A Cambodian boy



Top : Chinese motherhood  
Bottom : A Chinese baby

A Japanese woman  
The sweet Chinese boy

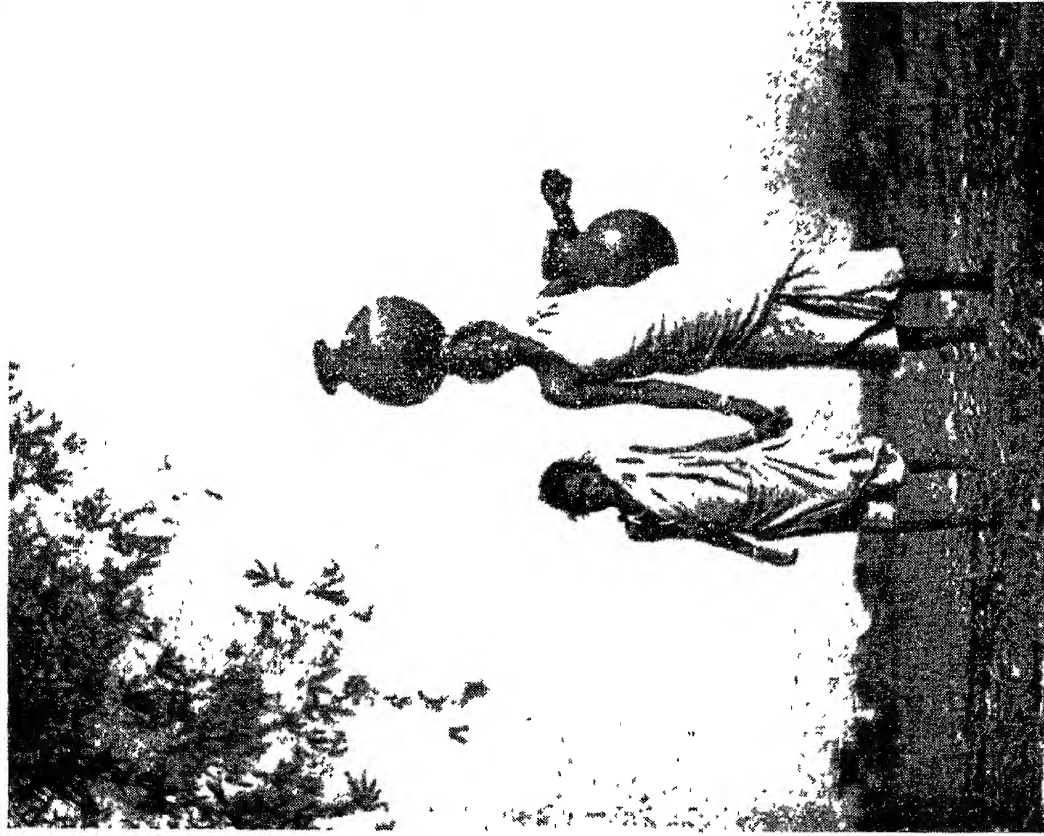


Top : A Coreen pandit  
Bottom : A Balinese girl

A Manchu princess  
A Balinese drum-player



SANTALS OF BENGAL



*Sudhendra Dutt*  
SANTAL MOTHER AND DAUGHTER



*Sudhendra Dutt*  
SANTAL WOMEN IN A VILLAGE FAIR



# Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—EDITOR, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

SELECTIONS FROM OFFICIAL LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE LIFE OF RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY : *Volume I, 1791-1830. Edited by Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, F.R.A.S.B., Late Superintendent of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and Jatindra Kumar Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D (London), of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law, Advocate, High Court, Calcutta, & sometime Professor of Philosophy, Presidency College, Calcutta. With an Introductory Memoir by Ramaprasad Chanda. A Portrait of Raja Rammohun Roy and Facsimiles of six Bengali, Persian and English Documents. Special Crown Quarto, pp. lxxxix+570. Neatly printed on excellent paper, cloth-bound & well got-up. Calcutta Oriental Book Agency, 9 Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 12-8. There are twenty pages of Persian judgments. A Glossary and an Index of Proper Names add to the usefulness of the work.*

In addition to the illuminating introductory memoir, this volume contains 253 documents. They throw new light on the life and personality of Raja Rammohun Roy. It is stated in the Preface :—"The volume has been divided into three parts. The first part contains records relating to the private affairs of Rammohun Roy and his father and brothers. The second part contains records of cases brought against the Raja in the Supreme Court and the Sudder Dewany Adalat. The third part contains records of proceedings against the Raja's eldest son. The records embodied in the second and third parts are really annals of the Raja's long persecution, and these bring into clear relief the greatness and patriotism of the man, who, in the midst of these attacks to bring down ruin and disgrace on him, never lost sight of his self-imposed mission of uplifting his countrymen." We are now able to get a clear and definite idea of, the years of persecution to which he was subjected, owing to his religious opinions, by his mother and other relatives and by the Maharaja Tejchand of Burdwan and his other enemies, "protected and encouraged, not to say instigated" by many men of the English official class.

Within the compass of a brief notice it will not be possible to narrate even briefly the course and results of any of the law-suits brought against him and his son Radhaprasad Roy, all false and all meant to crush him. They are narrated in the book and summarized in the introduction. His truthfulness, intelligence and the righteousness of his cause triumphed in the long run in every case. Colonel Young, an Englishman who occupied high office in India in those days wrote to the British philosopher Jeremy Bentham in the course of a letter on the 30th September, 1830 :

"His (Rammohun Roy's) whole time also has been occupied for the last two years in defending himself and his son against a bitter and virulent persecution which has been got up against the latter nominally—but against himself and his abhorred free opinions in reality—by a conspiracy of his own bigoted countrymen; protected and encouraged, not to say instigated, by some of ours—influential and official men who cannot endure that a presumptuous 'Black Man' should tread so closely upon the heels of the dominant white class, or rather should pass them in the march of mind. Rammohun Roy, after an arduous and prolonged battle through a gradation of tribunals, has at length, by dint of talent, perseverance and right, got the better in the last resort; but the strife and the magnitude of the stake, and the long despair of justice, have shattered his nerves and impaired his digestion and bodily health, and his energies of mind. It is now over, and I hope most fervently that he will recover himself again."—Bowring, *Works of Jeremy Bentham*, Vol. XI, p. 7.

It is to be noted that even during the worst years of his persecution Rammohun Roy carried on his controversies with the orthodox pandits and the orthodox Christians and did not relax his efforts to promote the great mission of his life. Such was the extraordinary strength of his mind and the virility of his intellect, sustained by his living faith in the Supreme Spirit. It is noted in Mr Chanda's Introductory Memoir that when the (false) criminal case against his son Radhaprasad Roy for alleged embezzlement of Rs. 1,36,360-8-3 was pending before the Sadar Nizamat Adalat and so "when the fate of his son was hanging in the balance," he founded his Vedanta College. Mr. William Adam wrote on the 27th July, 1826 :—

"Rammohun Roy has lately built a small but neat and handsome college, which he calls the Vedanta College, in which a few youths are at present instructed by a very eminent Pandit in Sanskrit literature, with a view to the propagation and defence of Hindu Unitarianism. With this institution he is also willing to connect instructions in European science and learning, and in Christian unitarianism, provided the instructions are conveyed in the Bengali or Sanskrit language."

The extent of official prejudice against Rammohun Roy can be guessed from some facts connected with the false criminal case for alleged embezzlement instituted against his son, originally at Burdwan. Mr. Molony, Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, was appointed by the Board of Revenue as a Commissioner to inquire into the alleged embezzlement. But even before he had made any inquiry he "openly avowed that he had suspended or removed from office some of the ministerial officers of the Burdwan Collectorate on account, in addition to other grounds, of their connection

with Rammohun Roy, father of Radhaprasad Roy"! One of these officers, whom he suspended, was one Kunjabihari Roy, who was taken to be a relative of Rammohun Roy, though he was not a Brahman, which Rammohun Roy was! Against all decent judicial procedure this Mr Molony used to sit with the Judge of the Court of Circuit at Burdwan trying the case and to annoy and insult the witnesses for the defence in various ways. Thereupon, on a petition of the accused Radhaprasad Roy, the officiating Senior Judge of the Court of Nizamat Adalat who heard the petition, ordered that the following instructions be issued to the Judge of the Court of Circuit at Burdwan:

"While you admit the Superintendent as prosecutor, you should on no account allow him to sit on a level with yourself or your Assessor the Law officer, that you should not permit him to put any illegal or improper questions to the witnesses or to make any harsh or irrelevant remarks upon their evidence, that you should not communicate with him in any but the native language so that all which passes between you may be intelligible to all persons."

For the great trouble that Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda has taken to master the intricate and dry details of the judgments of law-courts and other official documents in order to be able to write a lucid introduction to the work, as also for his other strenuous labours for the preparation and publication of the volume, he is entitled to high praise and the gratitude of all those persons who sincerely honour Rammohun Roy. Entitled to high praise and public gratitude is also his co-worker Dr. Jatindra Kumar Majumdar, who, in addition to working with Mr. Chanda in the Calcutta High Court Record offices and Bengal Government's Record office, repeatedly went to Burdwan for finding out and copying documents there and spent month after month in New Delhi rummaging among musty Imperial Records. The editing and arranging of the materials, the correction of proofs and the preparation of the glossary and the index have taken up months of his time. Much valuable material has already been secured for the second volume. For fresh materials Dr. Majumdar has again gone to New Delhi.

The volume under review, which in many portions makes very interesting reading, throws light not only on the life of Rammohun Roy, but indirectly also on the manner in which administration was carried on in the years covered by the documents included in it. For this reason, it deserves to be studied not only by those who honour Rammohun Roy but also by students of the early British period of Indian history. The best way in which we can show our grateful appreciation of the labours of Messrs. Chanda & Majumdar is to study the volume which they have presented to the public.

**THE EVOLUTION OF NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE**, being a Survey of the History and Constitutional Development of N.-W. F. Province in India. By Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Obhrai, Senior Advocate, Federal Court of India, Advocate, Lahore High Court & N.-W. F. P. Judicial Commissioner's Court, and Author of Many Legal Works. The London Book Co. (India), Peshwar, Nowshera, Rawalpindi, Murree. Price Rs. 12, or 18s. Royal 8vo., pp. xxx+362. Fifty-two illustrations printed separately on art paper and a map of North-West Frontier Province. Dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi.

The work consists of sixteen chapters, and four sub-chapters giving an account of the Hindu Period, the Muslim Period, the Sikh Period, the British Period, N.-W. F. in

the 20th Century, External Relations with Afghanistan during the great war, the World War, External Relations after the great war, External Relations with Trans-border region after separation, the Frontier Enquiry Committee and Internal Administration of the Districts, Constitutional Development in N.-W. F. Province, the Royal Statutory Commission, the National Struggle, the Round Table Conference, N.-W. F. Province Subjects Committee, the Communal Question, Round Table Conference (continued), Second Round Table Conference, Change in Constitution of N.-W. F. Province, and Government of India Act (1935). There is a Postscript dealing with the working of the Congress Government in N.-W. F. Province. The elaborate subject-index makes it easy to consult the work.

The bare mention of the contents of the book given above will show how useful the work is to students of the contemporary history of India. Journalists and other publicists can obtain a definite idea of frontier and trans-frontier affairs from it. College and University libraries and public libraries will find it necessary to have it for their readers. It is a mine of information relating to N.-W. F. Province.

The illustrations are very interesting and include portraits of many famous Sikh and Afghan heroes, many living notabilities, photographs of many forts, etc.

**LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF V. L. LENIN:** By R. Palme Dutt. International Publishers, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York. 50 Cents. Pp. 95. Portrait of Lenin on dust cover. Cloth-bound.

Mr. R. Palme Dutt, the author of this book, is an internationally well-known Marxist journalist. In it he presents a clearly written outline of the life and teachings of the Russian revolutionary leader and founder of the Soviet State. He places the main emphasis upon Lenin's teachings, setting them against the background of the period in which he lived. Special emphasis is placed upon the question of the State, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the nature of bourgeois democracy, the national and peasant question, and the problem and building of socialism.

This reviewer is neither a Marxist nor a Leninist, but he appreciates the unapologetic tone in which Mr. Dutt has presented his book to the public.

The author writes:—

"The living ass not only kicks the dead lion, but—what is worse—patronizes him and brays over him in terms of deepest ass-nature's approval."

We do not know to what extent Lenin has been a victim of this sort of misfortune, but we do know that some of India's great men have had such ill-luck.

**FROM TSARDOM TO THE STALIN CONSTITUTION:** By W. P. Coates and Zelda K. Coates, authors of *Armed Intervention in Russia, 1918-1922*, *The Second Five-Year Plan of Development of the U. S. S. R.*, *Scenes from Soviet Life*, &c., &c. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London. 10s. 6d. net.

Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., are, evidently, not propagandists. In the work under review, published by them, the impression which the authors produce on the mind of the reader is that Soviet Russia has made great economic and cultural progress within the last twenty years. They defend the Bolshevik regime against all criticism and attacks, maintaining that even the recent state treason trials were necessary and just. The

## BOOK REVIEWS

same publishers have also published *Russia Under Soviet Rule* by N. De Basily, who "was formerly counsellor to the Russian Embassy in Paris, an intimate colleague of Foreign Minister Sazonov," etc., in which work the author "concludes that Bolshevism has been the ruin of that freedom and democracy towards which pre-Revolutionary Russia was clearly moving, and that the industrial achievements of Bolshevism are of little note when the cost is viewed, and when the trend of the former regime towards an industrial economy is taken into account. Meanwhile, Socialism remains a mirage and the masses are forced to accept a lower level of living than under the Tsar."

So the publishers present both sides of the medal.

In *From Tsardom to the Stalin Constitution* the authors give a bright picture of the Soviet regime. The book is of absorbing interest. Beginning with pre-war Russia it gives a connected account to the end of the second five-year plan. This is followed by chapters on "What Have the Workers Gained?," "The Trade Unions," "What Have the Peasantry Gained by the Revolution?," "What Have the Women Gained?," "The Intelligentsia," "The National Minorities," "The Stalin Constitution," and "The Recent State Treason Trials."

The achievements standing to the credit of the Bolsheviks, according to this book, are truly remarkable. Only a very few items can be cited here.

"By 1932, illiteracy, which by 1928 still claimed 46.1 per cent of the population as compared with about 79 per cent in 1913, fell to about 10 per cent." This was the result of the first five-year plan. By the same plan, "For some forty-two nationalities who had previously had no written language, such an one was worked out, in a number of cases where the alphabet was complicated and difficult to learn, it was Latinized."

"One of the first tasks undertaken by the Soviet authorities was the stamping out of illiteracy. In Tsarist Russia about 79 per cent of the population were illiterate. Now, with the exception of a comparatively few old people and young children, there are very few illiterates, and universal compulsory elementary education has been established throughout the country."

"Molotov in a speech in May 1938 at a conference of professors and organizers of the Soviet higher educational institutions (universities, etc) claimed that there were more students in such institutions in the U. S. S. R. than in those of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan taken together."

Agriculture, manufacturing industries, road-making, railways, aviation, transport in general, and mechanization have made marvellous progress. The medical and health services have been doing splendid work.

"The number of doctors practising in the U. S. S. R. has increased from 19,785 in 1913 to 90,692 in 1936, whilst in 1937 there were over 100,000 (These figures refer to present territory) "

According to Dr. Clara Segal in *The Financial Times*, U. S. S. R. Supplement, November 8, 1937, "the principal cities and towns of the U. S. S. R. show at present a lower death-rate than some foreign capitals. In 1935, for instance, the mortality-rate per 1,000 inhabitants in Moscow was 11.6, Leningrad 11.3, Kiev 12.9, Minsk 10.3, and Tiflis 10.7, while Berlin had a death-rate of 20.1, Bucharest 16.7, Tokyo 13.5, Paris 12.2, and London 12.2."

The chapter on "The National Minorities" concludes as follows :-

"If the Soviet Government had done nothing else, the solution of the question of the friendly co-existence of the numerous nationalities within the frontiers of the

U. S. S. R. would secure for it an honorable place in world history. But, of course, the question of national minorities, which is agitating so many parts of the world cannot be solved as it were in space. The Soviet Government, with the best intentions, would have been powerless to bring about amity between Cossack and Jew, Ukrainian and Great Russian, Pole and White Russian, Armenian, Georgian and Tartar, etc., etc., were it not for its general economic policy. In a society based on co-operation, on production for use and not for profit, there is naturally no room for exploitation of one nationality by another, just as there is no room for the exploitation of one class by another. The success of the Soviet national policy is a living proof of the fact that there is no necessary national antagonism among the different races and nations. In a society based on socialist principles, every nationality may be given full freedom to develop to the full its own national language and culture, even to enter into friendly emulation with one another without arousing mutual national hatreds."

The attention of British Imperialists and Muslim Communalists is drawn to the following passage, which follows the previous paragraph :

"If peace and amity between some two hundred nationalities—which at the outset were at vastly different stages of economic, political, and cultural development—could be established over one-sixth of the world's surface, all enjoying full freedom to develop their own characteristic national culture, then there is no reason whatever to doubt that the same could be done in the rest of the world, if capitalist exploitation of class by class and nation by nation were eliminated."

As regards private property, under the Stalin Constitution "side by side with the dominant socialist economy, the law permits small private farms and handicraft enterprises in which no hired labour is employed. Moreover, every household with a Kolkhoz (collective farm) has for its own use, in accordance with the statutes of the agricultural artel, a plot of land, a house, livestock, and minor agricultural implements."

"The private property of citizens resulting from their earnings or savings, their dwellings and household goods, as well as all property for private use, is protected by law. In other words, private property continues to exist, but no one will be permitted to use it for exploiting other people's labour power."

X.

PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION INTO MEASURES OF A NATIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER FOR RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING. LEAGUE OF NATIONS. *Pages 91.*

This Memorandum by Mr. N. F. Hall, Director of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, London, has been prepared in accordance with a resolution adopted by the Assembly in October 1937, which invited the Economic and Financial Organisation to examine measures of a national or international character for raising the standard of living. There is obviously a very close relation between this enquiry and the one previously conducted by the League into the problem of Nutrition.

Mr. Hall suggests that the first step in any concerted international action designed to make possible further advances in human welfare should be the ascertainment, in a more precise form than has been done hitherto, and as a basis for the action of public opinion, of the extent to which existing standards of living fall short of the minimum desirable, in the light of modern knowledge, for the maintenance of health and physiological well-being.

Mr. Hall claims that Governments can do much to promote increased production and consumption by paying careful attention to relative prices charged to consumers for the necessities of life; by wisely planned systems of taxation; by the application of appropriate social policies; and by facilitating the education of consumers in regard to the opportunities for improved consumption made possible by advances in science and productive technique.

An examination is made of the general character of measures likely to raise levels of production and consumption. The author emphasises the relationship between low standards of living and low productivity and shows the desirability of increasing the productive efficiency of agricultural countries (by improved local communications, marketing and credit facilities, and so on), and of securing in them a greater degree of local interchange of agricultural produce. At the same time, the industrial States should base their long-term agricultural policies on an increased local output of protective foods, obtaining more of their supplies of energy foods and animal foodstuffs from the agricultural countries. In this way, the latter would be assisted in improving their productive efficiency since the increased outlets abroad for their goods would provide them with the means of importing equipment. This demand for equipment goods—and later, as the productive capacity of the agricultural countries rises, for consumers' goods—would in its turn benefit the external trade of the industrial countries.

Mr. Hall devotes a separate section of his Memorandum to the important problem of the economic development of peoples less advanced economically. An acceleration of measures to relieve poverty in such cases is, as he shows, a matter of real international concern—quite apart from any humanitarian considerations.

Although the Memorandum is only a preliminary investigation into a vast subject, it may well be fruitful in its ultimate results, particularly if it succeeds in "giving a clearer sense of direction to economic activities" and in "inducing and deepening a sense of conviction that technical progress in industry, agriculture and transport has created for the world as a whole unique opportunities for promoting human welfare by wisely-balanced increases in production and by well-planned measures of economic co-operation between nations." This should be noted by "orthodox" and literal followers of Mahatma Gandhi in economics and industries.

#### STUDIES AND REPORTS ON STATISTICAL METHODS. LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

1. *Statistics of the Gainfully-occupied Population.* Pp. 32. Price 1/- \$ 0.25
2. *Minimum List of Commodities for International Trade Statistics.* Pp. 62. Price 2/- \$ 0.50.
3. *Timber Statistics.* Pp. 17. Price 9d. \$ 0.20.
4. *Statistics Relating to Capital Formation.* Pp. 22. Price 1/- \$ 0.25.

These four *Studies and Reports on Statistical Methods* prepared by the Committee of Statistical Experts have just been published by the League of Nations.

1. STATISTICS OF THE GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION: *Definitions and classifications recommended by the Committee of Statistical Experts:*

Contains an international minimum programme for statistics of the gainfully-occupied population, mainly intended for the use of Governments at their next census

of population. The definition of the persons to be considered as gainfully occupied, as well as those not to be so considered, and the discussion of the various principles which can or should be followed for their classification (e.g., by branches of economic activity, by personal status, by individual occupation) will be of interest not only to the compilers of such statistics but to all those who have to use or interpret them. A nomenclature of Industries is annexed to the Report.

2. MINIMUM LIST OF COMMODITIES FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE STATISTICS: *Revised edition prepared by the Committee of Statistical Experts.*

The List is now applied by 25 countries representing the majority of world trade. The principles which have guided the Committee in establishing the List itself and the additional groupings of commodities by their stage of production and according to use are fully explained.

3. TIMBER STATISTICS: *A Minimum Programme of Timber Statistics drawn up by the Committee of Statistical Experts.*

The Committee makes concrete proposals for recording statistically the timber supplied and the timber consumed for industrial purposes, the stocks of such timber, and the production and stocks of simply transformed timber products (such as sawn and planed products, boxboards, wood-pulp, etc.).

4. STATISTICS RELATING TO CAPITAL FORMATION: *A Note on Methods by the Committee of Statistical Experts.*

This note is an attempt to describe and to define the phenomena which statistics relating to capital formation are intended to measure. Its object is to promote among economists and statisticians effective discussion of the extremely complex problem of capital formation and of the various possibilities of measuring statistically the process of capital formation at various stages. The definition and the measurement of savings, of the funds available for investment and of the money outlay for the acquisition of newly created capital goods are considered. Certain outstanding examples of attempts to measure capital formation in various countries are briefly reviewed.

WORLD ECONOMIC SURVEY, SEVENTH YEAR, 1937-38. LEAGUE OF NATIONS: *Ser. L. o. N. P. 1938 II. A. 13. Pages 244. Price: in wrappers 6/-; \$ 1.50: Bound in cloth 7/6; \$ 2.00.*

The new edition of the World Economic Survey is the seventh annual publication in this series. The volume is based largely upon the more specialised publications of the Economic Intelligence Service of the League, and upon information supplied by other bodies and, in particular, by the International Labour Office. It presents, both for the economist and for the general reader, an outline of the important change in the trend of economic development that has occurred during the last year as a result of the decline in economic activity.

The greater part of the first chapter is devoted to an analysis of the causes of the recession particularly in America, and to the effects of the recession on economic conditions in other countries.

The effect of the general recession in trade activity is the main theme that runs through the following chapters of the volume. The fall in employment and the reappearance of unemployment in many countries, the decline in production and the accumulation of stocks of primary products, the change in the trend of prices from a rising to a falling movement, the fall in the quantum and the value of world trade after a period of considerable expansion—these are the main subjects of



successive chapters. Emphasis is also laid upon the change in the trend of commercial policy which has resulted from the decline in world economic activity, since in a number of cases a period of liberalisation of tariffs, of quotas and exchange controls has given place to increased restrictions. In a similar way attention is drawn to the effect of the recession in causing a sharp restriction in the production and export of those primary products which have been subjected to schemes of international regulation.

But in addition to the central theme which runs through the volume, there are a number of interesting special features in the different chapters.

A special section is devoted to the present scale of national expenditure on armaments and to recent policies of monetary expansion and public expenditure, such as the "spending-lending" programme of the United States.

**WORLD PRODUCTION AND PRICES, 1937-38.**  
**LEAGUE OF NATIONS: Ser L. o. N. P. 1938 II. A.**  
**11. Pages 137. Price 5/-; \$ 1.25.**

The volume on World Production and Prices 1937-38 has a wider scope than previous editions and its form has been somewhat modified. It begins with a chapter on general trends of world production from 1920 to 1927 which contains the main statistics for this period and enables some general conclusions to be drawn as to the development of production. The world indices of primary production and stocks are calculated, as in previous editions, on the basis of averages for 1925-1929=100. But the former have, as far as possible, been calculated back to 1920, so as to afford a better view of the general trend. New world indices of the manufacture of capital and consumption goods have been calculated, and new sections added concerning production per head of population and yearly rates of progress.

An interesting feature is a summary of the principal facts brought out by this volume. These facts are too numerous to mention in detail, but it may be stated that, as compared with 1929 world primary production in 1937 was 10% higher, the output of crude foodstuffs 6%, and of industrial raw materials 19%, while world visible stocks of primary commodities were 6% lower. The concurrent increase in world manufacture amounted to about 20%. The simultaneous decline in the international exchange of commodities was reflected by a decline of 3% in the quantum of world trade from 1929 to 1937.

Though the necessary basis for forming a judgment concerning future developments is still lacking, it is pointed out that, in spite of a certain decline, world economy as a whole has shown a relatively high degree of resistance to depressive influences.

D.

**LIFE OF GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE: By the**  
**Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. Published by the**  
**Bangalore Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd., Mysore**  
**Road, Bangalore City. Price Re. 1.**

At the invitation of the organisers of the Extension Lectures of the Mysore University Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri delivered at Bangalore and afterwards at Mysore three lectures on the life and work of late Gopal Krishna Gokhale. These lectures have been published in the form of the book under review. In the first lecture the author has given us the details of the early life of his master—by which name he calls late Gopal Krishna Gokhale—the starting of the Fergusson College and the part played by Mr. Gokhale, his coming under the influence of Ranade and Joshi, the political rishis of

that time, and his connection with the Welby Commission. Much has been said about the Apology incident for which Mr. Gokhale's conduct was criticised as cowardly by many of his countrymen. While in England in connection with the Welby Commission Mr. Gokhale received letters describing the ravages of the plague in Poona and the wrong steps taken by the Government to mitigate its horrors which led to the assassination of Mr. Rand and Lt-Col. Ayerst. Mr. Gokhale criticised publicly the conduct of the Government and the matter was discussed at a meeting of the House of Commons. On the information given by the Bombay Government the whole thing was termed as a malevolent invention and Mr. Gokhale was asked to apologise when he set his foot in Bombay. He did apologise on the advice of his friends and this was taken as a betrayal by the extremist section of the public. Mr. Sastri quotes a few extracts from Mr. Gokhale's diary to justify his conduct. In the second lecture the author gives an account of his public work, both inside and outside the Legislative Councils, and reviews it from the stand-point of a moderate politician. Some may differ from the author's conclusion regarding Mr. Gokhale's attitude towards Mr. Tilak and his friends, but the author has defended his master's conduct in an inimitable way. In the third lecture the author describes the last years of Mr. Gokhale's life, his enthusiasm for the spread of elementary education and his part in the Indian National Congress in bringing about Hindu-Moslem Unity. For all the work in the later part of Mr. Gokhale's life his name has become a household word in India and the author has delineated these later years in an exceedingly interesting way. Mr. Sastri's style is lucid, forceful, in short, masterly, his command over the facts is admirable. We welcome this work on the life of one of the greatest Indian statesmen by his ablest disciple and hope that a copy of this work will be preserved in every library, public and private, in the towns and villages of India. The printing and the get-up of the book are excellent.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

**BANKING FRAUDS IN INDIA: By V. R.**  
**Sonalkar, B.A. Published by Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala**  
**Sons & Co., Bombay. Pp. 179. Price Rs. 3.**

With the spread of banking habit in India, there has been brought about many changes in the banking system aiming at better and more effective service to the public. But however rigid the system might have been, there are people unscrupulous in their very nature, who have systematically devised new and novel ways to defy this rigidity of the system and perpetrated frauds on the banks. In this book the author took great pains in indicating the very many pitfalls, in the banking system, taking advantage of which many banks have been victims of frauds and consequently huge losses. Problems to checkmate evil designs on banking comes to be a subject of public importance.

Although there is much need for improvement over the present system and practice of Indian banking, the history of banking frauds in India, reveal the ugly facts of betrayal on the part of bank officials. This has been acknowledged by the author of this book. The only possible remedy to do away with this growing evil is undoubtedly the spread of banking education. The book from beginning to end is interesting reading and will be immensely useful to all bank official and the business people as well.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE



**IMMANUEL KANT ON PHILOSOPHY IN GENERAL:** By Humayun Kabir. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. cl+90, with an Index. Price Rs. 5 or 9s.

This is a translation from the original of Kant's book on Philosophy in General. The translation is preceded by four introductory essays by the translator and also an abstract of the book translated. A knowledge of Kant is indispensable for students of western philosophy and any addition to the extensive literature on him is always welcome. For Indian students, specially, a book on Kant from the pen of an Indian who has read him in his own language, will be doubly welcome. Prof. Kabir is well-known in the field of philosophy and literature and his book, we are sure, will be profitably used by his students.

The printing and get-up of the book is all that could be desired. But the Preface seems over-loaded with too many references and too much of thanks-giving.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

**WALKING TOGETHER: A STUDY IN LIVERPOOL NON-CONFORMITY 1688-1938:** By Anne Holt, M.A., F.R. Hist. S. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Ruskinn House, 40 Museum Street, London, W.C.1. Pages 262. Price 5s. net.

Miss Holt, in this nicely got-up volume, traces the history of the oldest dissenting community in Liverpool for two hundred and fifty years from its very inception to the present stage. The history of this one non-conforming congregation shows, in microcosm, the religious thought and practice of Protestant England throughout that long period. Started in Liverpool by the ejected ministers, Protestantism first took to Calvinism, passed through Arianism and Presbyterianism and finally consummated in the Unitarianism of Channing, Martineau, and Hamilton Thom.

About the bigotry of the then Church of England, Milton declared that it would rather lose a soul than part with a syllable or a surplice. It cost Protestantism many a bitter struggle to liberate Christianity from the Catholic conservatism and narrowness by introducing toleration in the Church-creed and granting religious liberty to its followers. Non-conformity, for the first time, rendered the Bible into the Vernacular, laid emphasis on social service as an essential factor of religious life, and contributed a good deal to the social progress by their fight against slave-trade and other social abuses. Rituals and formalities were relegated to a position of insignificance in the Church; Trinity of God was superseded by Unity of God-head and marriage was allowed to the Clergy. The reformers, however, had to pay heavy penalty for these innovations and for the recognition of their community. They had to face martyrdom and suffer from ecclesiastical censures and social disabilities.

With the advent of rationalism in religion, the thoughtful people in all countries revolted against the dogmatism of their respective faiths. Protestantism came into being not only in Christianity but also in all religions of the modern world. What Protestantism has done to Christianity, Brahmoism has done to Hinduism. It betrays lack of thinking to stigmatise Protestant Reform movements as destructive and dangerous; but the fact is, that they stressed the social and humanitarian aspect of religion which was lamentably neglected by the Orthodox school.

The book, with five illustrations, is an instructive manual to all, particularly, to Catholic Christians who will do well to peruse and ponder over its contents.

The book has been so named from a saying of Jacob's Church Covenant wherein the dissenters were exhorted to 'walk together' in all God's ways and ordinances.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

**INDIA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM:** By Sardul Singh Caveeshar. Second edition. The National Publications. Chamberlain Road, Lahore. 1936.

The first edition of the book (1934) was published under the title "Non-violent Non-co-operation;" and we had occasion to review it in this journal for August 1935.

We are now glad to welcome the second edition, for it, at least, indicates that the public is taking a certain amount of interest in the history of the Gandhian movement. Two valuable appendices have been added to the present edition viz., "Mahatmaji on Non-co-operation" and "Mahatmaji's Statement." But unfortunately the printing has been done in the same slipshod manner as before.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**THE CHANGELING:** By Hassan Ali. Published by Herbert Joseph, London, 1933. Pp. 267.

This is an interesting picture, in the form of a novel, of the social and cultural conflict that has always resulted from the contact of the east and the west, among educated Indians, and contains a sympathetic presentation of the tragedy that it often entails. It emphasizes the view that the inherent disparity between the ideals of the east and the west will for ever operate as an insuperable obstacle to a true fusion of the two, and that there is no hope that the twin will ever meet. It suggests that the voluntary adoption of western modes of life by people in India and the compulsory absorption of Indians sojourning in western lands in the life and atmosphere of those countries are alike productive of an abnormal state; and this is set forth in the book in a vivid manner, enlivened at times with fine poetic touches.

But while the work is a creditable performance as a depiction of this conflict it is not very remarkable as a novel. The plot is thin, the love-story is unimpressive and is brought to an abrupt and unnatural close, and the references to current Indian politics are a mere digression.

But the style is entertaining and lively all through, and altogether it is a readable book produced by a writer who has a competent knowledge of his intricate theme and has a command of the idiom of English fiction, which is remarkable in a foreign author.

P. K. GUHA

**THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE EAST AND THE WEST:** Edited by E. R. Hughes. Published by Oxford University Press.

A group of distinguished Oxford dons have collaborated in this fine endeavour to bring home to the undergraduate that the best venue for the pursuit of knowledge is not the bottom of the well, but that the wider interests of living have their own rights to be considered. Among these interests is that of the relation of the individual to society, which has been brought to the fore by recent events in Europe, and probably in the Oxford Union itself as well. So 190 pages of the lectures have been devoted to its discussion from various angles, of the primitive, the Indian, the Hebrew, the Chinese, the Greek and of the modern west. The grand (and typical) conclusion is that the individual is irrepressible, that the measure of individual liberty

is the surest guarantee of Social stability. "Different emphases in civilizations involve different bases of social equilibrium and these involve the individual. He in turn sets to work and readjusts the emphases in his civilisation. So the cycle goes on, with the individual tirelessly adapting and being adapted." The Volume ends with the same noble assertion of faith in the individual who is declared by Professor Powicke to be unconquerable having his roots in the very nature of man as a social being.

To an Indian the book is highly flattering to his feelings and convictions. It challenges and successfully demolishes the doctrine that Christianity had discovered the individual. (A lecture on Ikhnaton, the first individual in history would have been welcome.) There are pleasing references to the Bhagavat Gita and Sir Rādhakrishnan has contributed a lucid lecture. The Indian of the recent past but with his prestige telescoped into the present had been brought up in Anglo-Saxon ethics and today is almost convinced that the fortress of his individual soul has been besieged by the Marsees and the women in revolt. These latter have of course no soul. This struggle for him is rationalized into a conflict between the individual and society. For our Indian elder therefore this book will have a special value through its insistences no less than through its admirable style.

Fortunately, our young men do not read. If they did they would have unconsciously resented the mellow wisdom of these pages. So far as the reviewer knows of their attitudes, their idea is that in India, at least, of all animals the individual is the most improbable under the existing circumstances, their approach towards the problem is neither from the individual nor from society, both in fighting trim, but from the no-man's fairly autonomous land of relationship between the two.

**SOCIOLOGY: A BRIEF OUTLINE:** By K. Motwani, A.M., Ph.D. Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras.

The reviewer remembers to have read this essay in the author's study of Manu, the Law Giver. It was a misfit there. In the form of a booklet of 63 pages the outline has merits, which, of course, would have been enhanced if the author had a clear-cut approach and controlled his undoubted learning. The book has a valuable bibliography.

DHURJATI MUKERJI

**ESSENTIALS OF HINDUISM:** Published by the *Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora*. Price annas eight only.

In this book extracts from Swami Vivekananda's writings and speeches have been so arranged as to give the reader a comprehensive idea of Hinduism in all its different aspects.

**BHAKTI-YOGA:** By Swami Vivekananda. Published by the *Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora*. Price annas twelve only.

This is a nice reprint of Swami's Bhakti-Yoga. The get-up of the book as well as the printing are excellent.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

**MYSORE DASARA EXHIBITION 1938: Official Handbook and Guide.**

This sumptuously illustrated volume will prove valuable for travellers in Mysore. It maintains the standard of get-up of former years.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

## BENGALI

**UPANISHAD RAHASHYA OR GITAR YOGIC VYAKHYA** (*Secret of Upanishadas or esoteric interpretation of Geeta 10th part*). By Srimad Bijoy Krishna Debasarma. Published by S. Kumudranjan Chatterjee, Korabagan. Howrah, 565 to 747 pages. Size Royal 8vo. Price Re. 1-4.

The book is written in Bengali language. It contains the text of the Geeta from 9th to 12th chapter, a Sanskrit annotation and then the Bengali explanation. In this explanation the author gives first the current interpretation of the text, and then the esoteric explanation, which is the essential part of the book. It is written in pure simple chaste Bengali, and in a very fluent style. The writer has based his views on Vedantic thoughts, apparently of non-dualistic school, but really it embraces the ideas of qualified monism. It seems the author did not pay much attention to the distinction of those two schools, probably for the benefit of general reading public. On the whole the book facilitates a very happy reading of the Geeta, and deserves every encouragement from the reading public.

RAJENDRANATH GHOSE

## GUJARATI

**ABAD HINDUSTAN:** By Gopaldas Jivabhai Patel. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Thick Card Board. Pages 244. Price Re. 1 (1937).

**MAHAVIR SWAMI NO ANTIM UPADESHA:** By Gopaldas Jivabhai Patel. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Thick Card Board. 149. Price annas eight (1937).

**SHRI KUND KUNDACHARYA'S TRAN RATNA:** By Gopaldas Jivabhai Patel. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Thick Card Board. Pp. 149. Price annas eight (1937).

All the three books from the pen of Mr. Patel betray his literary activity in various directions. The first is a translation of William Digby's *Prosperous British India*. The facts and figures relating to the economic condition of India have been brought up-to-date, and thus the book made useful to students of the subject. The language of the translation is easy. The two other books have been brought out by the Jain Sahitya Prakashan Samiti and necessarily relate to Jain subjects. The first is the translation of that Uttaradhyayan Sutra, an Agam granth of Jain literature. A scholarly Introduction discusses the Sutra from various points of view and the text itself with the footnotes help the reader greatly in following the last precepts given by that great religious leader, Mahavir Swami. Their utility is such as would endure for all time. The third book deals with Kund Kundacharya, the well-known old Acharya of the Digambar section of the Jains. His three books called by the translator—Three Gems—have been ably translated with commentary in this book. The subject being a metaphysical one can hardly be made popular, though the writer has striven to do so.

**MARU KUNJ**: By Mathuradas Trikamji. Published by the Navjwan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad Paper Cover. Pp. 156. 2nd Edition Price -/8/- (1937).

Mr. Mathuradas was a victim of T. B. While undergoing treatment he studied the subject closely, as the bibliography at the end of the book testifies, and as the result thereof has been able to find advice, both as to the prevention and the means of cure of that fell di-ease. An informative introduction from the pen of Dr. Juraj N. Mehta, M.D. adds to the usefulness of the book.

**GAVRI KIRTAN MALA**: Published by K. G. Bhachech. Printed at the Vasant Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound: Illustrated. Pages 280. Price Rs. 2/- (1937).

Gavribai, a well known Gujarati poetess (V. S. 1815 to 1865) belonged to the Nagar Brahmin caste and had become a widow when quite a child. When grown up she lived the model life of a chaste Hindu widow and passed her time in wor-ship, study and writing Her devotion to religion was so great that Princes invited her and the Ruler of Benares where the closing years of her life were passed, greatly honoured her. She has composed religious songs (Bhajans and Kirtans) in Gujarati and Hindi and they have all (nearly 612) been collected and printed in this volume by their assiduous collector. A short sketch of her life is also given. The songs are printed in Devnagari script and therefore can be read and understood by people outside Gujarat. Great credit is due to the compiler for rescuing them from inevitable oblivion, as the present progressive trend of Gujarati literature does not favour such writings—They breathe the spirit of the old devotional literature of Gujarat.

**TAPOVAN**: By Govind H. Patel. Printed at Vakil Brothers Printing Press, Baroda. Illustrated. Paper-Cover. Pp. 110. Price annas twelve (1937).

This small book contains two very good poems—Tapovan and Yajna Shikha—with explanatory notes and appreciatory prefaces. The first poem describes in feeling language the story of Savitri and Yama and the second the heroic sacrifice and martyrdom of the Sikh Gurus. Both incidents lend themselves to suitable treatment by poets and Mr. Patel has done ample justice to them. They sustain the reputation of Mr. Patel as a writer of great promise.

K. M. J.

## ENGLISH-KANNADA

**STUDENTS MODERN CONCISE DICTIONARY (ENGLISH—ENGLISH-KANNADA)**: Compiled by K. B. Kopp. Edited, Revised and enlarged by Vaidyabhanu D. K. Bhardvaj, M. D. Ay. Publisher P. C. Shyabadi-math, Book Depot, Gadag, (M. S. M. Ry.). Pp. xu+1877. Size  $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$ . Price Rs. 2.

**STUDENT'S MODERN PRACTICAL DICTIONARY (ENGLISH-KANNADA)**: Compiled by D. K. Bhardvaj. Published by P. C. Shyabadi-math, Book Depot, Gadag, (M. S. M. Ry.). Pp. viii+1184. Size  $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$ . Price Rs. 2.

These two publications contain nearly 25,000 English words with their Kannada equivalents. Their usefulness has been enhanced by the addition of tables of weights and measures, useful data, nautical measures, table of specific gravities, abbreviations etc. The size is handy, printing and get-up good. They deserve appreciation by the Kannadigas.

T. P.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**HINDU NATIONALISM**: By Lala Lajpat Rai. Published by The Central Hindu Yuvak Sabha, Lahore. Pp. 26. Price Two Annas.

**THE HEROINES OF HINDUSTAN**: By D. Rajasekharam. Pp. 151. Price Re. 1.

**RIGHT OR WRONG (A PLEA FOR TEMPLE FRANCHISE)**: By P. V. Ramanujaswami, M.A., Principal Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Vizianagram. Pp. 32. 1938.

**ON THE FRONTIER**: By B. Shiva Rao. Copies available from the author from Hyde Vale Cottage, Simla, S. W. Pp. 27. Price three annas.

A brief discussion of the problems of the North-Western Frontier.

**ISLAM—A UNIVERSAL RELIGION OF PEACE AND PROGRESS**: By Abdul Karim, B.A. Published by Mr. A. Rasu., 13-1, Wellesley Square, Calcutta. 1938. Pp. 29.

**BENGALI**:

**MAHATMA GANDHI O SWAMI VIVEKANANDA (MAHATMA GANDHI AND SWAMI VIVEKANANDA)**: By Kalunga-nath Ghose, M.A., Headmaster, Jalpaiguri Fanindra-ved High English School. Pp. 32. Price annas two.



# DISTRIBUTION OF POWERS IN THE INDIAN FEDERATION

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## INTRODUCTION

It is not possible to understand the distribution of powers and functions in the Indian federation unless we seek first to understand the basis of this distribution, and the basis of this distribution is to be found in the very genesis of the Indian federal scheme

On the angry reception that the report of the Simon Commission got everywhere in India, it became clear to the British Government that there was no chance for the acceptance by India of any constitution which did not concede at least partial responsibility at the Centre. But the British Government did not desire to accord responsible government to British India unless it could ensure that government's conservative character. That objective could be achieved only by (a) bringing Indian States into a scheme of all-India federation, (b) giving to these States a comparatively larger measure of representation in the federal legislature than their numbers would warrant, and (c) imposing no obligation on the part of the States to move towards representative or responsible government, for such a movement might destroy the conservative character of States' representation. Once secured, the result of such a plan<sup>1</sup> would be to substitute for direct British control of the Centre an indirect but permanent control through the agency of conservative Indian elements themselves which are opposed to the advance of democracy on principle.

From the British point of view, therefore, it was of the prime importance that the formulation of the proposed federal structure must cohere with the inclusion into it of the Indian States. The inclusion of the States, however, was bound to create legal difficulties, particularly so after the report of the Indian States Committee of 1928 which had ascribed to these States a notion of sovereignty as against the Government of India. Any notion of sovereignty of the Indian States, from the historical

standpoint, it must be noted, is an absolute myth. There is undoubtedly a peculiar kind of dignity which the Indian Prince is frequently invested with; but as the Indian States Committee also admitted, this dignity is purely superficial and formal. As against the Paramount Power, no Indian Prince has any unimpeachable rights at all. But it suited the purpose of the British Government to say that although the Indian Princes had no rights against the Paramount Power, yet the Paramount Power did not mean the British Government of India: it constituted the British Crown in its personal capacity—a conceptual basis, it must be pointed out, which is quite inconsistent with the whole spirit of the British constitution, and therefore incomprehensible on any grounds of constitutional propriety<sup>2</sup>

The sovereignty of the Indian States was, however, recognised in theory as against the Government of India, and the structure of the federal scheme was built upon its foundation. That explains some of the intricate and unsound features of the scheme of the constitution. That also explains, incidentally, the juridically erroneous exposition of the legal and constitutional aspects of federalism as given by the Lord Chancellor at the third meeting of the Federal Structure Committee of the First Round Table Conference.<sup>3</sup> The Committee found itself faced with the difficult question as to how it could combine States, which were insisting upon their sovereignty, with British-Indian Provinces, which were subject to the authority of Parliament, and Lord Sankey tried to resolve this difficulty by explaining to the Committee the essentials of a federal government. It is a little unfortunate that he did so on the basis of an extract from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, a book of general reference, rather

1. This opinion is based on the authority of Professor A. B. Keith.

See Vardachariar: *Indian States in the Federation* (O. U. P., 1937), pp. 142-3.

2. For fuller criticism of the Report of the Indian States Committee, 1929 (Cmd. 3302), see my essay on 'Indian Federation' published as Fabian Society Tract, No. 245.

3. Refer to Indian Round Table Conference, 12th November, 1930—19th January, 1931: Proceedings of Sub-committees (Part I). H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1931. P. 20.

than any accurate and authoritative literature on the subject of federalism; for this extract allows itself of two or three implications which have no basis at all in any true scheme of federation.

In the first place, it refers to the powers and function of the supreme federal government as delegated to it by the States. This is obviously inaccurate language; for delegation implies agency, and it is well understood that the powers of a federal government are neither derived by delegation from the States nor exercised in virtue of any agency but are definitely granted to it by the constitution. The more usual way of describing the process is to say that the component States had, as a condition of entering the federation, surrendered their powers to the nation, which by the constitution invests certain of these powers in the central and others in the State governments.

The passage goes on to say, and this part was particularly stressed by Lord Sankey as going to the very heart of the matter, that

'so far as concerns the residue of powers unallotted to the central or federal authority, the separate states retain unimpaired their individual sovereignty and the citizens of a Federation consequently owe a double allegiance—one to the state and one to the federal government.'

This statement of the nature of a federal constitution is open to strong question. It says, firstly, that as regards residual powers the States retain their individual sovereignty unimpaired. To talk of the individual sovereignty of Indian States is in any case meaningless, but even as regards the position of units in a federal constitution, sovereignty is not the correct word. It is quite well known that in every federal constitution there is a provision for constitutional amendment whereby powers may be shifted from State to national government and vice versa. The Lord Chancellor's talk of double allegiance also militates against the primary character of federal government, which dictates that sovereignty in any federal structure does not belong either to the States or to the national government, both of which are creatures of the constitution, but belongs to the nation as a whole, which has control over the constitution irrespective of its territorial divisions—a proposition which has been judicially held in the United States in *Texas v. White* (7 Wallace, 700).

Faulty in theory,<sup>4</sup> however, this description

4. For fuller criticism of the Lord Chancellor's view, see N. D. Vardachariar: *Indian States in the Federation* (O. U. P., 1937), Chapter II.

of federalism was convenient from the British point of view. It achieved the purpose of the British Government to bring the Indian States into the federal scheme, however unsound it made the federal scheme itself.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF LEGISLATIVE POWERS

In the determination of the allotment of legislative powers, two sets of conflicts had their play. Within British India itself there was a conflict between two opinions, one wishing to keep the predominant power in the Centre and the other wishing to keep predominant power in the Provinces, the extent of this conflict making each of these opinions look with the greatest suspicion in the residuary field, the one opinion demanding that the residuary field should remain with the Centre and the other demanding that the residuary field should remain with the Provinces. To this conflict there was added the jealousy of the States 'to secure the fullest freedom in their own affairs, and to retain or—in cases of some arbitrary decisions by agents of the Crown—to regain their sovereignty and internal autonomy, as implied by treaties, sanads, and other engagements.'<sup>5</sup> Said the Maharaja of Bikaner:

"The Princes do not want to be levelled down from their present position of internal sovereignty. If it is desirable and feasible to level up others, we should be delighted, but we do not want to go down."

Lord Sankey, as chairman of the Federal Structure Committee, sought to resolve this double conflict by laying down at the very start certain basic principles. For the appeasement of the States, he made a distinction between Federal and Central subjects, Federal subjects being those matters of common concern which interest the whole of India including the States and Central subjects being those matters 'which concern British India only, and which for the moment, perhaps, do not concern all India, though personally I hope that as the months pass by the two will be fused together.'<sup>7</sup> It might incidentally be pointed out that in the discussions that followed the representatives of the States made it perfectly clear that although it was difficult to anticipate what the future had in store for India, yet so far as the mind of the Indian States was today 'it seemed well to say quite pointedly that there are subjects included in the list of Central subjects which

5. Indian Round Table Conference, 12th November, 1930—19th January, 1931: *Proceedings of Sub-committees* (Part I). H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1931. P. 4.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

can never become Federal subjects.<sup>8</sup> But for the present, by means of this distinction between the Federal and Central subjects, the desire of the States 'to limit the list of federal matters of common concern as far as possible to a few matters'<sup>9</sup> was conceded, and so one of the two conflicts regarding the allotment of powers glossed over.

So far as the second conflict between the advocates of the residuary powers to the Centre and residuary powers to the Provinces was concerned, Lord Sankey suggested that the solution might be found in a possible elimination of residuary powers themselves by as specific enumeration of legislative subjects as possible.\* He recognized, indeed, that 'human brain is always liable to make mistakes'<sup>10</sup> and that 'the wants of society are so various that the legislator cannot provide for every contingency';<sup>10</sup> but he felt then that exhaustive

enumeration was the only means by which the gulf between the two opinions could be bridged.

Recourse to exhaustive enumeration, however, did not settle all the differences between the advocates of strong Centre and advocates of strong Provinces. The main problem still remained. The advocates of strong Provinces, not unlike the representatives of the Indian States, demanded that as many subjects be transferred to the Provincial list as possible. They were, again and again, reminded by experienced statesmen like Lord Sankey that 'British India is at present a unitary state divided for purposes of convenience into provinces, and not a number of Provinces federated to form a State'<sup>11</sup> and Mr. Srinivasa Sastri that there exists at present in the polity of India a kind of unity and uniformity which must at all costs be retained;<sup>12</sup> yet the advocates of fully autonomous Provinces continued to insist upon the concession of as large a measure of legislative authority to the Provinces as possible. For the maintenance of uniformity in legislation, which they could not deny was highly desirable in itself, they suggested some highly dubious constitutional arrangements. Sir Muhammad Shafi suggested that

'the Federal Parliament should have the power to enact laws where uniformity is essential for the whole of India, but those laws will come into operation in the Indian States as well as in the Provinces on enactment in the States and Provincial legislatures being passed conforming to those laws.'<sup>13</sup>

Mr. M. A. Jinnah similarly elaborated a plan for co-ordination, which was even more long-winded, complicated, and doubtful of success.

The whole position was summed up by Mr. Lees-Smith, then temporarily presiding over the Committee, in a note. Said Mr. Lees-Smith,

'that it is desirable to maintain in British India, besides the two classes over which the Centre and the Provinces are respectively to maintain exclusive jurisdiction, a third category of subjects which is normally to fall in the Provincial sphere but is to be subject to some arrangement for co-ordination of legislative policy, we have then to decide what that arrangement is to be and what subjects are to be regulated by it.'<sup>14</sup>

He went on to suggest that in these matters the Central legislature might be given concurrent powers of legislation with the Provincial legislatures, and a provision made that whenever a Provincial act was inconsistent with a Central act, the latter should prevail and the

8. *Ibid.* p. 9.

9. *Ibid.* p. 5.

\* Although the Federal Structure Committee started with the intention of eliminating residuary powers by demarcating the powers of the federal government and the federating units by a precise and exhaustive enumeration, in the course of the discussions, however, it became clear that however exhaustive the enumeration might be, some undistributed residue of power was still bound to be left over, and in any case there was the ever-present possibility of the need and scope of legislation changing along with changes in the economic and social conditions of society. Some arrangement, therefore, for the allocation of undistributed residue of power, small though it might be, was felt necessary.

It was originally proposed in the White Paper that the Provinces might be given a general power of legislation in any matter of a merely local or private nature in the Province, even if not specifically included in the Provincial list, provided that it did not conflict with any of the enumerated powers in the exclusively Central and the Concurrent lists. Such also is the provision in the constitution of Canada, where the Provinces possess a general exclusive power over non-enumerated subjects of a purely local or private nature. But the experience of Canada also shows that certain subjects which might in their inception be of merely local interest could subsequently assume extra-provincial and national importance. Such possibility was provided against by suggesting in the Indian Constitution that, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General given in his discretion, the federal legislature might also be conceded authority to legislate on such matters, and this is the form in which the provision now stands. The Governor-General in his discretion has the authority to empower (as the need arises) the appropriate legislature, Federal or Provincial, to legislate on any residual subject not enumerated in any of the three lists—*vide*, sec. 104, Government of India Act, 1935.

Regarding this provision, we can only say that it is perhaps a unique case of putting sole reliance on one individual's commonsense and power of adaptation to changing circumstances.

10. *Ibid.* p. 3.

11. *Ibid.* p. 5.

12. *Ibid.* p. 8.

13. *Ibid.* p. 58.

14. *Ibid.* p. 96.



former to the extent of that inconsistency should be invalid.

Thus there came into being three separate and exhaustive lists of Central subjects, Provincial subjects, and subjects for concurrent legislation as between the Federal government and the Provinces. This method of allocation of powers by specific enumeration in three separate lists is quite without a parallel in any other federation. Sir Samuel Hoare felt that 'it means complication, and it also means the possibility of increased litigation.'<sup>15</sup> He 'very much regretted' that that was so, but he thought that was the only solution of the conflict of opinion in India on the subject.

It must be admitted that the provision of the list of concurrent legislation might help to avoid some of the defects of the Canadian constitution. In Canada, there is just two-fold classification—exclusively federal and exclusively provincial lists of legislation, and this procedure has involved certain difficulties in practice. Every law passed by a legislature, under this method of division, must fulfil two conditions—not only must it fall within the list of powers distinctly given to it, but also it must not in any way affect any subject in the other list; and where, as in Canada, the list of powers is not scientifically drawn, this procedure can in practice cause much overlapping, for it fails to recognize, as the existence of concurrent authority makes it possible to recognize, that

'a subject may, in one aspect and for one purpose, fall within one section of the Act, and may in another aspect and for another purpose fall within the other.'<sup>16</sup>

Yet the provision of the concurrent list of legislation has another aspect which is clearly unfortunate. The formulation of the concurrent list, it must not be forgotten, has been wholly made at the cost of the Central list. Lord Sankey had taken as the basis of his Central subjects 'the existing list of powers under the Devolution Rules of the 1919 Act.'<sup>17</sup> The creation of the three lists has really meant the division of these Central subjects into List I and List III, and what is still worse, the allotment of all the really important Central subjects to List III. The reason for that is

obvious. List I, as we have remarked before, is composed of two classes of subjects—Federal subjects, which are of common concern to the whole of India, and in which, therefore, it is assumed that the Federal legislature will exercise equal powers both over the Provinces and over the States, and Central subjects, which are, at least immediately, of common concern to British India alone, and in which the States do not desire to give jurisdiction to the Federal Government. It was expected by the framers of the constitution that the States would accede with regard to these Central subjects in the course of time, so that the Federal and the Central subjects would fuse into each other by all of them becoming Federal subjects. But such an expectation could rest merely on the foundation that the Central subjects in List I should be either completely routine in their character or of mere formal importance. Really important subjects could not be put into this list, for in that case, with their existing attitude, the States could not be expected ever, either immediately or at a future date, to accept the federalization of this list.

Normally one might have expected that the coming of the States into a scheme of all-India federation would lead to the strengthening of the bonds of union between the various parts of the country. Actually, so far as the distribution of legislative powers is concerned, the position of the States continues to be almost exactly as it was before the federal scheme was ever thought of: only the relationship between the Central Government and the Provinces has been disturbed and worsened in order to enable the accession of the States to the federal scheme. Even at present, in matters of common concern for the whole of India the Government of India, as the Paramount Power, has supreme control: in other matters the States are supposed to be autonomous. Practically the same arrangement has been maintained under the new scheme.

At the first Round Table Conference, the representatives of the States agreed to make federal for 'policy and legislation' some 45 items in the list of Central subjects under the Devolution Rules.<sup>18</sup> These items do not at all go beyond what is the minimum essential for a national Government in the interests of the safety and uniformity of the whole of India. They comprise subjects like defence and foreign relations, establishment of postal, telegraphic, telephone, and wireless services, coinage and

15. House of Commons Debates, dated 27th March, 1935.

16. Egerton: *Federations and Unions within the British Empire* (Oxford, 1911), p. 151 note

17. Indian Round Table Conference, 12th November, 1930—19th January, 1931: Proceedings of Sub-committees (Part I). H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1931. P. 3.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 274.

currency, emigration and immigration, communications like railways, air, navigation, and shipping, and patents and copyright. But even so, there are very important omissions in the list. Bankruptcy and insolvency, and recognition throughout India of the laws, records, and judicial proceedings of the States and Provinces are federal subjects in practically every federal government that exists in the world, and were indeed placed in the list of federal subjects in the White Paper [Cmd. 4268, pp. 114-15], but were later transferred, presumably on the demand of the States, to the concurrent list. Another deplorable omission is the provision—again a feature common to all federations—for the establishment of internal free-trade throughout the federal area. Lastly, the constitution does not secure uniformity in the rights of citizenship throughout the federation, for while it makes it possible for an Indian State subject to stand for election to a Provincial legislature, it does not secure similar right to the British Indian subject in an Indian State where a legislature exists. When questioned about this in the Joint Committee, Sir Samuel Hoare had to admit that this had been done in order to appease the Princes,\* for

'if we made it a condition that we should have these powers of interference and intervention in Indian States, there should not have been an all-India federation at all. No Princes or no States would enter the federation'†

As regards the allocation of legislative powers, therefore, there remains in the Indian federal structure one great anomaly. The extent of the power of the Federal Government is not the same with regard to the States as it is with regard to the Provinces, the constitutional arrangements in the two cases are entirely

\* It might be relevant to consider how far the concession of legislative powers to the federation constitutes a 'surrender' of sovereign powers, as was repeatedly said by the States' representatives. The list of federal subjects has been taken from the schedule of the central subjects in the Devolution rules, in which British Indian legislature has been legislating ever since the passing of the Act of 1919. Indian States have hitherto had no voice in their regulation, even though some of these subjects like tariff and monetary policy affected them and their subjects most intimately. Even Mr Pannikar, while giving evidence on behalf of the Chamber of Princes, admitted that 'most of the subjects which you have now federated are under the administration of the Government of India today' (Joint Committee, Evidence Vol IIA—2310). All that the federal constitution does is to grant to the States, by the devising of appropriate institutions, a voice, which in many cases is more than adequate, in the conduct of the federal government, where they have not possessed any voice before.

19. Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, Evidence H. C 112 (IIB)—6519—21, 7673

different. On the whole the Federal Government has been conceded less power over the States than over the Provinces. Even in the case of the Provinces, the extent of the federal power is very limited, and even absurdly so, in view of the present-day tendency throughout the world for the growth of a positive state and for all federations to develop into decentralized unitary states. In the case of the States, it is hopelessly narrow, and the process for its growth far too rigid. But the scheme of Indian federation also allows of the possibility of another minor anomaly as between the various States themselves. The federal constitution involves the possibility of some States agreeing to federate with regard to all the subjects in their standard Federal list and others agreeing only with certain exceptions. The differences may not be confined to the number of subjects of legislation only. The extent of powers which the States may wish to surrender to the federation may similarly vary from State to State. The divergence may possibly not be great if we confine our attention only to the legislative sphere, but if we take into consideration the totality of federal powers, legislative, administrative, and financial—and many of these striking differences are visible in the financial sphere—the anomaly assumes great proportions indeed.

#### DIVISION OF ADMINISTRATIVE POWERS

Related to, and in a way following upon, this anomalous allotment of legislative powers, there are certain complications in the division of administrative powers.

With regard to Federal subjects, the division of administrative powers is different as between the Federation and the Provinces from what it is as between the Federation and the States. So far as the Provinces are concerned, the Federal Government has the discretion either to employ its own officers or to use the Provincial Government as its agent for the administration of any Federal subject, the constitution in any case placing a 'moral obligation' on the Provincial Governments to exercise their executive power and authority so as to secure that due effect is given in the Province to every act of the Federal legislature which applies to that Province.‡ In case the Federal Government employs the Provincial agency for the administration of Federal subjects, it will have to bear any extra cost of administration incurred by the Provincial

20. See Sec. 122, Government of India Act, 1935,

Government solely for that purpose, that is to say 'which that Government would otherwise not have incurred,' disputes as to the amount and incidence of charges so involved being resolved by the decision of an arbitrator appointed by the Chief Justice of the Federal Court, whose decision would be final and binding on both the Governments.<sup>21</sup>

It seems likely, indeed, that in the case of the Provinces the Federal Government will continue the present system of administration which is utilized by the present Government of India. It would employ its own officers for the administration of such matters as railways, posts and telegraph, customs, and income-tax, but might utilize the Provincial agency for the administration of other Federal subjects. But in all cases where administration is devolved on the Provincial Government, the Federal Government will have the right to see that the laws are administered efficiently and in accordance with its own policy. To that end, the Federal Government has been empowered to give directions to the Provincial Governments prescribing the manner in which they should exercise their executive authority and laying down the standards of efficiency that they should seek to maintain. It is noticeable that such directions may be rightfully given by the Federal Government to the Provincial Governments not merely in the domain of exclusively Federal subjects, but may also be given with regard to the administration of those purely Provincial subjects, between whom and certain Federal subjects there is close interdependence.<sup>22</sup> Such interdependence exists, for instance, between the administration of the Federal subject of railways and the Provincial subject of railway police, or between the administration of the Federal subject of 'port quarantine' and the Provincial subject of 'public health and sanitation.' In all such cases the Federal Government has the right to give directions to the Provincial Government to see that the latter's executive power in the purely Provincial sphere is so exercised as not to prejudice the efficient administration of any Federal subject.

In the case of the States, however, the position is wholly different. The States insisted that the administration of even Federal subjects by federal officers within their territories would mean, in the eyes of the State subjects, a

derogation from the sovereignty of the Rulers, and therefore they claimed that it should be provided in the constitution itself that the executive authority of the Federation would be exercised in the States only through the administrative agency of the States themselves. Although this demand of the States was not accepted *in toto*, yet it was conceded in substance by providing that a State may, in its Instrument of Accession, stipulate that it should be entrusted with the right of administering any or all federal laws through its own agency, and in such a case, the only executive authority in that State would be the Ruler, who, however, since he would be exercising merely agency functions in the case of Federal subjects, would be accountable to the Governor-General for the due discharge of his duties.<sup>23</sup> The Governor-General may, by inspection or otherwise, from time to time satisfy himself that an adequate standard of administration is maintained by the Ruler and that the law is administered in accordance with the policy of the Federal Government: in case of dissatisfaction, he may even issue such directions to the Ruler as he might think necessary. But the responsibility of the State, and herein lies the essential difference between the States and the Provinces, is due always personally to the Governor-General in his discretion and not to the Federal Government as such, which has been expressly forbidden from giving directions to the States (as it may do in a similar case to the Provinces) if a particular subject should be badly administered or if a particular law should not be properly enforced.

To finish the narrative of the division of administrative powers, we must refer to the list of subjects for concurrent legislation as between the Federal Government and the Provinces. It would be clear that this aspect of the question is not at all relevant to the States, for as between the Federal Government and the States there are no subjects for concurrent legislation: it pertains only to the case of the Provinces. The concurrent legislative list, as we have seen before, was conceived of as a compromise between two opposing schools of thought and it comprehended that category of subjects which were normally to fall into the Provincial field but which were to be subject to some arrangement for co-ordination of legislative policy. Since in essence all these subjects were thought to be Provincial, their

21. See Sec. 124 (4), Government of India Act, 1935.

22. See Sec. 126 (1), Government of India Act, 1935.

23. See Secs. 125 and 128, Government of India Act, 1935.

administration was entrusted wholly and unexceptionably to the Provincial Government, the Federal government being not only prevented from appointing its own agency for the administration of its laws in this concurrent field, but also forbidden to give directions to the Provincial governments as in the case of exclusively Federal subjects or even those exclusively Provincial subjects whose administration is intimately interconnected with the administration of any Federal subjects.

But whatever might be the rational and theoretic basis for this provision, we feel that in practice it must lead to some confusion. It is true that many items in the concurrent list are concerned merely with questions of law, so that in their case no problem of administration would in effect arise. But there are also in the concurrent list certain subjects dealing with economic and social legislation (items 26 to 36) which are bound to involve elaborate, and in many cases expensive, administration of such matters as factories, welfare of labour, employers' liability, workmen's compensation, health insurance, unemployment insurance, sickness and old age pensions, trade unions, industrial and labour disputes, etc. In all these matters, the Federal legislature has, concurrently with the Provincial legislature, the power to pass a law, which would normally have greater validity and force than a law of the Provincial legislature, but has no power to see that it is enforced, even if the Provincial Government does not like or care to enforce it. Even the Joint Committee could not see the use of the uniformity of legislation if there is no means of enforcing reasonable uniformity of administration; and it, therefore, recommended that at least in the class of subjects dealing with social and economic legislation, the Federal Government should have the power to issue directions to the Provincial Government for the enforcement of laws, 'but only to the extent provided by the Federal act in question,' and as to the incorporation in the Federal bill of any power of the Federal Government to issue directions to the Provincial Governments the previous sanction of the Governor-General in his direction should be requisite.<sup>24</sup> One need hardly say that the provision is much too limited and too cumbrous.

### CONCLUSION

It will be clear from this analysis that the distribution of legislative and administrative functions in the Indian federation has been fundamentally determined by the desire of the Indian States to retain as much power for themselves as possible. If one may borrow the phrase of the Maharaja of Bikaner, the emphatic tendency underlying the formulation of the constitution has been to 'level up' the British Indian provinces which had so far been merely administrative divisions in a unitary state rather than to 'level down' the Indian States. As one studies the discussions of the Federal Structure Committee or the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, one is struck by the fact that whenever there arose any serious disagreement about the allotment of any particular legislative or administrative power, it was almost invariably solved by conceding it to the federating units rather than to the Federal government.

This emphasis of the Indian federal scheme is directly opposed to the characteristic development of the whole contemporary world. The predominant characteristic of the modern community everywhere is growing centralisation in economic functions and economic organization, and this in its turn is leading to and must lead to centralisation of political and legislative power in the State. In the United States, for instance, during the last two or three generations, there has been enormous increase of federal control in industrial, commercial, and financial activities; and the tendency in the United States from federalism to centralisation is not an isolated phenomenon. It is a world-wide movement. It proceeds from certain causative factors (which it is not the purpose of this paper to analyse) which are not local in their operation but which are felt throughout the world. In view of these factors, the whole tendency of modern political development is towards the centralisation of authority. Even as a branch of political theory, the federal state is clearly appearing to be no more than merely the transitory form from confederation to the decentralised unitary state. We fail to see, in these circumstances, any justification for the creation in India of a federal structure of government, whose whole emphasis is upon Provincial and State authority.

24. See Sec. 126 (2), Government of India Act, 1935.

## WORLD AFFAIRS

### ANOTHER 'BLOODLESS' VICTORY

On the first October Hitler once more demonstrated how a bloodless victory can be gained. It was not exactly a triumph for non-violence. But Europe does not demand that spiritual canon of her Saviour to be satisfied even in normal times. And in the abnormal days that preceded Europe was too near an avalanche that was coming down on her to care for that. She wanted to be saved, and she has been saved. And who could be the Saviour of nations and peoples but the Nazi Führer that has dethroned the Jewish Christ and renovated the Teutonic Heroic Ideal? So, Hitler once more spared the Continent of the blood-bath and gave a lesson of the technique of bloodless victory.

The technique is faultless. Armament, bluff and bluster, with the sure knowledge that the ruling class of Europe cannot in spite of their loyalty to treaties and democratic traditions lay the Führer down. Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier, it was known to all, could not do otherwise than they did. Theirs, to grant them the claim to sincerity which facts would certainly deny, was at best a pitiful plight. More like the dogs of Pavlov, if we believe them, conditioned by the social order in which they are born and bred, and in which they learnt to hold the rights of peoples and nations and the pledged word of the peoples sacred, they had to be re-conditioned now to this inevitable phase that this very system has generated—the Fascist phase of European history. If the class interests are confused by the vague notions of democracy or right or wrong, the arms of Hitler would put them on the straight road to Fascism. To Hitler has fallen this 'divine destiny' of saving these ruling classes if they err or falter.

### "THE PLAY-ACTING"

Yet it is an undeniable truth that Mr. Chamberlain knew the rôle he played. He is too astute not to foresee that it was a betrayal of the peoples and popular rights. But the betrayal was pre-ordained if the social order was to be preserved. "Surrender" to Fascism was at least patent to all observers from the day when Mr. Anthony Eden was dropped.

It was an open avowal that in no case was Britain ready to accept the other alternative—the friendship of Soviet Russia in defence of democracies. The logical development of that line led to the surrender to Nazism. What therefore is remarkable in the whole of these brief weeks as the Czech drama unfolded is the faultless play-acting of the British Prime Minister, his minor study the French Premier and the German Führer, and on this point Englishmen, so remote from one another as John Strachey and Prof. J. M. Keynes are agreed. The 'Technique of Deception,' as the former calls it, forms the subject-matter of a masterly analysis of both the publicists. Of course it began with the appointment of the 'independent mediator' from Britain, Lord Runciman, who was to pave the path for the Nazi Lord to Sudetenland. It progressed fairly—rather unfairly to the Czechs, as it was never intended to succeed. Then the drama gathered momentum, Mr. Chamberlain's solicitude for peace made him fly uninvited to Hitler at Berchtesgaden—where only a few months ago Schuschnigg had gone on invitation to meet his fate. The *Times* proposal for secession of the Sudetenland some weeks earlier, which was then declared *not* to be the official opinion of the British cabinet, became now the Premier's policy, as foretold by us. Writes Mr. Strachey:

Mr. Chamberlain agrees to the essentials of Hitler's demands, namely, the secession of the whole of the Sudetenland to Germany, returns to London, succeeds in including the Cabinet not only to support this secession, but to join with the French Cabinet in imposing it upon the Czechs.

The world-scene changes in a moment. Nation after nation flies from the Anglo-French to the German camp. A week later, Mr. Chamberlain returns to Hitler at Godesberg.

And we plunge into the great act of the drama—the period of tension and crisis which called forth the best gifts of the actors in the piece. Mr. Chamberlain's very face speaks of the pain and agony that is tearing his heart—the Führer's demands are such that the British people cannot be induced to impose them on the Czechs before the six days of grace run out. Staff consultations occur, France was prepared, Russia signifies her readiness. War preparations start in Great Britain. "The run of events began to accelerate. It seemed clear

to everyone that not only were we on the very edge of war, but that the irreversible momentum was carrying us over that edge." Mr Duff-Cooper, the First Lord of Admiralty, even secured sanction for the mobilization of the fleet, and Mr Garvin, who knew the game well enough, played his part as the blatant trumpet in *The Observer*, believing little as he wrote on September 25

Let every man and woman who reads these lines steel their hearts to read them undaunted. To face the truth in its whole starkness, to vow that life and goods are henceforth nothing by comparison with the issues staked, to realize that we may be summoned to rise up for the fight of all time—this is our one sure salvation under God

Then the official mind thought the hour for putting the curb had arrived. The people were now told that British preparations for air defence were inadequate, that General Gamelin had told the Cabinet that the French were weak in air, their ammunitions for the army insufficient; that, above all, the Soviet military strength was reduced by dissensions. Ardour then necessarily cooled, though the truth of the allegations are contested by all now. And when the Premier rose in the Commons reviewing the events to an overwrought House, still not knowing how to finish his speech, Sir John Simon handed over the telegram inviting him to Munich along with M. Daladier and Signor Mussolini. A mad hysteria of cheering closed the evening, closed the act, and settled the future that was to be disclosed at Munich. There was signed away the fortune of the Czech people, without even the formality of consulting them or their ally, the Soviet. The occupation of Sudetenland was to begin immediately and to be completed by October 10, an International Commission was to hold a plebiscite in the areas which had predominantly German population (51% was considered to be the number to satisfy this condition, though the plebiscite idea was given up later when the Czechs saw everything was lost), the Czech defensive fortifications and industrial establishments were to pass over to the German hands untampered; other minority claims (soon asserted by Poland in the seizure of Teschen; appeased, since then, by the creation of autonomous Slovakia; the insistent claims, resisted so far, of Hungary to Ruthenia etc.) were to be satisfied duly, and the Czechs were to receive a guarantee from the four powers gathered at Munich for this for the defence of their new frontiers.

Mr Chamberlain came home a conquering hero, and thus ended a week's play-acting 'beginning with gas-masks and ending with bouquets,' to quote Mr Keynes who thus closed his analysis of the situation in *The New Statesman and The Nation*. Observes Mr Keynes:

Neither the Prime Minister nor Herr Hitler ever intended for one moment that the play-acting should evolve into reality. For it would be a mistake to attribute extreme carelessness to the one or insanity to the other of these two astute politicians. The actual course of events has been dictated by the fact that the objectives of Herr Hitler and Mr Chamberlain were not different, but the same, whilst Russian policy has played into Mr. Chamberlain's hands by making it easy for him to ignore her

The course of events can be made intelligible by the following considerations. Herr Hitler has explained that his ultimate objective is the Ukraine. The Balkans, Western Europe, the Colonies 'might' have been the desired sphere of his expansion. But he has openly decided otherwise, and in these matters he is a man of word. Yet the position of Czechoslovakia, with a well armed force of a million men, strongly entrenched, and in alliance with Russia, presented a danger to his flank which could not be overlooked and must be dealt with first. The inner diplomatic game has developed, therefore, as follows. We have been bought off by Germany's agreeing to forego a fleet and soft-peddalling on the colonies, France by her renunciation of Western aims (perhaps including Spain, so far Germany is concerned), Italy by her side-stepping the Balkans, Poland by a sacrifice of the Silesian Germans (for the time being) and the hope of a share of the Russian spoils. Only Czechoslovakia had to be sacrificed. The next move, presumably, is a German alliance with Poland with a view to the seizure of the Ukraine, simultaneously with a Siberian venture by Japan (this move being, however, seriously endangered by Japan's blunder in Central China).

Our sea-power and our overseas Empire remain for the present unchallenged, our own peace may be secured for a considerable period, we are given time to complete our air defences

### CONSEQUENCES

The immediate results of the betrayal of the Czecho-Slovak Republic are too patent to all to require recounting. The Czecho-Slovak State of Masaryk is gone, it has sunk into two small autonomous states of the Czechs and Slovaks. (It has to be recognised that it had no right to Sudetenland, a German area); the Danubian States and the whole of Central and Eastern Europe in fact are rallying round the Nazi Germany, the Czechs are travelling the same Fascist way with their new Foreign Minister, Chalkovsky, a man approved by Hitler, as their guide and Czech capitalist interests organising to uphold an order which promises them safety from the Soviet influence. Of course the Soviet has been deprived of all friends by it, except the Socialists in all lands.



The German ideal of a German dominated Mitteleuropa is now on the sure road to realization—a greater Germany stretching from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. Although the unification of the German race is not yet complete, after this there is hardly anything to prevent that when the Führer wills it. The smaller states of Europe like Switzerland or the bigger ones like Poland and Italy know this. France of course no longer considers herself equal to Germany or capable of withstanding the German onslaught by herself. The Alsace-Lorraine separation movement has raised its head under such encouragement. The Four Power Agreement at Munich almost realises the Four Power Pact for which Chamberlain has been trying for a long time. A result of it has been the comparative ease visible in the Spanish position, signified by the disbandment of the International Brigade on the one hand and the withdrawal of ten thousand Italian volunteers on the other. If Mussolini has for the moment been overshadowed by his German partner, he is sure to return to limelight at the earliest moment. Both a little 'off colour,' Britain and Italy may find now that the Anglo-Italian Agreement should be implemented—of course Mussolini will not move away from the Balearic islands, and must have his ambition realized in the Mediterranean too. For Germany the *Drauf nach Osten* is now assured, and the way to the Rumanian oil-fields and Ukrainian granary of the Soviet opened by the capitulation of Czecho-Slovakia. *Mein Kampf* is really to begin; and Soviet Russia's hour of trial is at hand—the hour of trial for socialists too there as everywhere. For the very existence of the Soviet is now endangered. These in short are the immediate consequences of the Czecho-Slovak affair in the continent of Europe.

#### THE COLONY QUESTION

Outside Europe, but really a European problem in essence, the question of the return of the German colonies becomes now an immediate issue. A school of British politicians were in favour of it even before this, as colonies are said to be no great economic gain and all powers should have easy access to raw materials, and above all, a people like the Germans could not be 'appeased' unless the stigma of their being unfit to rule colonies is thus removed. It remains to be seen however how the pro-Nazi Imperialist press of Britain accepts this proposal to disgorge the colonies. A footnote to this colonial claim is furnished by the

opposition intimated by the Indian settlers of Tanganyika. Of course in the great question this will weigh for little with the British government.

#### PALESTINE

It is not possible to estimate what repercussion the Nazi triumph and the comparative eclipse of the British Imperialist diplomacy is likely to have on other peoples. Thus the Arab world possibly sees in it a further proof of the weakening of the strength of British Empire. Mussolini, it is known, has put himself forward as the claimant for Arab leadership. Palestine Arabs were regularly and openly supplied with Italian arms for resisting the Britisher. For some time it is noted that the Third Reich was undertaking the work of the Hohenzollerns in throwing its net wider in the Near East. General Reichenau's report, published in the *News Chronicle*, refers to the Arab hatred of England and asserts, 'it is only Germany which can give help to the Arabs without threatening their national independence.' Palestine is now any way admitted to be in open revolt. The proposal for partition is shelved; the Woodhead report too is not unanimous on the wisdom of it. It is not easy, however, for the British authorities to agree to the Arab pressure from Iraq, Trans-Jordan, Egypt, etc and loosen their grip over this strip of territory lying on the air route from the West to the East when the sea route by the Mediterranean was already endangered by the rise of Mussolini. Mussolini's Arab national government is therefore having the last big instalment of military repression. The recent European affairs must however embolden these sturdy rebels against Britain.

#### FALL OF CANTON AND HANKOW

Directly put to the British surrender at Munich is however the Japanese offensive in South China. As soon as it was clear that Britain was not ready to risk a war at the present stage of her preparations, Japan threw off all caution and regard for the power in the Far East. Near Hong Kong soldiers were landed and then followed the sweeping march to Canton to cut off the chief road of war supply so far open to the Chinese. Canton has fallen. The meaning of it is plain to all. China's main road for outside help is closed. She has now only three minor routes for the purpose—the Yunnan-French Indo-China route, the Yunnan-Burma route, and the road yet under

construction between Western China and the Soviet China is thus almost thrown on her primitive and elemental power of resistance. In modern warfare that is of no value. Even in Moscow a modern Napoleonic expedition would not be so helpless as a century ago. So the hope of China is to retire far into the country—for, Hankow too is about to fall in a few hours—and if left less disturbed, to develop by herself her own power of struggle through patient and silent preparation while her guerilla irregulars keep Japan busy in the occupied areas.

#### WHAT NEXT—SOVIET RUSSIA?

The real significance of the Czech affairs however transcends every political problem that it raises. It has a deeper and bigger implication. It means a betrayal of democracy no doubt. It registers also the unpalatable truth that in a world of upheaval the totalitarian states are bound to beat democracies. But it goes further. It declares that a democratic facade is no guarantee against the Fascist inroads in society. Britain still

rules by the parliament, but Mr. Chamberlain plays in the country the same role as any Fascist dictator in his own. Even the Parliament is not called for such big decisions. The Cabinet too was not consulted. They were called on to approve some accomplished fact. The Parliament acted like the Reichstag. Yet the show is kept. Chamberlain knows that the Parliamentary device ensures his ruling class interests better than others. He realizes that Hitler fights his battle for him in Europe and, he too must fight on behalf of the Fuhrer. So the Four Power Pact must be attained assuring Hitler of Fascist domination on the Continent and Soviet isolation in the world. So, in the next few months we may witness British Imperialism entering into a secret understanding with Fascism that the Fuhrer, without pressing for the Colonies, should march to Moscow and Ukraine, while the powers, as well as Japan in Siberia would help him in eliminating the communist menace from world civilization. That we may really count on as the next move

G. H.

26-10-38

### INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Mrs. SHEFALICA ROY, wife of Mr. B. K. Roy of the Indian Forest Service, is an



Mrs. Shefalica Roy



Miss R. Banerjee

Honorary Magistrate of the Vellore Juvenile Court and an Honorary Visitor of the Presidency Jail for Women. She is also connected with the Girl Guides Movement as Commissioner for the district of North Arcot and Chittor, Madras, and Red Cross and Child Welfare Society and other social organizations. She hails from Bogra, Bengal.

Miss R. BANERJEE, after passing the B. T. examination from the Calcutta University, went to England and joined the University of Leeds, where she obtained the degree of M. Ed. on her thesis on "Education of Women in Bengal." Miss Banerjee is the daughter of the late Surendranath Banerjee, Advocate, Tongoo, Burma.

### AN ASSAMESE HISTORIAN'S SUCCESS



Prof. B. K. Bhuyan

Rai Bahadur S. K. Bhuyan, Professor of History at the Cotton College in Gauhati, who went to England two years ago on study leave, has taken his Ph.D. from the London University and returned to India. The title of his thesis was "Anglo-Assamese Relations" (1771-1826) in which he shows British intercourse with Assam followed by commercial and political agreements, leading to its conquest.

Prof. Bhuyan went to England with an established reputation as an author and was straightway appointed Lecturer at the School of Oriental Studies in London in Assamese. He had to his credit as many as 36 books in English and Assamese. Some of his Assamese books are recognized as classics and are textbooks for several examinations of the Universities of Calcutta, Dacca and Benares. His work *Tunguhungia Buranj* (History of Assam) was published by the Oxford University Press.

Prof. Bhuyan is also a great antiquarian. He was the life and soul of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam and was its Director for a number of years. Under its auspices he edited many original documents in Assamese with all the requirements of a modern scholarly publication. He discovered some fresh materials about Mughal India from Assamese sources. They were published in several issues of the *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad).

In recognition of his zeal in the pursuit of historical and antiquarian studies the Government of India conferred on him the title of Rai Bahadur in 1936, when he was comparatively young. He has been able to rouse interest in Assamese history and civilization among historical scholars in India and the West. In 1937, Prof. Bhuyan was invited to deliver a course of lectures at Rome by the *Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente* on history and civilization of Assam.



# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## The Congress and Mahatma Gandhi

In the course of his article on South India and the Congress in *The Twentieth Century*, S. Satyamurti observes:

The Indian National Congress undoubtedly receives its strength from the fact that it is the only all-India secular political organization fighting fearlessly for the freedom of the Motherland. But its strength lies also in its component parts. It has grown in strength, stature and responsibility during the last 18 years and especially after the acceptance of office by the Congressmen in eight provinces, its responsibilities have become greater. I do not want to cast any reflection on other provinces, but I believe profoundly that the Congress derives its strength mostly from those provinces where Congress discipline is highest and the Congress writ runs, without any let or hindrance. I know a fetish can be made of discipline and I know that tyranny can often masquerade as discipline, but knowing the Congress, its organization, its leaders and workers and its followers fairly intimately during the last 20 years and more, I can claim that, except Mahatma Gandhi there is no "Dictator," in the remotest sense of that word in the Indian National Congress.

According to the writer the Mahatma is the only disinterested dictator in the world today.

I grant that Mahatma Gandhi is a dictator. But I claim for him that his dictatorship rests upon the acceptance of his views freely and voluntarily by those who lead the Congress and not on any military prowess or any force or any religious fanaticism. Moreover, he is the only disinterested dictator in the world today. He has no axe to grind, not even the axe of personal vanity in the sense of sticking to one's own opinions. I may say that he is the most resilient Congress leader, with whom it has been my privilege to work these years; and above all there is no use disguising the fact that God has given him an instinct and a judgment that enable him to come to right conclusion on most occasions, when most of us flounder and some of us make mistakes.

## The Philosophy and Technique of Satyagraha

According to Mahatma Gandhi non-violent non-co-operation is a really effective substitute for war. In *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* Nirmal Kumar Bose expounds the theory of Satyagraha as taught by the Mahatma:

Satyagraha is not a substitute for war; it is war itself shorn of many of its ugly features and guided by a purpose far nobler than what we generally associate with destruction. It is itself an intensely heroic and chivalrous form of war.

The first article of faith with the Satyagrahi is the need of recognizing and of loving all mankind as one. The Satyagrahi also holds that love is never consistent with exploitation in any shape or form. Exclusive possession can never go together with love.

In accordance with this fundamental belief, the Satyagrahi holds that whenever there is a conflict of interests in human society, there must be something wrong somewhere. And if we can look into the situation with patience enough, a way can surely be found to restore the sense of human unity, and, at the same time, to serve the best interests of humanity taken as a whole.

The Satyagrahi also believes that such a solution can be best arrived at if he himself and his adversary can somehow put their heads together.

Fear demoralizes and raises fresh barriers to better understanding in the hearts of men in authority today. Pride and self-defence stiffen their back, and make them less amenable to reason, justice and fair-play. The Satyagrahi has therefore to devise some means of dealing with them effectively; and it is through self-suffering that he proposes to do so.

The writer goes on to explain what the Satyagrahi exactly understands by self-suffering:

It has already been said that the first law of the Satyagrahi is the law of love. The second law, which follows from love, is that the way to the adversary's head is not through the head, but through the heart. He believes that it is only through suffering, voluntarily and cheerfully endured, that the way can be opened to better understanding and a due recognition, on the part of the adversary, of the injustice of his own position. The Satyagrahi knows that all systems of exploitation thrive in the world because both the exploiter and the exploited co-operate in their maintenance. The exploited do so through fear, but they co-operate with the exploiters all the same. It is just here that the Satyagrahi sees his best opportunity of voluntary suffering. He tries to wreck the system of exploitation by refusing to co-operate with it, and thus draws upon his devoted head all the repression his adversary is capable of administering. If he stands unmoved through the shower of repression, his sufferings heroically endured are likely to touch the heart of the oppressor and thus pave the way for mutual discussion and a joint effort to build up a social system without the injustices of the present. It may also happen that the Satyagrahi fails to touch the heart of the exploiter with all his suffering. But even then his endeavours need not go in vain. For continued non-co-operation will bring about the downfall of any system, whether the Satyagrahi eventually succeeds in gaining the good-will and co-operation of the exploiter or not. No system can endure with non-co-operation all the while cutting away the ground from under it.

The suffering which the Satyagrahi voluntarily endures must not be endured mechanically. All through

the struggle it must be illumined by a sense of human love.

Satyagraha blesses him who uses it as well as him against whom it is used. It is a process of self-purification for the Satyagrahi, while it also stimulates the latent human qualities within his opponent's breast. The non-co-operating warrior thus steals a march over his brother who uses violence by being able to employ the educative process from the beginning of his fight for power.

Mahatma Gandhi also believes that one who uses the sword also perishes by the sword. Success through violence is no proof of Truth and ultimately leads to Untruth. So Gandhi holds it as a fundamental proposition that it is only through non-violence that we should combat violence, and it is only love which can overcome hate. It is only a full sense of unity which can combat and ultimately overwhelm the selfish and sectional spirit of mankind.

### Federalism

The study of government in one country may be extremely helpful or suggestive to those who have to establish or administer government in another, no matter how different. James Truslow Adams writes on the subject of Federalism in *The Aryan Path* from the standpoint of American experience:

The history of Federalism in the United States is of especial utility for various reasons, among them being its vast scale and the fact that it is the oldest large-scale experiment in Federal government.

Moreover, America has tried two experiments, one brief and unsuccessful but the faults of which afford us a lesson, as well does the success of the later one. The "Confederation," which lasted from 1781 to 1789, proved inadequate chiefly because it largely took the form of a league of sovereign states, and the central federal authority did not have sufficient power to compel obedience even in such matters as the raising of taxes.

A mere league of states had been shown to be useless because of the inherent weakness of such a system already mentioned. Yet the states had to remain as sovereign entities. To solve the problem a then entirely new idea was hit upon, that of *dual citizenship*. Every American citizen is a citizen not only of his own state, New York, California or what-not, but also directly a citizen of the United States so that the power and control of the Federal Government reach down immediately, and not simply through a state government, to every citizen. For that reason we find in the Preamble to the Federal Constitution that it is "we, the people of the United States" who combine to "form a more perfect Union," and not that the states are combining. The change was momentous.

The central government, however, was made one of only limited powers. It can do only such things as are specifically granted to it in the Constitution, such as tax and borrow money for federal purposes, regulate foreign and interstate commerce, control foreign relations, the army and navy, currency and coinage, the postal service, and so on. Other than such specific powers granted, all powers remained with the states or with the people themselves. The Federal Government was also divided into the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches, with many checks on each other. The Constitution provided a Bill of Rights guaranteeing forever certain

personal liberties such as freedom of religion, speech, press and others.

For one thing we have found in practice that the difference in size of the various states, so feared at first, has not caused any material disadvantage.

Another point we have learned is that it is not enough to give a Federal Government wide legislative powers unless the executive powers are commensurate.

On the whole, the division of powers between the central and state governments, as well as dual citizenship, has worked out well, although here again, legal questions can arise and have done so. For the first seventy years there was much dispute over the divided sovereignty, culminating in the bloody Civil War in 1861. That decided the question of whether or not a state could secede. Since then, none has tried to and it is doubtful if one ever will again. Economics, if not political theory and sentiment for the Union, have made it impossible. An interior state could not secede without being economically throttled, and a coast state would not be allowed to deprive the Union of its ports.

### Nature In Bankim Chandra's Novels

Man is the centre of interest in fiction. Nature in and for herself has no place in this world. The influence of her presence, the beautiful background she creates, her intimate association, sympathetic or otherwise, with human emotions—these are a heritage too precious to be lost. Though centred round man fiction has to allow Nature her proper place in the world that it creates. Romanticism in art recognises the poet's "consecration and dream" which transforms the external world of reality. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee is the child of Romanticism. Writes Amiya Kumar Sen in *The Calcutta Review*:

Poets and artists of the Romantic period often represent nature as expressing in forms of beauty the Eternal spirit underlying the universe. They could not rest satisfied with descriptions of her physical beauty alone. They must look deeper into her fundamental characteristics and discern therein 'the one spirit's plastic stress' which consecrates all the objects of the world. Naturally, therefore, they are always conscious of the spirit revealing itself through the veil of appearance. In Shelley and Wordsworth, for instance, there are wonderful pictures representing this aspect of nature. In *Prometheus Unbound* as Asia proceeds along her path of self-realization the whole of nature is gradually spiritualized. The shadows of the morning clouds, the blossoms of spring, the purple mountain slopes have all, writ over them as it were, appeals revealed to the spirit alone.

Bengal had come into intimate contact with Romanticism in Western Literature and Bankim Chandra was bound by a thousand bonds to the currents of thought and life prevalent in his age. No wonder that this technique of romantic art should leave its impress upon his mind and that he should describe in his novels the gradual spiritualisation of nature in contact with human emotions.

When after taking poison Kalyani gradually sinks to her death, in her semi-conscious state she hears celestial music coming through the forest-trees. She

joins in the song of exultation and responds to what appears to be heavenly harmony. Charmed with the harmonious blending of her voice with that of the forest, her husband, his heart overflowing with faith and reverence, raises his voice and in the anguish of his heart, joins in the choric song. The entire landscape resounds with melody. The birds in the trees, the streams, the trees, in fact nature herself, seem to take up the burden of the song. When gradually Kalyani loses her consciousness Mahendra makes the forest resound, he startles the birds and beasts with his song of praise and prayer. Nature seems to be spiritualized, she has become the proper shrine for such hymns of adoration.

Nature thus plays a very prominent part in the novels of Bankim Chandra. Sometimes she is a mere setting to human actions; sometimes she adds a touch of romantic glamour to incidents and personalities represented in the novels; sometimes again she actively participates in the creation of their atmosphere. Bankim also recognises in her a power, a spirit. He can consequently utilise her to symbolise human emotions and passions or sudden changes in the action. He can also use her to universalise the appeal of his artistic creations and make her catch on her beautiful countenance the hues of human emotions. Nature and man in intimate contact, the one reflecting and influencing the other—this is the picture that Bankim Chandra gives us in his descriptions of nature in her varied moods interspersed throughout his novels. And everywhere with subtle touches of art he harmoniously blends together nature and the world of his novels so that none of his descriptions can ever be regarded as superfluous or out of place.

### Modernism: An Oriental Interpretation

Life has come to mean today the life exclusively of the senses, the life that is instinctive, reflexive, automatic in its *elan*, which is beyond the control of the conscious will and intelligence, the life that is interwoven with body and matter. In interpreting modernism in the *Triveni* Nalini Kanta Gupta observes:

Whether morally or aesthetically, the domination of the mind and the heart over life was the characteristic stamp of the movement of the human spirit in the past.

Modernism means the release of life from this subjugation; it means the expression of life's own truths in its own way, life's self-determination: that is the great endeavour and achievement of today.

Today, however, in pursuit of the mystery of life we have entered into darker and more obscure regions—of cells and genes, of colloid actions and neutron reaction: the elementary instincts, the primary reflexes, the tangle of short and brief vibrations, and half-articulate pulsations of the most physical and material consciousness are the stuff of the life we seek to live and to capture and mirror. The creative and active force in life as well as in art is now invested in the nervous dynamism and sensational perception. The old morals and aesthetics

and the sentiments and notions around them are considered today merely conventional and bourgeois; they have given place to a freer life-movement, the expression and embodiment of an unrestrained and authentic life, life in its natural, original, unspoilt (and crude and coarse) verity. We are probing into the mystery of the crust.

It appears then that we have come down perilously near the level of the sheer animal; by a curious loop in the cycle of evolution, the most civilized and enlightened type of mankind seems to be retroverting to the status of his original ancestor.

Not quite so, certainly. The consciousness (rather, the self-consciousness) that man has gained in place of the unconsciousness or semi-consciousness, characteristic of the general mass in the past, and the growing sense of individuality and personal worth, which is an expression of that consciousness, are his assets, the hall-mark of his present-day nature and outlook and activity.

### A Constituency for Dumb Animals

*The Theosophist* comments:

Why should not every Parliament have a member to represent the interests of the animals? A new idea certainly, but an idea which has passed the stage of humour or speculation, since it has found a place in the Report of the Seal Committee on Constitutional Reforms in Mysore State, namely, that in addition to a Representative Assembly, with mandates from the people, there should be a Legislative Council with "a different end and therefore a different composition . . . such a body must be composed of persons who have a large outlook . . . It will be, not an epitome of the people, but an Assembly embodying its collective wisdom and virtue" In addition to the interests to be represented, such as trade, landed and capitalist, professional, labour, etc., the Report recommends that to these "must be added representatives of the interests of women (so long as the suffrage and full political status are withheld), children, depressed classes, and even the dumb animals."

Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, in opening a veterinary dispensary near Bangalore, expressed the hope that "if the new constitutional committee revives the recommendation and it becomes a part of the Constitution, we may be able to secure as the member for this constituency someone who has the welfare of animals at heart as much as Mr. Rangaiengar"—it was Rao Bahadur Rangaiengar who built the veterinary dispensary, and the dispensary is a practical expression of his work in the Society for the Promotion of Kindness to Animals.

How many times have we seen it proposed that the Nations should establish a Ministry of Peace. Ministries of War are energizing everywhere, and as long as they are busy—man warring against man—we cannot expect war on animals to cease. Mysore is showing the way to peace, not only peace with the lower orders, but peace to all beings. A portfolio for the Animal Kingdom would be in very truth a Department of Peace, with all its implications and potentialities. May the light which is in Mysore irradiate the darkness of this war-ridden world!



# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Keshub Chunder Sen

In the course of a paper contributed to *The Asiatic Review*, Viscount Samuel makes the following observations on the life and teaching of Keshub Chunder Sen, the centenary of whose birth is being celebrated this year in India and abroad :

Keshub Chunder Sen was one of the great religious initiators of the modern world. He was a man of lofty, spiritual temperament, but not one of the those who therefore renounce the world. He was too wise and too good a humanitarian to take the path of withdrawal and the abandonment of social duty. On the contrary, he spent his life in strenuous and incessant effort to spread beneficent ideas.

I have long been deeply interested in the Brahmo Somaj, and so far as I understand the teaching of Keshub Sen, who was for so many years its leader, the central ideas are these. Religion is not to be regarded as something merely historical, given once and for all at some distant period in the past, but is rather a living force in the present; as much a vital concern for our generation as it has been for any previous generation. Religion is not a matter of rigid dogma, fossilizing ideas that prevailed in an age before science. Rather should it embrace all the knowledge painfully acquired by mankind through the centuries, and should be adapted to the conditions of life of the present time.

Further, it is wrong for each creed to emphasize its own particularized and distinctive doctrines so that a spirit of separatism, or even of antagonism, is created between the various faiths. Religion is something more than the religions. Yet, in seeking an ultimate unity, we ought not to insist upon uniformity. We should not be forgetful of the variety of national traditions and the needs of different temperaments.

Keshub Chunder Sen was an Indian and proud to be the servant of India. He realized to the full her own special needs. He insisted upon the urgent necessity for changes in the ancient laws and customs of India. Caste and Untouchability was an outstanding instance. The status of women was another.

Further, he incessantly attacked the evils of idolatry and superstition; and that message is still needed in a land where those evils still influence the lives of vast masses of the population, confusing their ideas and warping their judgments. He contributed also to the great movement which, in our own times, has gone far to fortify the national self-respect and the patriotic spirit of the Indian people. He dwelt upon the importance of nationalism, but was not among those who make the mistake of considering it necessarily opposed to internationalism. The two, wisely conceived, may coincide, but it has been rightly said that "Internationalism must rest upon a satisfied nationalism."

All these matters are of vital import to modern civilization. In the long run it is Ideas that rule. Practical politics are important. I have devoted almost all my life to political affairs, but I have come to see

that, without depreciating the importance of action in the sphere of politics and administration, even more important are the ideas that underlie and direct and control politics. In the matters with which Keshub Chunder Sen dealt, he touched the very mainsprings of the contemporary world.

I feel, therefore, that the Brahmo Somaj Movement has rendered great service to India, and if its influence were to spread among a larger proportion of the population, that service would be greatly enhanced. And since India includes one-sixth of all mankind, the indirect effect upon the world as a whole must be significant.

## Iqbal, India's Muslim Poet

*Asia* publishes an illuminating study of the poetry and philosophy of Sir Mohammad Iqbal by Amiya Chakravarti, from which these extracts are made. English translations of Iqbal's poetry do not seem to be abundant, and Dr. Chakravarti has used his own translations in this paper.

Iqbal's poetry reveals the struggle of modernism in the East. His ideas march in challenging light, he is fighting two fronts at once. Keenly conscious of cultural reciprocity, his poetry must establish the rights of unique excellences before allowing confederation.

Through a series of paradoxes, and large-print utterances on behalf of the temporary under-dog, he seeks to achieve balance. Following this technique he would advocate the doctrine of power for weak nations, minorities, deflated groups and parties and threaten super-dogs with retaliatory caninism. The human ethics behind this needs searching, but can be found in his writings :

"Do not be indebted to European civilization  
Make your pitcher of wine out of Indian earth."

he told his son, in *Jawid ke Nam*, a poem sent to him from London in 1930 during the Round Table Conference. The message hangs on the interpretation of the word "indebted." Western politics Iqbal would mock, as some Westerners would, by saying, in *Syasad-i-Afrang* :

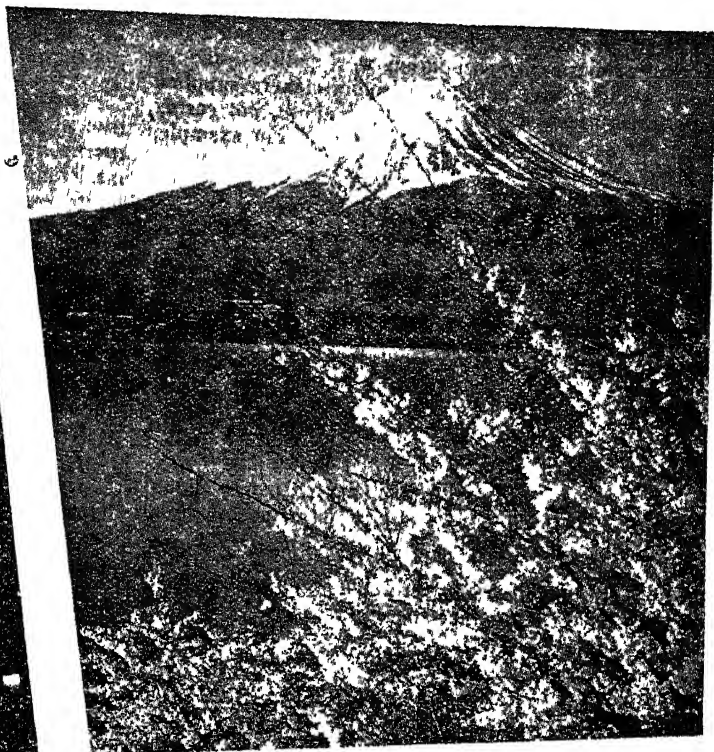
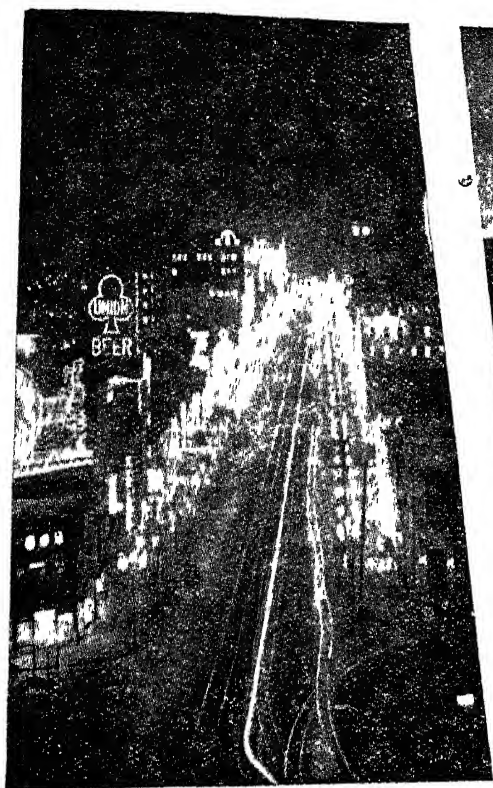
"O God, European politics is your rival,  
But its followers are the rich and the powerful . . ."

—a novel method of offering consolation. In *Ek Sawa* ("A Question") he hit out :

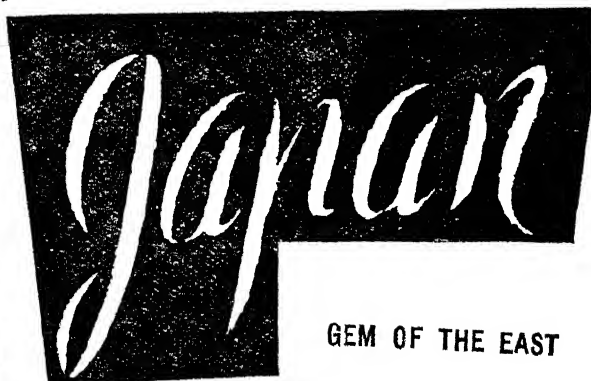
"One should ask the European philosopher  
Because even India and Greece are following him  
Is it the zenith of your civilization that men are  
unemployed  
And women cannot find husbands ?"

His attack cut both ways when he turned round to the East and in *Khawfaj* applied the whiplash to the ruler and the ruled :

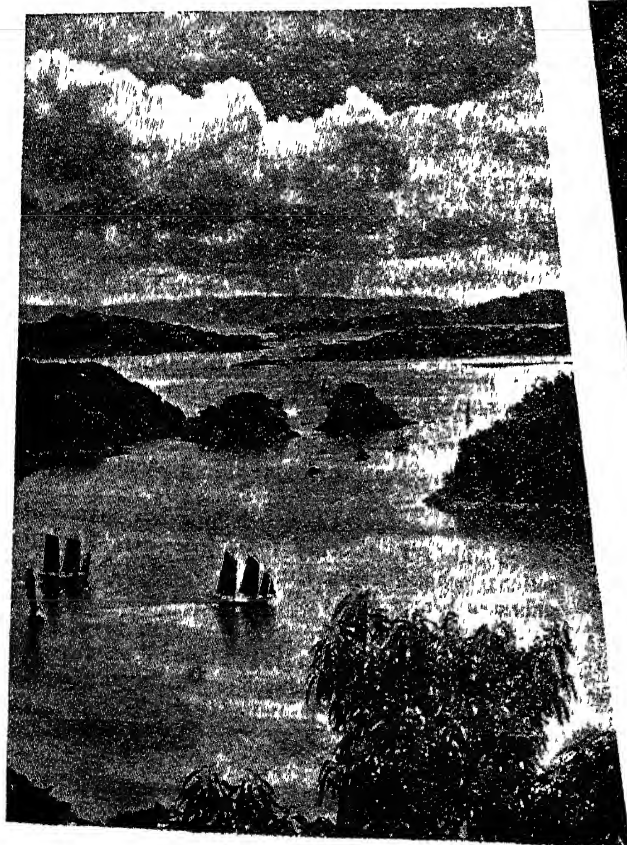
"No difficulty is there in kingship  
When slaves are accustomed to slavery."



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His latest phase, in *Zarb-i-Kalim* (1937) revealed this sort of epigrammatic pre-occupation with politics, and as quotations would prove, political mischief-makers supplied him with target-practice. He combatted abuse, not caring to define right use, excepting by implication. For example, in *Jamhariat* he wrote :

"This secret was discovered by Europeans  
Although wise people do not declare it—  
Democracy is a system of Government  
In which people are counted and not weighed."

Then again, in *La Din Syasad* :

"The government is free from the Church,  
European politics is an unchained giant.  
But when it has an eye for the property of others  
Then the ambassadors of the Church form the  
vanguard of its army."

and yet, if the priestcraft politician, nearer home, should begin exulting, here is this for him in a poem called *Mullah aur Baheesht* :

"I was present there, I could not keep quiet  
When God ordered that the Mullah should be sent  
to Paradise.

"I said, 'Excuse me, O God,  
He will not be pleased with houries, wine and  
gardens—

"Paradise is not for fight, quarrel and debate,  
And contention is the second nature of Mullah—

"His business is to misguide,  
And neither mosque, church, nor temple is there  
in Paradise."

If the spiritual alternatives offered in Paradise leave much unsaid, the mockery spares none. Emphasizing good by attacking wrongs on both sides may be dangerous procedure, but Iqbal must walk on the tight rope. In a poem on *Lenin*, he makes Lenin say this for him :

"The white man of Europe is god of the East,  
The gods of the West are the shining metals"

and the speech continues, less in character than as mouthpiece utterance.

Having exposed up-to-date sanity, Iqbal would on occasion, as in *Firman-i-Khuda*, advocate mid-Eastern madness :

"Civilization today is a factory for deceivers,  
Teach the ethics of madness to the poet of the  
East."

In the same revolutionary poem he said :

"Warm the blood of slaves with the fire of faith  
Induce the weak sparrow to fight with the eagle.  
I am displeased and fed up with marble pavement  
Erect for me another mosque out of clay."

Whether he touched on religion or art or ethics, his outlook was circumstantial and political; his treatment was mainly symptomatic. On this point there has been much confusion. Iqbal has been represented as disbeliever, communalist and utilitarian; whereas, so far as his

poetry is concerned, he maintained witty elusive-ness on salient issues, says the writer.

Excepting at rare moments,—and is this not true of Shaw? Both of them have reveled in attacking the wrong side of things, and exposing aberration, injustice, intolerance and special claims, by methods calculated to meet extremism on its own ground. It would be, however, risky to decide at what point they have left the exaggerated temporal aspect and begun conserving their judgment on fundamentals. The Islamic poet differs from the dramatist in accepting religious tradition. If Iqbal did not follow rationalism in its full iconoclastic fury, and would have reserved areas, he certainly possessed logic of sympathy. Even those who find his cult of power unsatisfactory, recognize that his pragmatism does not betray the victim in the hour of need. Compare Shavian inadequacy with Iqbal's answer to the Abyssinian challenge. A lurking admiration for dictators, which he shared with Shaw, did not prevent him from saying on August 18, 1935 :

"The vultures of Europe are not yet aware  
How poisonous is the corpse of Abyssinia.  
The peak of civilization is the decline of nobility,  
Robbery is the means of living of Nations.  
Every wolf is in quest of an innocent lamb.  
O bewail that the mirror of Church's honour  
Has been broken by the Roman on the public road,  
Man of Church, this fact is heart-rending."

At this point it might be mentioned that Iqbal praised Mussolini's work for Italy in a dedicatory poem, but he mingled his praise with an attack on Imperialism :

"Imperialism, which though possessing a fattened body  
Has unilluminated heart—"

Iqbal's most recent verse was saturated with politics; the two were inseparable and had to be taken together. His poetry upheld national values. In *Hindi Islam* he said :

"A nation is living only by the unity of thought  
If a sacrament destroys unity it is denial of God."

And such values, it will be seen, are identified with absolute laws. The Nation, to Iqbal, was a whole, consisting of units not to be defined by economic, linguistic or psychological values but by spiritual traditions. These traditions derived from immutable laws of revealed religion and were both spiritual and juridical. His philosophy was silent on competitive revelations because competition would not occur on that plane, though his poetry certainly indicated preference. It is not necessary to discuss his choice of a tradition as the highest form of the Absolute—that would lead argument to an act of faith.

Cryptic utterances directed towards a community, have baffled his readers, but India has not forgotten the national song, *Tarana Hindi*, in which Iqbal's patriotism embraces her peoples :

"O river Ganga, rememberest thou those days  
When our caravan first alighted on thy shore  
Religion does not teach us strife; we are Indians,  
Our motherland is India."

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## RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S REPLY TO YONE NOGUCHI

SANTINIKETAN, Oct. 29.

DEAR NOGUCHI,

I thank you for taking the trouble to write to me again. I have also read with interest your letter addressed to the Press. It makes the meaning of your letter to me more clear.

I am flattered that you still consider it worthwhile to take such pains to convert me to your point of view, and I am really sorry that I am unable to come to my senses, as you have been pleased to wish it. It seems to me that it is futile for either of us to try to convince the other, since your faith in the infallible right of Japan to bully other Asiatic nations into line with your Government's policy is not shared by me, and my mistrust of a patriotism which claims the right to bring to the altar of its country the sacrifice of other people's rights and happiness, is sneered at by you as the "quiescence of a spiritual vagabond."

If you can convince the Chinese that your armies are bombing their cities and rendering their women and children homeless beggars—those of them that are not transformed into "mutilated mudfish," to borrow one of your own phrases,—if you can convince these victims that they are only being subjected to a benevolent treatment which will in the end "save their nation, it will no longer be necessary for you to convince us of your country's noble intentions." Your righteous indignation against the 'polluted people' who are burning their own cities and art-treasures (and presumably bombing their own citizens) to malign your soldiers, reminds me of Napoleon's noble wrath when he marched into a deserted Moscow and watched its palaces in flames. I should have expected from you, who are a poet, at least that much of imagination to feel, to what inhuman despair a people must be reduced to willingly burn their 'own handiwork of years', indeed centuries', labour. And even as a good nationalist, do you seriously believe that the mountains of bleeding corpses and the wilderness of bombed and burnt cities that is everyday widening between your two countries, is making it easier for you two peoples to stretch your hands in a clasp of everlasting goodwill?

You complain that while the Chinese, being "dishonest," are spreading their malicious propaganda, your people, being "honest", are reticent. Do you not know, my friend, that there is no propaganda like good and noble deeds, and that if such deeds be yours, you need not fear any "trickery" of your victims? Nor need you fear the bogey of communism if there is no exploitation of the poor among your own people and the workers feel that they are justly treated.

I must thank you for explaining to me the meaning of our Indian philosophy and pointing out that the proper interpretation of Kali and Shiva must compel our approval of Japan's "dance of death" in China. I wish you had drawn a moral from a religion more familiar to you and appealed to the Buddha for your justification. But I forget that your priests and artists have already made sure of that, for I saw in a recent issue of *The Osaka Mainichi* and *The Tokyo Nichi* (16th September, 1938)

a picture of a new colossal image of the Buddha erected to bless the massacre of your neighbours.

You must forgive me if my words sound bitter. Believe me, it is sorrow and shame, not anger, that prompt me to write to you. I suffer intensely not only because the reports of Chinese suffering batter against my heart, but because I can no longer point out with pride the example of a great Japan. It is true that there are no better standards prevalent anywhere else and that the so-called civilized peoples of the West are proving equally barbarous and even less "worthy of trust." If you refer me to them, I have nothing to say. What I should have liked is to be able to refer them to you. I shall say nothing of my own people, for it is vain to boast until one has succeeded in sustaining one's principles to the end.

I am quite conscious of the honour you do me in asking me to act as a peace-maker. Were it in any way possible for me to bring you two peoples together and see you freed from this death-struggle and pledged to the great common "work of reconstructing the new world in Asia," I would regard the sacrifice of my life in the cause a proud privilege. But I have no power save that of moral persuasion, which you have so eloquently ridiculed. You who want me to be impartial, how can you expect me to appeal to Chiang Kai-shek to give up resisting unless the aggressors have first withdrawn their aggression? Do you know that last week when I received a pressing invitation from an old friend of mine in Japan to visit your country, I actually thought for a moment, foolish idealist as I am, that your people may really need my services to minister to the bleeding heart of Asia and to help extract from its riddled body the bullets of hatred? I wrote to my friend:

"Though the present state of my health is hardly favourable for any strain of a long foreign journey, I should seriously consider your proposal if proper opportunity is given me to carry out my own mission while there, which is to do my best to establish a civilized relationship of national amity between two great peoples of Asia who are entangled in a desolating mutual destruction. But as I am doubtful whether the military authorities of Japan, which seem bent upon devastating China in order to gain their object, will allow me the freedom to take my own course, I shall never forgive myself if I am tempted for any reason whatever to pay a friendly visit to Japan just at this unfortunate moment and thus cause a grave misunderstanding. You know I have a genuine love for the Japanese people and it is sure to hurt me too painfully to go and watch crowds of them being transported by their rulers to a neighbouring land to perpetrate acts of inhumanity which will brand their name with a lasting stain in the history of Man."

After the letter was despatched came the news of the fall of Canton and Hankow. The cripple, shorn of his power to strike, may collapse, but to be able to ask him to forget the memory of his mutilation as easily as you want me to, I must expect him to be an angel.

Wishing your people whom I love, not success, but remorse.







THREE MAIDENS  
By Chintamani Kar

# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### *Lord Zetland's Ostrich-like Self-delusion*

Speaking at the Town Hall in Torquay on the 18th November last, Lord Zetland said :

"When the history of the past few years comes to be written, it will be seen that our energies have been devoted to one great purpose—the removal of the causes of conflict between us and other peoples in all parts of the world. Our task has been not an easy one, for the war left behind a vast legacy of bitterness and unrest. Yet if much still remains to be accomplished, we may, without being unduly boastful, at least lay claim to some striking successes.

"You have only to compare our relations with the peoples of India, Egypt, Italy and Ireland today with what they were, not so very long ago, to be satisfied as to that."

The British Government has been trying no doubt to remove the causes of conflict between the British people and other peoples in different parts of the world, but not in *all* parts; nor are its policy and methods the same everywhere. Moreover, in some cases the causes of conflict have been only temporarily removed. By yielding to Germany Britain has averted an immediate outbreak of war; but thereby she has unintentionally increased Germany's strength in the next war. Similarly, by recognising Italy's conquest of Abyssinia she has for the time being won the good graces of Italy, but has at the same time made her feel stronger and safer and stimulated her predatory proclivities.

Continuing, the Secretary of State for India observed :

"Those of you who have studied our recent announcement of policy will be aware that we are even now

engaged in a similar attempt to find by discussion and negotiation a solution of the most difficult problem presented by the conflict of interests between the Jews and the Arabs in Palestine."

To say that Britishers are trying to find a solution of the Palestine problem "by discussion and negotiation" is to state only a very small part of the truth, if that at all. Thousands of soldiers with all the paraphernalia of war, actual fighting and martial law cannot be considered parts of discussion and negotiation. And this sort of "discussion and negotiation" has not so far removed the causes of conflict between either Jews and Britain or Arabs and Britain, but has made enemies of both

Lord Zetland went on to say :

"In these days the panorama of world events revolves around us with such bewildering rapidity that we are apt to lose sight of the particular features of the picture. Let me remind you that our treaty with Egypt, our agreements with Ireland and Italy and the Act under which Parliamentary Government had been instituted in India, are great achievements in the policy of conciliation and appeasement—achievements which have not been lightly won but at the expense rather of protracted endeavour and patient negotiation."

The treaty with Egypt, the agreements with Ireland and Italy, and the Government of India Act ought not to have been mentioned in the same breath.

The Irish people have fought for freedom (in a very literal sense) for centuries. Britain felt constrained to yield, but she did not concede all that the Irish wanted. However, Mr. De Valera has used the Irish self-government act with such consummate strategy that

what Britain did not concede has been obtained in a different way. Nevertheless Ireland, or rather Eire, is not yet conciliated or appeased. She will not be satisfied until North Ireland is united with other parts of the island to form the United State of Eire. When Eire thus obtains her heart's desire, Britain will then no doubt declare that she generously adopted a policy of conciliation and appeasement in Ireland.

As regards Egypt, Italy's ambitions in Africa, as evidenced, for example, by her Ethiopian campaign, made it necessary for Britain to conciliate Egypt to some extent. But it can be shown that Egypt is not quite satisfied with the measure of freedom she has got.

It is not a correct description of the Government of India Act to say that parliamentary government has been instituted by it in India. Its shadow has been introduced in the provinces under the auspices of the Act, but not yet in the central sphere. Moreover, in Ireland and Egypt the people got from Britain at least a part of what they wanted. But in the case of India, as admitted in the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee's Report, Britain did not concede even what those whom the Committee styled "moderates" (like the Aga Khan) had asked for.

Germany is strong: Britain must yield to her threats. Italy is strong: *ditto* in her case too. Ireland has been very troublesome and may help the enemy in case of a war in Europe: therefore, she must be conciliated. In case of war with Italy, Egypt may cause trouble in the Suez zone and also in Africa towards the sources of the Nile—and she is more united than India: Egypt, too, must be pleased.

But Britain determined to sit tight in India. She could depend upon the Muslims and the "Minority Pact" to keep India divided. And the ruling princes could be used as tools to keep in check and neutralize the forces of nationalism in British-ruled India. But the Constitution given to India has not at all pleased the Indian National Congress, or the Indian National Liberal Federation, or the Hindu Mahasabha, or even the Muslim League and other Muslim bodies.

In an expansive mood, Lord Zetland proceeded:

"I hope that, in view of the office which I hold, you will bear with me for a few minutes, while I say a word about one of them—the establishment of parliamentary government in India. Men who a few years ago were at daggers drawn are working together in cordial co-

operation today. In the provinces, such as the Punjab and Bengal, Ministries responsible to the new legislatures have been functioning successfully from the day on which the new constitution came into operation.

In the other provinces, Congress ministers, some of whom were not so long ago in prison for deliberate defiance of law, are now in office directing the policy and administering law. And British and Indian members of the civil services and police force, who were instrumental in imprisoning them, are now working happily under them. Has that not been worth doing?

"And let me take this opportunity, the first that I have had since the recent crisis, of giving public expression to the gratitude of His Majesty's Government to the Princes and people of India for the swift expression of their loyalty to the Crown. With traditional fealty the Princes of India placed their services and the resources of their States at the disposal of His Majesty; while Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, the Prime Minister of the Punjab, now one of the great self-governing provinces in India, which he proudly and justifiably described as the sword arm of India, declared that he and his people would stand by us through thick and thin."

It is only congenital or wilful blindness which can describe the functioning of the new legislatures in the Panjab and Bengal—particularly Bengal, as successful. Why, in Bengal ask even the Muslims what good the Fazlul Huq Cabinet has done even to the Muslim community. Providing a very few men with fat jobs and buying over a few opponents cannot be held to be synonymous with doing good to the community. It is an indisputable fact that there is great discontent in Bengal. As for the successful working of the legislatures in the Panjab, let the "Black Bills" alone bear witness. The rest of India perhaps does not fully understand what these Bills mean. Raja Narendranath's article on the subject in our next number will convince those who do not know.

As for the Congress ministries working the constitution, does not Lord Zetland know that their object is to strengthen the nation for overthrowing the British-made constitution? They have provisionally accepted it, but only because they want to use it as a weapon for enabling them to successfully convene a constituent assembly in order that a constitution may be framed for a free India by Indians themselves.

Lord Zetland has spoken only about the provinces. What about the central government? What of the government scheme of Federation? Has not the Government of India to make mighty efforts to persuade (or prevail upon by pressure) the requisite number of the princes to accede to the Federation? Is not the Muslim League opposed to the Government scheme of Federation? And above all, has not the news of the Congress President's vigorous campaign against it reached Britain? The Congress

President has repeatedly said that there will be civil disobedience if the British-made Federation is forced on India.

The placing of their services and the resources of their states by the princes at the disposal of His Majesty, cannot be even imagined to be due to the Government of India Act, as his lordship wanted indirectly to convey to his audience. It has become a habit with them ever since they became vassals of the British Crown and came to depend upon it for protection against their own subjects.

Nevertheless, the Secretary of State for India may be allowed to boast of and boost the loyalty of the princes. But why bracket "the people of India" with them? The people have not placed their services and their resources at the disposal of His Majesty. On the contrary, both in the Central Legislature at the time of the debate on the army recruitment bill and in the country at large public opinion has found unequivocal expression that the people of India are not to side with England in her wars.

As for the people of the Indian States, there is the greatest possible resentment in their minds that they have been entirely ignored in the British-made constitution of India and the scheme of federation forming part of it. They are, in a good many states, engaged in a literally life and death *non-violent* struggle for even the small amount of freedom which the people of British-ruled India have, and in consequence in several states many persons have been shot down and many more wounded and considerable numbers arrested or otherwise harassed. Surely this is not conciliation and appeasement or an indication that the people have been rendered particularly loyal thereby.

Lord Zetland certainly knows that the Government of India Act has done grave injustice to the Hindus of Bengal and far from giving them any "weightage," which as a minority community in the province they would have got if they had been Muslims, they have been given even a smaller number of seats in the legislature than even their mere numbers would have entitled them to and thus reduced them to political impotence. And he knows, too, that in the Central or Federal Legislature the Hindus of India, who are an absolute majority, have been reduced to the position of a minority. Does this make for conciliation and appeasement? Can this manufacture loyalty?

His lordship speaks of the Panjab being one of "the great self-governing provinces in India." "Self-governing" indeed!

As for Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan's declaration that he and his people would stand by the British people through thick and thin, every one who knows anything about the mercenary character of the Indian army knows that the British Government does not depend on the good graces of a provincial chief minister or any other Indian to be able to use that army for imperial purposes, and that, whatever Sir Sikandar's representative character in the Panjab, none but an ignoramus would take him to be a representative man of the whole of India.

Lord Zetland next passed on to speak of the pact with Italy, alleged to have been entered into because of the impotence of the League of Nations :

"I pass from India to Italy and to the efforts which we have made to restore the traditional relations of friendship between the Italian people and ourselves. In contracting the agreement which came into full force two days ago, we have been accused of departing from the ideal of the League of Nations. That is really not so. We are as strongly attached as ever we were to the ideal of the League, and for my part I go so far as to say that the only hope for mankind lies in the acceptance by all civilised peoples of the fundamental principle upon which the League is based, namely, that in the case of nations as in the case of individuals, the supreme authority for the settlement of disputes, must be not physical force, but law. But we have to take the League, not as we think that it ought be, but as a fact we find it.

"And if one thing is crystal clear, it is that the League, as at present constituted, is wholly incapable of discharging the more important of the functions originally assigned to it. The willingness of individuals to submit to the judgments of courts of law in any country is due to their conviction that in the last resort there is behind the courts adequate power to enforce their judgment. Similarly the willingness of nations to submit their differences to and to accept the verdict of an international tribunal can only be expected if they are convinced that there is behind it sufficient power to enforce its judgments.

"Unhappily it is precisely this conviction that is lacking. How, indeed, could it be otherwise with the majority of the great Powers standing coldly aloof or actively hostile to it.

"That then is the position so far as the League is concerned and it was in these circumstances that we seized the opportunity, when it occurred, of furthering the cause of peace by other means."

Whatever Lord Zetland may say, there has been a departure from the ideal of the League of Nations in the case of Abyssinia. According to the covenant of the League of Nations all League Members, of which Britain was one, were bound to come to the rescue of Abyssinia in order to maintain its territorial integrity when that was threatened. Britain and France were and are the two most influential and powerful members of the League. All along they were concerned with their own interests alone.

They may profess lip allegiance to the ideal and principles of the League; but they never took up a firm attitude when a strong nation encroached on the rights of a disorganised or a weak people. That is why Abyssinia had to fight single-handed. That is why China has been fighting single-handed. In the case of Abyssinia, the so-called principle of non-intervention actually worked against it whilst Italy all along enjoyed facilities to procure war materials.

The League has no existence apart from its members. If it is impotent, it is because its most powerful members have not taken the steps necessary to make it strong. If the ideal of the League is to be made a reality, strong nations must be prevented from aggrandizing themselves at the expense of weaker countries. But the most powerful members of the League are what they at present are because in the past they have victimized weak peoples. Whole-souled opposition to present-day aggressors on the part of those who had been themselves aggressors in the past, cannot be expected. Their guilty conscience would make cowards of them all.

They can act sincerely and wholeheartedly for the League ideal, only by giving up their ill-gotten dependencies and colonies and making them fully self-ruling.

Lord Zetland says that as, owing to its impotence, the League could not further the cause of peace (by preventing Italian aggression on Abyssinia), Britain "furthered the cause of peace by other means." And what was this other means? Why, telling the Abyssinians that they must be reconciled to their extinction as an independent people, and the Italians that they had behaved right imperially and were entitled to grasp Britain's outstretched hand of friendship! In private life, householders can always purchase peace in this way by surrendering to robbers.

### *Lord Zetland on the Case of Czechoslovakia*

The remaining portion of Lord Zetland's speech was devoted to Czechoslovakia. So much has been already written on the calamity which has been allowed to overtake that unfortunate country that if we were to examine his lordship's arguments in detail we should be repeating what has been said again and again. We shall, therefore, consider only a few of his points.

"And now I come to the grave crisis which six or seven weeks ago shook to its foundations the confidence of men in the peaceful and orderly progress of the world.

"Here again under the guidance of the Prime Minister we sought to and succeeded in solving the problem of resort to reason as becomes civilised men and not to force. And here again we have been most unwarrantably attacked. We are told that we have lowered the prestige of England."

Does Lord Zetland really believe that giving Germany what Herr Hitler wanted has promoted the cause of "the peaceful and orderly progress of the world"? The cause of peace suffers as much, if one gains his object by threat of war, as, if one gained it by actual warfare.

His lordship thinks that there has been no pusillanimous surrender to dictators and that, therefore, there has not been any lowering of British prestige. We cannot speak of other countries from personal knowledge. But we know, people in India now think poorly of British chivalry and valour, and hence there has been loss of British prestige in this country. And from Dr. Goebbels's bantering and contemptuous tone whenever he speaks of Britain we guess Germans do not think very highly of British power and prowess.

His lordship proceeded to observe:

"We had no commitment of any kind towards Czechoslovakia; we were under no treaty obligation to them."

It is immaterial whether Britain had any particular commitment towards Czechoslovakia in particular, or was under any treaty obligation to the Czechs. For, according to the covenant of the League of Nations, League members, of whom Britain and France were the most powerful, were bound to safeguard the territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia, another member of the League. Many well-informed publicists hold that Britain *had* commitments towards Czechoslovakia. But as we have said, it is immaterial whether she had any towards Czechoslovakia in particular.

Lord Zetland continued:

"There was a time when we hoped that a solution might be found in a measure of autonomy for the Sudeten Germans within the Czech State. But events were moving too fast. Every offer that Dr. Benes made came too late. It was a case of the Sibylline Books over again. With every bid that he made he found that the price had risen against him."

Why did the price rise with every bid that Dr. Benes made? Obviously because the pro-Hitler Sudeten Germans knew that Herr Hitler had his battalions to back them. It was not a case of peaceful negotiations between two parties, both appealing to the arbitrament of



facts and reason, but a case in which one of the parties from the very beginning had the armed might of Germany behind it and acted under Germany's incitement.

His lordship stated :

"The state of Czechoslovakia was admittedly an artificial creation of the Peace Treaty of Versailles. The territory with the German population numbering, when the issue came to a head, three and a half millions, was included in it at the suggestion of the French for admittedly strategic reasons."

There is no doubt the state of Czechoslovakia was created by the peace treaty of Versailles. But does Lord Zetland's last quoted assertion printed above square with the following passage extracted from new Volume 31 of *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th Edition), article Europe, page 33 ?

1. The ancient kingdom of Bohemia, which since 1526 had been merged in the Habsburg possessions, reappeared under the title of Czechoslovakia. To quote the preamble to one of the treaties signed at St. Germain :—

"The Union which formerly existed between the old Kingdom of Bohemia, the Margravate of Moravia and the Duchy of Silesia on the one hand, and the other territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy on the other, has definitely ceased to exist, and the peoples of Bohemia, of Moravia and of part of Silesia, as well as the peoples of Slovakia, have decided **OF THEIR OWN FREE WILL** to unite, and have in fact united, in a **PERMANENT UNION** for the purpose of forming a single sovereign independent State under the title of the *Czecho-Slovak Republic*." (Italics and thick type ours.—Editor, M. R.)

In this connection may be read again our note on page 540 of our last number in which it has been shown that the Sudeten area was never part of Germany.

Lord Zetland has said :

"Put quite briefly, the two alternatives were self-determination for the Sudeten Germans or war."

As there was no plebiscite, it cannot be claimed that the union of the Sudeten area with Germany was the result of self-determination. As the Sudeten Germans united with others, *of their own free will*, to form the republic of Czechoslovakia after the great war, it is not unimaginable that a plebiscite under international guarantee and auspices might have shown that the majority of the people in the Sudeten area (who are not all Germans) were willing to remain an autonomous part of the democracy of Czechoslovakia instead of coming under the despotic power of Herr Hitler.

As Lord Zetland professes to be an advocate of self-determination, perhaps he may avail himself of some future opportunity to explain how the Abyssinians have 'self-determined' to come under Italy's rule. And

will his lordship allow Indians, who are his particular charge, to exercise the right of self-determination ?

Towards the end of his speech Lord Zetland spoke as if the British Prime Minister had succeeded in preventing Germany from having a strategic frontier. But in reality it was not so. Herr Hitler has actually obtained a strategic frontier.

### *Kemal Ataturk*

By the death of Kemal Ataturk the world has lost one of the greatest soldier-statesmen of this century, who was the liberator and regenerator of his country. But for his leadership in war Turkey would perhaps have fallen a prey to the land-hunger and rapacity of some European power or other and disappeared from the map of Europe as an independent country. He saved his country from that calamity, and made the "Sick Man of Europe" a hale and hearty and vigorous personality.

He could have become the Sultan of Turkey, but he made the country a republic and became its first president. He was no doubt a dictator, but a dictator of a different kind from what Mussolini, Stalin and Hitler are.

Under him Turkey ceased to be a theocratic state with Islam as the State religion. He made it a thoroughly secular state like many other modern civilized states. Under the Sultans the Quranic law was the law of the land. He abolished it and substituted for it up-to-date modern civil and criminal codes on the French and Swiss models. The theological or religious teachers of the people, those who are generally known as Mullas, Maulvis or Maulanas, ceased to have any power or influence in the state and over the people.

He abolished the Khilafat. Just as he could have become Sultan if he had any imperial ambition, so he could have become the Caliph if he had any personal ambition of a so-called religious character. But his object was of a different character. He wanted to make his nation strong, prosperous and progressive, and his country civilized in the modern sense. So he resolved to keep his country clear of any theocratic colouring and himself of any so-called spiritual glamour. Hence the abolition of the Khilafat.

His educational reforms had the same kind of object. Like the existing *maktabs* and *madrasas* of India, those institutions in Turkey were the strongholds of bigotry and obscurantism. He, therefore, abolished them and established in their stead educational institu-



tions of a modern, enlightened and progressive type.

His penalization of the use of the *fez* and his prescription of the wearing of the hat instead may be interpreted as an attempt to denationalize his people. But, as we shall see, he was a staunch nationalist. He wanted his people to feel that they were as modern and strong and progressive as the other people of Europe, and he wanted the world outside also to consider them as such, not as "interesting specimens of humanity", living in Europe indeed but unlike other Europeans.

We have said he was a staunch nationalist. His nationalism comes out very clearly in his linguistic reforms. The Turks are not a Semitic people. Turkish is not a Semitic tongue, but under the influence of Muhammadanism it had become Arabicized to a great extent by the introduction of a large Arabic vocabulary and by the adoption of the Arabic alphabet and script. Kemal Ataturk wanted to restore to Turkish its national character. With this object in view he purged the Turkish vocabulary of all Arabic words and brought back into use their genuine Turkish equivalents which had fallen into entire or partial disuse, or got new Turkish words coined as substitutes for the discarded Arabic words. The Arabic alphabet and script being unscientific and the cursive style most in use being difficult to read correctly, he introduced the Roman script instead. Literacy thus became easier and possible of achievement more quickly. The adoption of the Roman script has also made it easier for Turks to learn English, French, Italian, etc

Kemal Ataturk's nationalism found expression in another direction. Arabic, the language of the Quran, is used in Islamic worship. For the original Arabic sentences used therein Kemal substituted their Turkish translations. For the use of worshippers mosques were provided with furniture for sitting like Christian churches.

The social reforms introduced by Kemal Ataturk were of a radical character. He abolished the *purdah*, the veil and the harem, and emancipated the women of Turkey. Girls were given equal educational facilities with boys and various professions and occupations were thrown open to women. Polygamy has been abolished and women have been given the right of divorce.

Kemal has industrialized Turkey, to a great extent, and improved its agriculture, too. Foreigners had become predominant in many

professions and occupations. This was bad for Turkey and the Turks in two ways. It led to the exploitation of the country by non-Turks and stood in the way of the prosperity of the Turks and Turkey. If a country wishes to become or remain really independent, it is necessary that its nationals should be the most influential men in all professions and occupations. But if non-nationals predominate in them, in times of national danger, not only is the state deprived of the whole-hearted moral and material support of large and influential sections of the professions and occupational classes, but these foreigners tend actually to throw their weight, directly or indirectly, on the side of the party endangering the safety of the country. For these and similar reasons Kemal Ataturk closed numerous professions and occupations to foreigners.

Perhaps for cognate reasons, he strictly limited the activities of those foreign educational institutions, conducted by Christians, whose direct or indirect object was proselytism; for proselytization is often attended with denationalization.

In order that Turkey may remain free, Kemal Ataturk strengthened its defences, and paid due attention to its land and air forces and its navy. The need of a fleet of mercantile vessels, too, did not escape his attention.

It is to be hoped that under his successor the forces of reaction will not gain sway and progress will be maintained and accelerated in all directions.

### *Indian Muslims and Kemal Ataturk*

Along with the other sections of the people of India, Indian Muslims have held meetings to mourn the death and honour the memory of Kemal Ataturk. Though most of them perhaps honour him because he was a Muslim by birth and because he was a *ghazi* who beat his Christian opponents in battle, let us hope some at least among them are in sympathy with his genuine nationalism and his linguistic, social and educational reforms. We say this, because among the leading Indian Muslims who have praised him after his death there are many whose opinions and activities run counter to Kemal's reforms.

### *Arabic Script and Words in Some Indian Languages*

In several Indian languages, including Bengali, some Arabic words have become naturalized and current—sometimes in an

altered form. Even among Hindu writers of those languages the consensus of opinion is that these and other Asiatic and European words should not be discarded. Therefore, they do not want to go so far as Kemal Ataturk did with reference to Arabic words in Turkish. What our non-Muslim writers and linguists want is that, if new words have to be coined for scientific and other purposes for use in Indian languages like Marathi, Gujarati, Telugu, Bengali, Hindi, etc., they should be derived from Sanskrit roots. But Muslim writers of Urdu insist upon these new words being derived from Arabic or Persian. Some Mussalman writers of Bengali school text-books go even further. Some of them have actually used in their books Arabic words in lieu of Bengali words commonly used by both Hindus and Mussalmans.

As regards script, Mussalmans in India insist upon the retention of the Arabic script in Urdu (or Hindustani) in spite of the obvious defects of that script, whereas Kemal Ataturk had no hesitation to discard the Arabic script.

Though that eminent Turkish nationalist introduced Turkish in Islamic worship, the use of any Indian language in such worship would be unthinkable in India.

### *Pardah College for Bengal Muslim Girls*

Kemal Ataturk abolished the purdah and the veil in Turkey. But the largest and most influential section of Muslims in this country are so purdah-ridden that Bengal is going to be saddled with a purdah college for Muslim girls, as if the existing colleges which admit girls of all religious communities could not accommodate the very small number of Muslim girls who at present go in for or may be expected to go in for such education for many years to come.

In the years 1935, 1936, and 1937 there were altogether 37 Muslim girls in the I.A. and I.Sc. classes of our colleges. There are at present in Calcutta four colleges which hold separate morning classes for girl students, and they all admit Muslim girls. There are two or three girls' colleges in the mofussil also. It is absurd to think that these six or seven colleges cannot take in some 37 or 50 Muslim girls, or that Muslim purdah must needs be so strict as to prevent Muslim girls being seen or spoken to by non-Muslim persons of even the female sex.

Upholders of the purdah in this country should explain in what particulars they follow

the principles of Kemal Ataturk. Needless to say that these persons cannot possibly support Kemal's throwing of the professions open to Turkish women.

### *Maktabas & Madrasas in Turkey and India*

Kemal abolished all *maktabas* and *madrasas* in Turkey and established educational institutions of the modern type in their stead. In Bengal, and perhaps in other provinces, too, successive reports of the education department have condemned *maktabas* and *madrasas* from the educationalist's point of view. Yet our Muslim countrymen are so fond of them that, far from their disappearance, they are perhaps multiplying. And yet their advocates must needs praise Kemal Ataturk.

### *The Fez*

The Turkish Dictator penalized the wearing of the *fez*. Here in India, at least in some parts of it, Muslim males are fanatically fond of it and seem almost to consider it essential for them to wear it. A Muslim with a *fez* on eulogizing Kemal is an interesting sight.

### *The Khilafat*

Among Indian Muslims there are enthusiastic Khilafatists who are equally enthusiastic in their "admiration" of Kemal Ataturk who abolished the Khilafat.

The raging and tearing campaign carried on in India in favour of the Khilafat some years ago need not be described.

### *Indian Muslims and Polygamy and Women's Right of Divorce*

The Turkish Dictator abolished polygamy and gave women the right to divorce. Here in India, whenever any bill directed against polygamy is sought to be introduced in any legislative body, the sponsor has to exclude Muslims from its operation—so wedded they are to that institution.

As regards women's right to divorce, newspaper readers know that a certain bill introduced in the Central Legislature a few months back by a Muslim member seeks to tie down Muslim wives to their husbands even if the wives have renounced Muhammadanism and embraced a different faith in order to shake off their Muslim husbands.

### *The Quranic Law and Indian Muslims*

It has been stated in a previous note that Kemal Ataturk introduced modern codes in the place of the Quranic law. The tendency among Indian Muslims is in the opposite direction.

### *"Pictures of Japanese Atrocities"*

Mr. Rashbehari Bose has sent from Tokyo a letter to some Indian newspapers in which he criticizes and condemns Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Congress leaders and Indian publicists in general for their attitude towards fascist and totalitarian states and their condemnation of Japan for attacking China. It is not necessary for us to comment on what Mr. Bose says about Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Indian leaders. They are quite capable of defending themselves if they think it at all necessary. It is believed that Mr. Bose's only claim to speak authoritatively on Indian politics is that he is alleged to have thrown a bomb at Lord Hardinge at Delhi and then succeeded in reaching Japan. That being so, it would have been more becoming if he had not given himself superior airs and lectured to Indian leaders, e.g., Rabindranath Tagore and others, as to how they ought to think and behave.

As humble journalists we have to take notice of what Mr. Bose says of ourselves. He writes :

Since the beginning of the Sino-Japanese conflict, a section of the Indians, particularly those belonging to the Congress, has persistently carried on anti-Japanese activities of various kinds. The other day a first class Indian magazine published two photos of Japanese soldiers beheading Chinese prisoners. A man with a grain of intelligence will easily understand that the photos are fake, and purposely made and circulated for anti-Japanese propaganda. As a matter of fact such photos can be had in Shanghai at the rate of ten for one dollar. If the Japanese soldiers really wanted to behead the Chinese prisoners, is it conceivable that they would first ask the Chinese to have the scene photographed and then carry out their gruesome task? A child can realise the faked nature of the whole thing. Yet the venerable editor of the Indian magazine published such photos without attempting to find out whether they could be true or fake.

In the course of his letter to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore the Japanese poet Mr. Yone Noguchi also criticized us for publishing those photographs. Our reply will be found in our last November number, pages 530 and 531.

We received *The China Weekly Review* for October 22, 1938, after the publication of our November number. It contains an article on page 244 bearing on the subject, with the caption, "Cases Where Truth Was Stranger

Than Fiction." The whole article is printed below.

So much has been published about Japanese atrocities in China that the public has ceased to be impressed. In fact many of the stories were so horrible that the public put them down as propaganda, the sort of stuff fed to the public during the late war.

This was the experience of *Readers Digest*, with regard to a condensation of an article entitled, "The Sack of Nanking," which appeared originally in the new Chicago magazine *Ken*. Following the publication of the article in *Readers Digest*, the editors received numerous letters from subscribers who refused to believe the gruesome story and put it down as rank propaganda. This caused the editors of *Readers Digest* to make further research into the authenticity of the reports. The result was a series of letters (many already published in *The Review*), from persons who were in Nanking at the time of the Japanese occupation, hence were in a position to testify to the accuracy of the original reports, and more.

In this case "truth was stranger than fiction," meaning that the stories of the eye-witnesses were far worse in their descriptions of horrors than were the second-hand hearsay reports originally telegraphed over the world.

The same thing is true with regard to pictures of Japanese atrocities. Practically every important newspaper office has pictures of Japanese atrocities which the editors refused to print, simply because they were too horrible to believe, or for fear the reader would be so disgusted as to cease reading the newspaper which published the pictures. However, some papers did print the pictures, particularly the picture magazines which made a feature of the horrors. But recently an entirely new series of pictures have appeared which no paper has published. We refer to the pictures showing bodies of Chinese women who have been raped and desecrated by Japanese soldiers.

But how about the proof—that these atrocities were the work of Japanese soldiers?

The proof is provided by the pictures themselves, for practically all of them show Japanese soldiers standing about the bodies of their victims. In one case several Japanese soldiers are sitting about the body of a Chinese woman and one of the men was shown wiping blood from the bayonet of his rifle, after having put an end to the woman's suffering by a thrust through her heart.

In the case of the Nanking atrocities, where the Japanese killed some 24,000 disarmed soldiers and civilians in a mad orgy of rape and massacres following occupation of the former Chinese capital, the Japanese apparently were so proud of their work that they took pictures of each other while in the act of chopping off Chinese heads or using living Chinese for bayonet practice.

But while it is possible to imagine a Japanese soldier photographing his friend while chopping off the head of an unfortunate Chinese, or using the body of a living Chinese for bayonet practice, it is difficult to imagine Japanese soldiers photographing each other while engaged in raping activities. But here again truth is stranger than fiction. Such pictures actually exist, although none has yet been printed.

How were they obtained? The answer is simple: The Japanese soldiers took their films to Chinese shops to be developed, or the Japanese shops where the pictures were taken had Chinese employees who took copies and had them reproduced in other shops!

### *Traffic in Women and Children*

Recently a paragraph went round the papers that for the traffic in women and children for immoral purposes which goes on in northern and north-western India and Sind the victims are found in considerable numbers in the United Provinces. So far as Bengal is concerned, it is known that some of the girls and women abducted or kidnapped here are disposed of so far away as Sind.

But in these days of inter-provincial misunderstanding and tension we prefer to speak only of Bengal's shame. Here the number of cases of abduction, kidnapping and criminal assault is alarming and shameful. In the rural areas, girls and women are ignorant and gullible. There are very many brutes in human form to victimize them for the gratification of their bestial propensities. But some of the victims are used for the purposes of immoral traffic also. All this is possible because, as on the one hand there are brutes, so on the other there is lack of sufficient understanding of the seriousness and magnitude of the evil and active courage to face it and eradicate it.

It would be wrong to assume that it was only ignorant village girls and women alone who were victimized. There is reason to believe that there are rich and 'respectably'-connected scoundrels for whose bestial gratification educated town girls and women are led into evil ways. Sometimes the names of some of these rascals pass from mouth to mouth in Calcutta and reach even places far distant from it. But somehow they remain at large, and there is no powerful organization to run them to earth and save society from putridity and peril. Such an organization is urgently needed. Cannot the Women's Protection League be strengthened for the purpose?

The following paragraphs from the League of Nations *Fortnightly News* show how widespread is the traffic in women and children:

"It is a clear sign of the growing similarity of the points of view concerning traffic in women and children of most of the countries in the world, that the international Conventions concluded under the auspices of the League in this domain are being increasingly ratified and that some of them are almost universally applied. Thus most of the self-governing countries in the world have become parties to such Conventions as the 1921 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children and the 1923 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Obscene Publications. These figures, however, do not give a full picture of the actual geographical area in which the Conventions are in force, as they do not include a large number of colonies, overseas possessions, protectorates and mandated territories which are also bound by the

provisions of these Conventions. The most recent of the international instruments in this field, the Convention of 1933 for the Suppression of Traffic in Women of Full Age, is now in force in approximately half the self-governing countries of the world.

"The Assembly also turned its attention to the recommendations of the Conference of Central Authorities held in Bandoeng, Java, in 1937, which proposed the creation of a League Bureau in the Far East to help Governments in combating the traffic in that part of the world. It has not been possible to give effect to the suggestion of the Conference, in view of the situation in the parts of the world which would have to be covered by the activities of the Bureau. The Assembly, however, in expressing the wish that the recommendations of the Conference should be carried out as soon as possible, suggested that the Advisory Committee on Social Questions should be invited to reconsider in further detail in 1939 the proposal for the creation of such a Bureau, in order that, as stated in a resolution, the scheme recommended by the Conference may be carried out in the most effective manner."

### *U. S. A. National Defence Programme*

The following cablegram, among others, shows that the armaments race among nations will continue for years to come:

WASHINGTON, Nov. 19.

The Navy department has awarded contracts for the construction of three battle-ships which are expected to cost over 150 million dollars. The contract for a fourth battle-ship has been held up pending a further study of the bids.

The contracts awarded are for ships of 35,000 tons. When they are completed the United States will have five of this size, two being already under construction.

The officials state that the armament and ammunition outlays are not included in the cost of construction which would raise the total expenditure on the three new battle-ships to 225 million dollars. They will not be ready for five years.

Mr. Snyder, chairman of the Military Appropriations Subcommittee of Congress, declared, after conferring with officials of the War department, that President Roosevelt's expanded programme of national defence will give the United States the strongest air force in the world by 1942—*Reuter*.

### *Mysore Congress on Viduraswatham Report*

BANGALORE, Nov. 25.

The Working Committee of the Mysore Congress, in course of a statement issued to the press states that it is emphatically of opinion that the report of the Viduraswatham disturbances and the Government order thereon "constitute a travesty of truth and justice and that the Committee has only functioned as a costly machinery of the Government for generally confirming the Government communique on the incidents and for condemning the legitimate and peaceful activities of the Mysore State Congress and for hampering the struggle for freedom in Mysore."

The Working Committee emphatically repudiates the charge of the Ramesam Committee that a "campaign of unparalleled virulence without any regard to truth was conducted by the Congress."

It is also pointed out that the committee have ruled out discussion of political reforms as alien to the scope

of their enquiry but had nevertheless suggested the introduction of the Criminal Law Amendment Act in Mysore.—“*United Press*.”

### *Likely Move to Crush Indian States People's Agitation?*

BOMBAY, Nov. 25.

There are persistent rumours in the city that a set of ordinances calculated to crush the movement for responsible government in States are likely to be promulgated by the Central Government shortly.

This is believed to be a sequel to the recent change in the attitude of the Central Government towards the agitation in States from non-intervention to active sympathy with the Princes.—“*United Press*.”

If the rumours be true, the Central Government cannot be praised for wise statesmanship. Repression may delay the people's triumph, but it cannot crush them. It can only make the Central Government and the Princes concerned more unpopular than they are already.

### *Conflicting Rumours About Rajkot*

BOMBAY, Nov. 25.

It is also stated that the provisions of the Princes' Protection Act, so far as it applies to Rajkot may be stiffened. In this connection, it is stated that the Government of India do not look with favour on the growing volume of agitation in Rajkot.

Negotiations for a compromise, however, continue and Mr. Anantrai Pattani, Dewan of Bhavnagar had a discussion with the Rajkot Dewan and Sir Patrick Cadell recently on the present situation in Rajkot when he is understood to have advised the latter to send for Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.—“*United Press*”

### *Biharis Owning Land in Bengal*

A Bihar daily writes :

“Nowhere in Bengal is the Bihari or the Oriya permitted to acquire rights in land and neither is commonly employed as an agricultural labourer.”—Part 1, p. 143.

So in nationalist Bengal, served by super-nationalist papers like the “*Patrika*” and the “*Hindustan Standard*,” Biharis and Oriyas are not allowed to acquire rights in land, are not allowed to engage themselves even as agricultural field-labourers, although in Bihar, Bengalis may purchase lands, acquire Zamindaris, start business concerns, using the resources of the province, and for employment to posts of non-coolie and non-menial classes indent their kith and kin from outside, ignoring even their old co-nationals, speaking the same tongue and proud of the same culture as their own.

The passage quoted by the Bihar paper is from Part 1 of the Bengal Census Report for the year 1921.

The sentences which immediately follow the one quoted by the Bihar paper from the 1921 Bengal Census Report, are :

“A possible exception to this rule exist (s) in the Dinajpur and Rangpur districts where there may have been as many as 30,000 Biharis found employed as field-

labourers but not more. The rule does not apply to Santals, etc., who are willing to take up vacant and comparatively unfertile lands on the outcrops of the Old Alluvium in West and North Bengal and have been allowed to do so.”

Mr. W. H. Thompson, I.C.S., superintendent, census operations, Bengal (1921), perhaps used the words ‘permitted’, ‘rule’, ‘exception’, ‘allowed’, etc, in a Pickwickian, or rather a ‘Thompsonian’ sense which we whose mother-tongue is not English cannot understand. He has not told us who did not permit some and allowed others, nor who made the rule or the exception. There is no rule in the legal sense preventing Biharis or Oriyas from acquiring land or working as field-labourers in Bengal.

After saying that 30,000 Biharis were employed as field-labourers in Rangpur and Dinajpur, he adds the words, “but not more”. Did he want or expect *all* or most of the field-labourers in Rangpur and Dinajpur to be Biharis to the exclusion of Bengali field-labourers?

When he says that in Bengal neither the Bihari nor the Oriya is *commonly* employed as an agricultural labourer, and adds that in Dinajpur and Rangpur 30,000 are so employed, it is quite easy to understand that where there are sufficient numbers of Bengali field-labourers to do the work, Biharis are not employed, but where the former are not sufficient in number Biharis are employed, as for example in Dinajpur and Rangpur. There is nothing unusual in this.

Mr. Thompson has not told us why what he found in Rangpur and Dinajpur, and what the Census Superintendent in 1931 found in Bogra, Jessore and Nadia, should be considered an ‘exception’ to the ‘rule’.

Examples may be given of Biharis acquiring land in Bengal. One will suffice. The Maharajahdhiraj of Durbhanga owns extensive Zamindari property in the district of Bankura. It was acquired within living memory. If a big Zamindari can be and has been acquired, small plots also can be and have been acquired. It is not necessary to compile a list of smaller Bihari proprietors of land in Bengal. The following passage from the Bengal Census Report, Part 1, of 1931, page 99, will show that thousands of persons from Bihar have acquired land in Bengal and settled there who are “now returned as native born” :

“Bogra in this way received colonists from Bihar during the middle of the last century. The decay of Jessore and parts of Nadia is similarly attracting settlers from Chota Nagpur and the Santal Parganas. In these three districts the figures of immigrants are by no means

the same as those of other than Bengalis since a considerable proportion of the population in these districts, whose ancestors were introduced during the last century, is now returned as native born although of course retaining its aboriginal race. Thus taking only four of the groups originative in east Bihar, (which implies that there are other groups originative in Bihar,—Ed, M. R.) viz, Bhumij, Munda, Oraon and Santal, the figures in Bogra, Jessore and Nadia are 12,272, 4,863 and 8,295, whereas the total immigration from Bihar and Orissa is, respectively, only 9,920, 3,627 and 6,623. In such areas as Burdwan, Rajshahi and the Chitragong Divisions, conditions\* exist which definitely encourage even the immigrant to some of the industrial areas to bring his family with him."

It is to be hoped that it will not be contended that the Bhumij and other settlers in Bengal whose ancestors came from Bihar are not Biharis by lineage. Should that be wrongly contended however, it is to be hoped that in any case the Maharajahdhiraj of Durbhanga and the Rajput and Bhumihar Brahman Zamindars owning Zamindaris in Bengal will be admitted to be genuine Biharis.

In Bengal there is no law which can prevent any non-Bengali from acquiring land. And that is quite right from the human and nationalist points of view.

### *Transfer of Land Under Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act*

We have said and shown in the foregoing note that there is no law in Bengal preventing non-Bengalis from acquiring land in this province. Not being lawyers we have done so after consulting a leading advocate. We have no detailed knowledge of the tenancy laws prevailing in different parts of the province of Bihar. We do not know whether they are similar to the Bengal laws. A friend has drawn our attention, however, to the sub-sections of section 46 of the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act (Amendment Act, 1938), which is Bihar Act II of 1938, printed below.

46 (3) An occupancy raiyat, who is an aboriginal or a member of a scheduled caste, may transfer his right in his holding or a portion of his holding by sale or exchange to another aboriginal or to another person who is a member of a scheduled caste, as the case may be, and who is resident within the local limits of the police station area within which the holding is situated and with the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner by gift or will to a near relative without limitation of residence.

(4) (a) An occupancy raiyat, who is not an aboriginal or a member of a scheduled caste, may transfer his right in his holding or any portion thereof to any person who is resident within the local limits of

the police station area within which the holding is situated by sale, exchange, gift, will, mortgage or lease.

One of the objects of these sub-sections appears to be to prevent land passing out of the hands of the aboriginal and scheduled caste people owning and cultivating it into the hands of those who are not cultivators. That is a good object. But it may sometimes be that an aboriginal and scheduled caste would-be purchaser, living just outside the local limits of the police station area within which the holding is situated or at some distance, may offer the highest price for it; and he may also be a cultivator himself. Why should the vendor be deprived of the pecuniary advantage of selling it to such a man? The Bihar Government has published lists of the aboriginals and the scheduled castes residing in Chota Nagpur. Do the lists include the Bengali aboriginals and Bengali scheduled caste people resident in or outside Chota Nagpur who are cultivators? If they do, they are not open to criticism. If they do not, the discrimination requires to be explained and justified.

### *Bengal Bill to Gag Press & Public Speakers*

In our last October number we criticized the "Bengal Official Records Bill" which was published in an extraordinary issue of the official *Calcutta Gazette* on September first last. The Official Records Bill of which the text has been published last month appears to be substantially identical with the one published in September. Some of the sections of this bill are printed below.

Definitions.—2. In this Act the expressions "newspapers," "news-sheet" and "press" have the meanings assigned to them in section 2 of the Indian Press (Emergency Power-) Act, 1931.

Prohibition of unauthorised publication of official records:—3. Whoever publishes in a newspaper or news-sheet or otherwise, by words or signs, written or spoken, communicates to one or more persons any unpublished official record relating to any affairs of State or any matter derived therefrom or any comment thereon except with the previous permission of the Provincial Government or any authority empowered in that behalf by the Provincial Governments obtained in such manner as the Provincial Government may by notification prescribe, shall be punishable with imprisonment, which may extend to one year or with fine or with both.

Explanation 1.—An official record communicated confidentially to any person before publication is an unpublished official record within the meaning of this section.

Explanation 2.—Where an offence under this section relates to publication in a newspaper or news-sheet, the editor thereof, the author of the offending matter and the keeper of the press on which the newspaper or news-sheet was printed are severally liable under this section.

\* Obviously "the conditions" include the availability to the immigrant of land to settle in and cultivate. —Ed., M; R



After a person has been convicted and sentence of imprisonment or fine or both has been pronounced on him for an offence under this law, he must not think that he would not be subjected to any additional punishment for practically the same offence. For, section 4 runs as follows :

Information regarding an offence under section 3 to be given. 4. (1) On demand by an authority empowered in this behalf by the Provincial Government, it shall be the duty of any person convicted of an offence under section 3 to give in writing all information in his power relating to such offence.

(2) Whoever fails to give all such information as aforesaid or gives any such information falsely shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to one year or with fine or with both.

One consequence of this section will be that if the person convicted declines to disclose the source of his information, additional punishment will be inflicted on him; and if he betrays his informant or informants and says how and from whom he obtained the official secrets made public by him, which would be against the canons of journalistic honour and convention, the official or officials concerned will be punished.

Sub-section (3) of section 5 lays down that trials under the proposed law may be held in camera, which is objectionable :

5. (3) In addition and without prejudice to any powers which a Court may possess to order the exclusion of the public from any proceedings, if in the course of the trial of any person under this Act or of an appeal against a conviction thereunder application is made by the prosecution, on the ground that the publication of any evidence to be given or of any statement to be made in the course of the proceedings would be prejudicial to the interests of the State, that the public shall be excluded during any part of the hearing, the Court may make an order to that effect, but the passing of sentence shall in any case take place in public.

One can understand that the unauthorized and premature publication of military plans, army manoeuvres, and the like may injure the State and the public and may, therefore, be penalised. Another kind of official information to which we are just going to refer must also be kept secret in the interests of the State. In paying a compliment to the trustworthiness of Indian officials, high and low, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, a former Finance Member of the Government of India, said in the course of a speech in 1913 :

"Three years ago when it fell to my lot to impose new taxes, it was imperative that their nature should remain secret until they were officially announced. Everybody in the department had to be entrusted with this secret. Any one of these, from high officials to low paid compositors of the Government Press, would have become a millionaire by using that secret

improperly. But even under such tremendous temptation not one betrayed his trust. So well was the secret kept that a ship laden with silver in Bombay delayed unnecessarily its unloading for three days and was consequently caught by the new tax."

It is not the divulging of official information only of the kinds indicated above that the Bill penalizes. If passed into law, it will enable the Government to punish the divulger of *any* kind of official information which the Ministry or other officials may wish for their own convenience and interest to keep secret. It will not be necessary for the prosecution to prove that its divulgence has injuriously affected the interests of the State or the public.

No doubt the bill gives the Provincial Government power to exclude certain records from the operation of the proposed law :

Power to exclude certain records from the operation of this Act :—8. The Provincial Government may, from time to time by notification in the "Official Gazette," exclude any official record or class of official record from the operation of this Act.

But it can scarcely be expected that the Government will be in a hurry to exclude such official records as the public may be particularly interested in having a knowledge of betimes.

Let us give a few examples of the kind of official information whose unauthorized publication was and in future will be in the public interest, but which the Bill, if it becomes law, will certainly penalise hereafter.

Lord Curzon's proposal for the partition of Bengal was subjected to severe criticism in a minute by Sir Henry Cotton, then Chief Commissioner of Assam. The former ordered that that minute should not be published. But it was published by Surendranath Banerjea in defiance of that order in his *Bengalee*. He thereby promoted public good. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* also published secret official information on several occasions, relating, for example, to Kashmir, Gilgit, Bhopal, etc., thereby serving the public but incurring the wrath of 'the powers that be.' In recent times the *Hindusthan Standard* has done quite the right thing by publishing two successive drafts of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill. Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, M.L.A., in his speech at the Calcutta University Institute on the 1st September last read out extracts from a secret report of a Press Officer of the Government of Bengal and the following extract from a Note of the Bengal Chief Minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq :

"In my opinion we should at once undertake legislation to compel newspapers to reserve two columns at any rate for the publication of Governmental matters. If we cannot give them sufficient matters to fill the two

columns, they will still keep the unutilised portions vacant in order to show that these columns have been reserved entirely for Government publications. It is on these conditions we can allow the press to function in our country."

The extracts read out by Mr Sarat Chandra Bose have not injured either the State or the public. On the contrary, they have warned the public of possible dangers ahead, and have warned the Chief Minister also that the public will not submit to such legislation. But if the Bill becomes law, no one will be able to publish such things hereafter without running the risk of being punished.

### *Responsible Government in Bhavnagar ?*

*The Bombay Chronicle* has published the following telegram :

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT)

BHAVNAGAR, Nov 22.

Dewan Anantraybhai Pattani and Nanabhai Bhatt of Daxinamurti arrived here today after long talks over political matters with Mahatmaji at Wardha.

It is understood that Anantraybhai as arbitrator of the Rajkot State and Nanabhai as representative of the Kathiawar Rajkiya Parishad saw Mahatman and Sardar Patel and discussed the Rajkot problem in detail.

A scheme of Responsible Government in the administration of states is under preparation by His Highness Krishnakumarsinhji and the Dewan.

According to the scheme limited powers are to be granted to one special council of people with a limited field of Responsible Government to be introduced as an experiment.

This Scheme of Responsible Government is likely to be officially announced in the first week of December.

If any ruling Prince tries to do good to his people, we have every desire to be appreciative.

We do not want to be censorious. But it is much to be desired that those among our ruling princes who wish to rule like statesmen will bear in mind that their people have come to know what rights the nationals of other lands and even of British-ruled India enjoy, that they have become restive, that they are as intelligent as foreigners, and that this is the age of the aeroplane. So whatever rights, important or otherwise, these princes wish to confer on their people should be given to them quickly and irrevocably; not at a snail's pace and experimentally.

### *Progressive Tendency in Mayurbhanj*

Mayurbhanj is the premier Indian state in Orissa. It is pleasing to note that it is not making history in the way that Dhenkanal, Talcher and some other Orissa states have been

unhappily doing, but has decided to move forward. An extraordinary issue of the *Mayurbhanj State Gazette*, dated the 23rd November, 1938, announces that

It is the intention of the Maharaja to bring the people of Mayurbhanj into closer touch with the State administration; and it is expedient, as a step in that direction, to constitute regular representative organizations in order to enable them to formulate local opinion in all matters concerning the well-being of the people in general and serve as mediums of communication of such opinion to the State authorities.

In accordance with this intention of the Maharaja a Praja Sabha will be constituted in each of the four sub-divisions of the State and in the municipal town of Baripada, with not less than 50 per cent of elected members, and not more than 50 per cent to be nominated by the Dewan. In the sub-divisions the adult male population will form the electorate, that is, there will be adult male suffrage, and in Baripada, the capital, the registered voters of the municipality.

7. A Praja Sabha may, at any duly convened meeting, consider all questions affecting the well-being of the people including matters relating to : (a) education, (b) public health and medical relief, (c) water supply, (d) agriculture, (e) communication, and (f) grievances of a general character, deserving consideration of the State authorities.

Though it is not a stride but a step that Mayurbhanj has taken, it is definitive and a step in the right direction, which should logically and naturally lead to other progressive developments.

### *Go-ahead Orchha*

His Highness the Maharaja of Orchha has taken steps to stop child marriages by introducing a 'Child Marriage Restraint Act' in his state. Offences under this Act have been made cognizable and the lowest age limit for marriages is 14 for girls and 18 for boys.

His Highness has also introduced from the same date the Unequal Marriages Act, according to which persons having 20 or more than 20 years' difference between their ages cannot marry. Non-observance of this rule would be an offence.

Another measure of reform deals with the right of all women to divorce their husbands under special circumstances.

The work of survey and settlement of the state is nearing completion and it is hoped will end in giving considerable relief to his peasantry. In the meantime large arrears have been remitted and facilities for the extension of cultivation have been enlarged.

By an Agricultural Relief Act introduced some two years ago, agriculturists were given adequate relief against attachment of their property under civil decrees. But as a further measure of relief, His Highness has recently ordered that from Dec. 1, 1938, all execution of civil decrees against the agriculturists will be held in suspense for three years, after which the position of the agriculturists will be reviewed.

An amendment to the provision of the Civil Procedure Code has been made with a view to enable the executing courts to fix easy instalments even in those cases where instalments were not fixed at the time of decree. Under the old law the courts could not do so without the consent of the decree holder.

Tikamgarh, the capital of Orchha state, had for three years past its own municipal board, but since July 1938, it has been made an entirely non-official body, consisting wholly of elected members with an elected chairman of their own.

### *Responsible Government in Oundh*

The Raja Saheb of Oundh has been perhaps the first among the rulers of the smaller Indian States to grant to his people the right of responsible self-government. He has been long known to educated India as a cultured patron of learning and literature who donated one lakh of rupees for the critical edition of the Mahabharat which is being published by the Bhandarkar Research Institute of Poona. He is also an artist who is illustrating this edition himself. To physical culturists he is known for his Suryanamaskar system of physical exercises.

### *Who Is A Cultivator ?*

If the owner of a small piece of land drives the plough himself and tills it and grows and harvests some crop without the help of any hired labourer, there is no difficulty in saying that he is a cultivator. But, though he may not hire anybody to help him, he receives the help of his family.

When the holdings are larger, if the owners belong to the cultivating class, they may personally take part in some of the agricultural operations, but generally most of the work is done by field-labourers, who are most often paid in kind and some times in cash. Some owners of big holdings belonging to the cultivating class do not, however, themselves drive the plough, use the spade, or ply the hoe or the sickle. But perhaps they, too, are considered cultivators.

In the socialist view it is the man who cultivates the soil who is its rightful owner. It is not our intention to support or oppose that view. What we want to say is that if that view were literally interpreted, it is only the peasant owning a small plot of land which he can himself till and of which he can reap and garner the harvest himself without the help of anybody else, who will be entitled to be the rightful owner of his holding. Proprietors of bigger holdings must then be deprived of what they cannot themselves till and utilize. Thus the whole country must be cut up into very

small and uneconomic holdings. In countries like the United States of America, Soviet Russia, etc., agricultural operations are carried on on a large scale and according to the latest and most improved scientific methods. Tractors and other machinery are used. It is in these countries that the yield per acre is very high. The yield in India is very low.

If the yield in our country is to be increased—and it ought certainly to be increased, the literal interpretation of the word cultivator must be given up and larger holdings and large scale farming must become the rule. We are not proposing the expropriation or extinction of the small peasant-farmers. They must be taught to combine and co-operate and turn their holdings into big collective farms. And in these big farms tractors and other machinery may be used. Some of the landlords themselves may become farmers.

### *Landlord "Peasants"*

We have said above that some of the landlords may themselves become farmers. In fact, if they want to save themselves, body and soul, and save their families, they must turn "peasants". For socialism is in the air. And whether one calls oneself a socialist or not, every intelligent and right-thinking man must admit, at least to himself, that parasitism is bad and leads to degeneration, and that self-reliance is good and makes for virility and a fully developed personality. It would, therefore, be a blessing for the owners of landed estates as well as to the country if they turned 'tractor-peasants' and cultivated some of their lands themselves.

To this year's January number of *The Modern Review* Professor Dr. Nanda Lal Chatterji of the Lucknow University contributed an article on "Educated Unemployment and Large Scale Farming." In that article he has described how an educated young man drives his own tractor and cultivates his own farm of some thousands of acres at village Hariharpur in the district of Manbhum. He is his own mechanic also. Some of our big landlords try to become pilots of their own aeroplanes. That is good. Some have other hobbies. Why not make large scale farming a hobby? If our young landlords or landlords' sons had the hobby of being their own tractor-drivers and cultivated their own farms, it would be a *productive* hobby. And they could claim to be peasants, too!

### *"Ahimsa" and The Indian National Congress*

Even those with whom "ahimsā" or non-violence is not like an article of a religious creed and who believe that there are occasions when it is right and permissible for both individuals and bodies of men to use weapons of offence, agree with Congressites in holding that India's struggle for freedom from the British yoke should and must be non-violent. Congressmen believe that full independence can be won by non-violent means. Considering our relations with the British people, the gradual development of the British temperament in a certain direction, the trend of world-forces, and the world situation, the Congress view appears to be right.

That some at any rate, if not all, Congress provincial governments are making arrangements for giving young men military training, is not for winning independence but for maintaining it after it has been won. That shows that many leading Congressmen are not as thorough-going 'ahimsāists' as Mahatma Gandhi, who believes that if independence can be won without recourse to violence, it can also be kept without resort to it. Of course military training has a physical, disciplinary, and character-building value even for those who never intend to or will become soldiers. But it is believed that Congress Ministries intending to provide facilities for military training attach importance to its military value also.

Perhaps they think, too, that military training is essentially necessary to cure an emasculated people of the dread of the mere sight of blood and of weapons like even pen-knives.

Those who think that freedom and independence can be preserved without recourse to actual fighting, appear to think that if we do not submit to the aggressors and do not carry out their bidding, though they may at first indulge in wholesale slaughter or massacre, the horror of it will ultimately soften their hearts and they will finally refrain from enslaving us. We cannot dogmatically assert that this cannot happen. But if it happens at all, the process of which this may be the last stage will take a long time, during which much blood will be shed and cruel repression will most probably degrade our national character in the direction of cowardice and servility.

As regards the horror of massacres affecting the hearts of the slayers, it cannot be asserted that it is certain or even most probable. It is not necessary to ransack past history for

illustrations in support of our observation. During the present Sino-Japanese war, thousands—some say lakhs—of non-combatant men and women and children have been killed. That has not softened the hearts of the Japanese. They continue to bomb towns and villages and kill the civilian population.

If the population of a country consisted only of adult males and if they resolved in a body neither to fight nor to submit to the invader, but preferred rather to get killed, it might not be necessary to object to this possible self-immolation. But every country has its quota of minors of both sexes—babes and children—and its women. It is the bounden and sacred duty of the adult males to protect the women and children. No such male, if he has any manhood in him, should or can allow the women and children to be slain or carried into captivity without doing his utmost to protect them. We do not know what is the non-violent utmost that can be done to protect them or what the efficacy of that non-violent endeavour may be. It may be and often must be that even armed endeavour to protect women and children will be fruitless. But in such cases those who make such endeavour (and survive such endeavour) will have the consolation, poor though it be, that they had tried both persuasion and force in the discharge of their duty.

The massacre of women and children, like the massacre of men, may sometimes appear horrible to the slayers, and the horrible sight may so influence the minds of even brutal men as to deter them from further slaughter. But the ravishment of women or their consignment to a life of shame—a worse fate for the victims than death, is not generally considered horrible—such is the stage of civilization we have reached. Therefore, though it may be imagined that the horrors of massacre may deter even brutal men from further slaughter, it cannot be expected that the aforesaid fate of women will strike the generality of males as horrible. Why, even in times of peace, the Muslim community of Bengal does not raise its voice against the abduction of even Muslim women, and the Hindu community has never yet made any adequate effort to protect its women.

When the honour and safety of women are threatened, men who are men cannot stand by and look on. They can only choose to die fighting in defence of the women. And if the women cannot defend themselves, self-immolation in the old honourable Rajput way or some equivalent method would be preferable.

Human life is sacred. But the lives of aggressors are not more sacred than those of the persons whom they attack.

If when India had won freedom and independence by non-violent means, she did not possess adequate defensive power on land and sea and in the air, most probably, if not certainly, some aggressive nation or other would attack her. The reason for her not possessing sufficient defensive forces would be faith in 'ahimsā' or the belief in the sacredness of human life. But as the invaders would be persons having no faith in 'ahimsā', they would not consider the lives of Indians sacred and would not refrain from killing Indians. Hence our faith in 'ahimsā' would result in the safety of the aggressors, and their lack of faith in 'ahimsā' would result in Indians being killed. In other words, Indians then living would have to practically recognise that the lives of their enemies were sacred and their own lives were not sacred. Men spiritually advanced may think that death does not matter, or that this world is not so important as the next. May be. But why has life been given to man at all, with the desire and power of self-preservation? Is it a virtue to get killed by brutal men? Why is it not a virtue then to get killed by tigers and other beasts of prey?

The reader must not think that we do not value "ahimsā". We do. But we are puzzled how it will work.

It may be argued that fighting in self-defence would rouse the passions of the aggressors, making them more bloodthirsty and lustful and leading to more horrible massacres and to greater outrages on women than if only a non-violent protest were made and resolve of non-submission declared and adhered to. It may be said in reply that if fighting in self-defence were successful, as is not unoften the case, such success would be worth all the loss of the lives of the heroic defenders and would prevent the future dishonouring and degradation of the women of the people attacked. Moreover, if the people attacked thought it all-important not to rouse the passions of the aggressors and to keep them pleased, that object could be best gained by quick and quiet submission without even any verbal protest!

### "Pictures of Japanese Atrocities" Again

The poet-sage Rabindranath Tagore has received the following letter from an American journalist in Shanghai with reference to the

letters recently exchanged between himself and the Japanese poet Yone Noguchi:

"I have just read the letters lately exchanged between you and the Japanese poet Noguchi.

"His letter, to which you have replied so effectively, is such a tissue of fabrication and hypocrisy as must reveal to you the extent to which regimentation of thought has gone in Japan. No one is free from its influence and none, of course, dares oppose it.

"I have been here for some time and I know pretty well what the Japanese are doing and how they are doing it. Lately I have seen some photographs taken at Nanking—and by Japanese soldiers themselves—photographs of slaughter and rape, too horrible even to talk about. The ruthlessness of the Japanese in this invasion of China cannot have been paralleled since the fall of Tyre."—(United Press).

### Ethiopia Too Big For Conquest

The latest issue of *The Voice of Ethiopia* (October 29, 1938) tells its readers:

Ethiopia is too big to be easily conquered. Her natural fortresses of mountains and forests and rain and swamp will protect her with the determination of her gallant people from outside foes for a long time to come.

A recent traveller in Ethiopia, Ernst Wiese, reports in *Harpers Magazine*: "This country is much too big," an Italian economic expert confessed to me soon after my arrival in Addis Ababa. It was a statement I was to hear many times during my travels. "A tenth portion of the entire area which would exclude the formidable mountain ranges where rebel bands may hide in safety, would have been more adequate for Italy's investment of materials and man-power."

Ethiopia is a country of 350,000 square miles or more, bigger than England and France together, it is a country with many mountain ranges offering good natural protection to its inhabitants.

The Italians confess that the problem is too formidable for them. They have not the money to carry out their schemes of conquest and settlement.

The war in Ethiopia has been going on now for three years and the Italians have made no headway. They maintain a huge army in Ethiopia, for the Ethiopians do not propose to surrender their country so easily. The Italians must first conquer Ethiopia before they can reap any benefit from it. And the Ethiopians are very far from being conquered.

### ROADS AND CONQUEST

The Italians need roads in order to wage a successful war. They have not the money to build roads such as can withstand the heavy seasonal rains that fall in Ethiopia. Therefore, the war will continue for some time yet unless the nations—England and France—come to the aid of Italy with money. Let us, Black people, do our utmost in aiding our people in Ethiopia.

### Self-determination to Suit Hitler

According to the *No Frontier News Service*, writing on minorities,

Objective figures are hard to obtain, for statistics are frequently padded. But without doubt, at least 30,000,000 inhabitants of Europe are held under government controls contrary to their traditions or desires. In South Tyrol, under Italian rule, are more than 400,000

German-speaking Austrians In Poland are some 4,500,000 Russians, 70,000 Lithuanians, 2,000,000 Jews, and almost a million Germans. These are only a few cases out of many in Europe.

There are also three million German-speaking Swiss in Switzerland.

There is no knowing when Herr Hitler will find it necessary and convenient to demand self-determination for at least the German-speaking population in the countries mentioned above.

### *Mahatma Gandhi on The Jews in Germany and Palestine*

In the course of an article on "The Jews" in *Harjan* Mahatma Gandhi writes :

"My sympathies are all with the Jews. I have known them intimately in South Africa. Some of them became lifelong companions. Through these friends I came to learn much of their age-long persecution. They have been the untouchables of Christianity. The parallel between their treatment by Christians and the treatment of untouchables by Hindus is very close. Religious sanction has been invoked in both cases for the justification of the inhuman treatment meted out to them. Apart from the friendships, therefore, there is the more common universal reason for my sympathy for the Jews.

"But my sympathy does not blind me to the requirements of justice. The cry for the national home for the Jews does not make much appeal to me. The sanction for it is sought in the Bible and the tenacity with which the Jews have hankered after return to Palestine. Why should they not, like other peoples of the earth, make that country their home where they are born and where they earn their livelihood?"

The Jews of many countries, though not of all, may answer: "Because we are not allowed to make that country our home where we are born and where we earn our livelihood."

"Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that England belongs to the English or France to the French. It is wrong and inhuman to impose the Jews on the Arabs. What is going on in Palestine today cannot be justified by any moral code of conduct. The mandates have no sanction but that of the last war. Surely it would be a crime against humanity to reduce the proud Arabs so that Palestine can be restored to the Jews partly or wholly as their national home.

"The nobler course would be to insist on a just treatment of the Jews wherever they are born and bred. The Jews born in France are French in precisely the same sense that Christians born in France are French.

We do not think that Palestine can be said to belong to the Arabs alone in the same sense that England belongs to the English or France to the French. For, Palestine was the ancient home of the Hebrew race, and even after the dispersion there has been a small Jewish population in Palestine for centuries—how many centuries we cannot tell offhand. As a religious

group the Jews of Palestine are an older community than the Christian and the Muslim Arabs. We do not defend Britain's action in Palestine. We think the only right course would be for the Arabs and the Jews to come to an agreement between themselves. There are many countries inhabited by different racial or religious groups where the groups are not artificially prevented from growing bigger. We do not see any just reason why the Jews in Palestine should not be allowed to grow more numerous.

We wholeheartedly support Mahatmajji when he says that a just treatment of the Jews wherever they are born and bred should be insisted upon.

But we cannot appreciate his questions,

"If the Jews have no home but Palestine, will they relish the idea of being forced to leave the other parts of the world in which they are settled? Or do they want a double home where they can remain at will?"

Englishmen have their national home in England. Many Englishmen reside in other parts of the world, and many of them were born there. Many of them have homes in more than two countries. Nevertheless they say that England is their national home; and it is a fact that they can return to England whenever they like. But nobody ever imagined that for these reasons they could be justly asked: "Would you relish the idea of being expelled from the parts of the world where you resided? Or do you want a double or triple home?"

We do not remember to have read that Herr Hitler ever exploited the Jewish cry for a national home for justifying the expulsion of the Jews from Germany. But now that Gandhiji has unintentionally given a sort of a cue, the Germans may take advantage of it.

Gandhiji adds :

But the German persecution of the Jews seems to have no parallel in history. The tyrants of old never went so mad as Hitler seems to have gone. For he is propounding a new religion of exclusive and militant nationalism in the name of which any inhumanity becomes an act of humanity to be rewarded here and hereafter. The crime of an obviously mad but intrepid youth is being visited upon his whole race with unbelievable ferocity.

It there ever could be justifiable war in the name of and for humanity, a war against Germany, to prevent the wanton persecution of a whole race, would be completely justified. But I do not believe in any war. A discussion of the pros and cons of such a war is, therefore, outside my horizon or province.

But if there can be no war against Germany, even for such a crime as is being committed against the Jews, surely there can be no alliance with Germany. How can there be alliance between a nation which claims to stand for justice and democracy and one which is the declared



enemy of both? Or is England drifting towards armed dictatorship and all it means?

After giving eloquent expression to these views and righteous and noble sentiments, which will be echoed by all right-thinking persons, Mahatmaji asks:

"Can the Jews resist this organized and shameless persecution? Is there a way to preserve their self-respect and not to feel helpless, neglected and forlorn?"

And he replies, "I submit there is". He reminds the Jews of their faith in a living God. He tells them what he would do if he were a German Jew.

"If I were a Jew and were born in Germany and earned my livelihood there I would claim Germany as my home even as the tallest gentile German may, and challenge him to shoot me or cast me in the dungeon: I would refuse to be expelled or to submit to discriminating treatment. And for doing this I would not wait for the fellow Jews to join me in civil resistance but would have confidence that in the end the rest are bound to follow my example. If one Jew or all the Jews were to accept the prescription here offered, he or they cannot be worse off than now. And suffering voluntarily undergone will bring them an inner strength and joy which no number of resolutions of sympathy passed in the world outside Germany can. Indeed even if Britain, France and America were to declare hostilities against Germany, they can bring no inner joy, no inner strength."

After rightly prescribing voluntary suffering for the Jews in Germany, Gandhiji draws a parallel between the position of the Indians in South Africa before their Satyagraha campaign and that of the Jews in Germany and shows that the latter are in a more advantageous position to offer Satyagraha.

But the Jews of Germany can offer Satyagraha under definitely better auspices than the Indians of South Africa. The Jews are a compact, homogeneous community in Germany. They are far more gifted than the Indians of South Africa. And they have organized world opinion behind them. I am convinced that if some one with courage and vision can arise among them to lead them in non-violent action the winter of their despair can in the twinkling of an eye be turned into the summer of hope. And what has today become a degrading man-hunt can be turned into a calm and determined stand offered by unarmed men and women possessing the strength of suffering given to them by Jehovah. It will be then a truly religious resistance offered against the godless fury of dehumanized man. The German Jews will score a lasting victory over the German gentiles in the sense that they will have converted the latter to an appreciation of human dignity, they will have rendered service to fellow-Germans and proved their title to be the real Germans as against those who are today dragging, however unknowingly, the German name into the mire.

No better advice could be given, and there is no worthier man to give it than Mahatma Gandhi. This can also be said of the similar

advice which he has given to the Jews in Palestine.

But we do not think it is quite correct to say, as Gandhiji does, that "the Palestine of the Biblical conception is not a geographical conception" and that it is only "in their hearts." It is certainly in part a geographical conception and in part an ideal. Nor do we agree that the Jewish settlers in Palestine are all despoilers of the Arabs like the Britishers. Many of them have become owners of land there *by purchase*, many have brought under cultivation land never before cultivated, and the enterprise of the Jews has been economically advantageous to the Arabs also.

### *Doctorate for Ex-Vice-chancellor*

The Doctorate in Literature *honoris causa*, conferred last month on Srijut Syamaprasad Mookerjee, who recently retired from the honorary office of Vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University, was richly deserved. Though he became Vice-chancellor when he was much younger than any one who became Vice-chancellor in any Indian University before, he has been among the worthiest and the most usefully active. The tributes paid to him by both the Chancellor and the Vice-chancellor had no tinge of exaggeration.

When the Governor of Bengal, speaking as Chancellor and addressing Dr. Mookerjee, said.

"Though our paths no longer run together in the affairs of the University, I sincerely trust that I may have the privilege of your help and co-operation in other spheres, because I feel that Bengal needs your services,"

some persons among the audience must have thought that perhaps His Excellency was looking forward to having him among his Ministers.

### *Indian History Congress At Allahabad Endorses Roerich Pact*

At the Second Indian History Congress, at Allahabad, Dr. Tara Chand moved and Rai Bahadur Brij Mohan Vyas seconded a motion for the endorsement of the Roerich Pact and the following resolution was unanimously passed:

"Resolved that the Second Indian History Congress held at Allahabad approves of the International Pact for the protection of artistic and scientific institutions, historic monuments, missions and collections, originated by Nicholas Roerich, and records its support of the said Pact."

Rai Bahadur Brij Mohan Vyas, in seconding the motion, paid tribute to Prof. Roerich and

mentioned that the Pact has already been adopted by 21 countries and a very large number of learned societies and associations. He stated that he had no doubt that by solemnly endorsing that great pact in the cause of peace and culture that most distinguished and learned assembly of scholars from all over India would not only be following the footsteps of similar assemblies and organizations in other parts of the world, but would be lending support to a most emergent and significant measure.

In addition to the many previous adoptions, the Roerich Pact has also been recently unanimously endorsed by two International Congresses in Paris : The International Federation of Art, Literature and Science and The First Congress of International Studies.

### *"Gandhi to Tagore"*

Correspondents have written to us from Burma, Maharashtra and Bengal that the passage, headed "Gandhi to Tagore", which we quoted in our last number from René Fülöp-Miller's *Lennin and Gandhi*, occurs in Mahatma Gandhi's article on "The Great Sentinel" in *Young India*, 1921.

### *Withdrawal of a Paragraph on Dr. Rajendra Prasad*

On the 6th November last we wrote a letter to Dr. Rajendra Prasad unreservedly withdrawing the second paragraph of our note on "Dr. Rajendra Prasad on Bengalis in Bihar" and expressing regret for the same. It was not our intention in that paragraph to cast any reflection on his personal honour or to suggest that he was capable of consciously and intentionally doing injustice to the Bengalis in Bihar. We wanted only to draw attention to his difficulties. But as the wording of the paragraph admits of being interpreted in a way in which we did not mean it to be interpreted, we unreservedly withdrew it.

We adhere to our arguments on the subject of Bengalis in Bihar.

### *Women's Co-operative Industrial Home Limited*

The Women's Co-operative Industrial Home Limited, started with the help of the Government under the auspices of the Nari Siksha Samiti, of which Lady Abala Bose is the president, was opened by Her Excellency Lady Brabourne at Dum Dum on the 15th November

last. As it develops and grows it will be of increasing help to the women—particularly the widows, of Bengal in making themselves economically independent. It has been started for the present with 16 thoroughly trained workers, and is meant for the benefit of those who are trained in weaving, dyeing and printing, but are too poor to start on their own.

In this Home, the workers are all share-holders of the Association, and they pay for their house-rent and maintain themselves out of their earnings. It is expected that in a short time they will be able, in addition, to save money; and in course of time, these workers who came here destitute will save enough to set up business of their own. By encouragement of the spirit of self-help, their character will be changed and the poverty-stricken women of Bengal will find means of improving their position.

It is fortunate that there will be no lack of marketing facilities for the products of the Industrial Home. The Bengal Provincial Co-operative Industrial Society Ltd., and the Bengal Home Industries Association have placed large orders with the Home, which will fully engage the activities of the workers. In addition, the Home is receiving large orders from industrial firms such as The Bengal Water-proof Co. Ltd., which at present cannot be taken in hand for lack of workers. So the question of additional accommodation is already engaging the attention of the Board.

The Home has incurred a liability of Rs. 2,000, which the Directors hope the generous public will enable them to wipe off early.

### *The Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes*

From the latest annual report of the Society for the Improvement of Backward classes, Bengal and Assam, we take the following brief outline of the work done by it in 1937-38 :

- I. Number of Schools—265, including 68 Girls' Schools.
- II. Number of students on the rolls—  
Boys 8,902 (1,846 Muhammadans)  
Girls 3,616 ( 431 Do )
- III. 30 Scholarships (Boys 10 and Girls 20) of the aggregate value of Rs. 118/8/- a month were awarded during the year.
- IV. Prizes were awarded to 8 Schools during the year.
- V. There were under its control—  
(1) Three Public Libraries.  
(2) One Boy-scout and one Cub troops.  
(3) Arrangements for delivering lantern lectures inculcating ideas of sanitary responsibilities.

VI. The amount spent in grants-in-aid was Rs. 51,892-1-9 but the amount spent in Establishment and other charges stood only at Rs. 6,132-3-3.

The comparatively small amount spent in establishment and other similar charges by a

Society whose activities range over two provinces, shows how economically its affairs are managed. It has been in existence for the last 30 years, is doing very valuable work in rural areas among the backward classes, and is thoroughly reliable. It desires to raise the number of schools to 300. It can utilize to the best advantage big as well as small donations and subscriptions, which may be sent to its treasurer Srijut Satish Chandra Chakrabarti, M.A., 210-6, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

### *U. P. Bengali Children Not To Learn Mother Tongue ?*

From some resolutions passed by the United Provinces Bengali Association, published in newspapers, we learn that the Board of High School and Intermediate Education, United Provinces, have deprived "the Bengali candidates of the facility of learning their mother tongue," and that the High School and Intermediate Board of Ajmer and Merwara has recently introduced Bengali in the High School and Intermediate Examinations. The U. P. Bengali Association has drawn the attention of the Hon'ble Minister of Education, U. P., to the decision of the U. P. High School and Intermediate Board of Education and requested him not to give his assent to it. The request of the U. P. Bengali Association is reasonable. If Bengali children in U. P. learn Bengali and through Bengali, they thereby do not in the least stand in the way of other children receiving education in and through their mother tongues. Society in India is so constituted at present, that Bengali families settled outside Bengal must keep up social relations, *e.g.*, in the matter of marriage, with those resident in Bengal. It is necessary for Bengali children, therefore, wherever they may reside, to know Bengali. If it be necessary for entering public services or the professions of law, medicine, etc., for Bengali youth to learn any other provincial language, they can certainly be asked to show that they know it. But the first stages of education of all children should be in and through their mother tongue.

What the Ajmer-Merwara Board has found practicable and necessary should certainly be practicable and necessary in U. P.

### *Importation of Arms by China*

China had been hitherto receiving arms and other war materials from Europe and America by sea-routes, the steamers landing their cargo in Chinese ports. But since the fall

of Canton, that is no longer possible. France has stopped allowing the transport of munitions along the Haiphong-Yunnanfu railway in French Indo-China, owing to the Japanese threat to occupy Hainan, an island vital to the French, only 200 miles from Haiphong. So China wants to import arms through Rangoon port, to be carried overland across Burma to Central China. The cargo-ship *Stanhall* has already reached Rangoon. A section of the Burmese object to this as inviting trouble. They want Burma to remain strictly neutral, following the policy of non-intervention. Most probably Japan, too, has directly addressed the British Government on the subject.

We read in an editorial article in the *China Weekly Review* of September 24 last that "General Chiang Kai-shek has supplies of ammunition, arms and fuel for another year of war stored in well-guarded depots in Szechuan, Kweichow, Kwangsi and Yunnan." It is also said in the same article,

Come whatever may in Europe—the Chinese say—this country is in a position to continue resistance on a major scale until next spring. By that time, Russia may be ready to strike or Japan may become involved in a war with Britain and France.

But neither Britain nor France is in the mood or in a position to fight Japan. It cannot be guessed what Russia may do in the near future. But it is clear that China will have to depend more and more on Soviet Russia for the supply of arms.

### *Soviet Russia's Military Strength*

According to *Toronto Star Weekly* of Toronto, Canada, Soviet Russia is more than a match for any nation. That is why, when some persons in some European countries threw doubts on the adequacy of her armed forces, a responsible Russian statesman challenged any country which liked to take up the gauntlet to try her strength.

The figures given by the Toronto paper are based on official Soviet figures, the *World Almanac*, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica Year Book* and *Whitaker's Almanac*. Condensed from that paper, the facts are :

Despite the facetious description of the Red Army as that with the most living soldiers and the greatest number of the dead generals, military authorities of the world are unanimous in conceding to it the position of the greatest defensive weapon ever forged by one nation.

Russia's army consists of nearly 2,500,000 men constantly under arms, backed by a trained reserve of 18,000,000 and a further partially trained and readily mobilisable reserve of 13,000,000.

This terrific potential man-power is trained to operate the world's largest air force, and 23,000 sailors are trained to man the world's largest fleet of submarines.

Early this year the number of Russia's first-line aeroplanes was estimated at 6,000. When Hitler took Austria Stalin ordered the air-force to be increased to 10,000 first-line planes. That means that Russia has about 40,000 fighting aeroplanes either ready or under construction; for in military parlance 'first-line' planes means the number of machines ready to fight, backed up by from three to four reserve planes to replace the wastage of war in the first months of a conflict until heavy construction gets under way.

In 1934 Russia's navy consisted of 20 destroyers, 112 submarines, 130 fast torpedo boats, a few mine-layers and mine-sweepers, survey ships and training vessels, and three pre-war battle-ships, four light cruisers of the same age and two modern fast cruisers. Actually since then Soviet authorities have said that their naval arm has been quadrupled, and foreign authorities have more than once called the Soviet submarine fleet the most powerful in the world.

The mechanisation of the Soviet army is as far ahead of that of Italy or Germany as it is in strength.

### *Mahatma Hans Raj*

The death of Mahatma Hans Raj is a great loss to the Panjab and the Arya Samaj in particular and to the whole of India in general. He was one of the three great leaders of the Arya Samaj to whom in its earlier days it owed its progress. To the work of the Arya Samaj and its D. A.-V. College he devoted his energies during the greater part of his active career with rare devotion. The College owed its reputation, progress and prestige above all to him during the earlier part of its history. Great self-sacrifice marked his character and career. Besides being a great educationist, he was an enthusiastic social reformer. He has been rightly styled one of the makers of the Panjab.

### *Keshub Chunder Sen Birth Centenary*

In our article on Keshub Chunder Sen in our last number we wrote that his birth centenary had been already celebrated in London. Since then there have been elaborate celebrations of the centenary in Calcutta by the three sections of the Brahmo Samaj, by the Indian Journalists' Association, and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Bengal's premier literary society. During the celebration there was a pilgrimage undertaken to Keshub's ancestral house in Colutola where he was born, headed by Sriyut Hirendranath Datta, president of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Tributes were there paid to Keshub by him, Sir Jadunath

Sarkar and others. At one of the meetings Srimati Sarojini Naidu delivered an eloquent address on Keshub's work for women. Sir S Radhakrishnan delivered a thoughtful speech at another meeting. Besides lectures, divine services, and an exhibition of manuscripts and various mementos of the great religious teacher and reformer, his Navavidhan Samaj has published during the celebrations many leaflets, booklets and books in Bengali and English, including the monumental Bengali biography of Keshub Chunder by Upadhyaya Gour Gobinda Ray in three volumes.

The centenary has been celebrated in Hyderabad (Sind), Lahore, Dehra Dun, Patna, Rajahmundry, Bombay, Madras, Dacca and other places. The celebrations were very elaborate in Madras. The Calcutta celebrations will be resumed and conclude in next Christ-mas week.

Cawnpore will celebrate the centenary on the 17th and 18th instant.

### *Dr. J. T. Sunderland's Articles on Emerson*

The name of the late Dr. J. T. Sunderland of America is held in great respect in India as that of a lifelong and eminent friend of this country. He is particularly well known to the readers of *The Modern Review* for his many very valuable contributions to its pages. During the last year or so of his long life—he was past ninety, he was engaged in writing a book on the great American author Emerson. He did not live to finish it. But he finished parts of the work in the form of separate papers or articles. His surviving daughter Mrs. Gertrude Sunderland Safford, who is herself a noted scholar and litterateur, has kindly sent these to us at our request for publication in our *Review*. We will begin to publish them from the next January number, in which will appear the article on "Emerson and His Friends, the Children." It will be found delightful and elevating reading.

### *"A New and Better Bible, For All"*

In Dr. J. T. Sunderland's article on "A New and Better Bible, for All," published in this number, it is written:

"The world is getting a new Bible,—a Bible far more interesting, far more intelligible, far more fresh and human, in every way far more valuable than the old. From what source does it come? Wholly from the

careful and thorough scholarship of our time,—mainly from what scholars call the higher biblical criticism.”

Dr. Sunderland's popularly written scholarly work on “The Origin and Character of the Bible” (Indian edition) is an up-to-date work embodying the higher biblical criticism. Many of our college students and others read the Bible. They will find this book interesting, informative and educative.

### *All-India Inter-University Debate in Calcutta*

The first session of the All-India Inter-University Debate, arranged by the Calcutta University Law College Union, was held at the Senate Hall, Calcutta, on the 26th and 27th November last. It aroused great public interest. Many of the speeches made were high-grade both as regards delivery and arguments. Thirty-eight students took part in the competition. Of them 18 came from such centres as Patna, Cuttack, Jubbulpore, Bombay, Poona, Allahabad, Lucknow and Lahore. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, Speaker, Bengal Assembly and Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, presided over the function. Mr. H. D. Bose, Mr. S. N. Banerji, Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and Mr. T. C. Goswami formed the panel of judges. The subject of the debate was the motion “That India should be no party to future wars.” Miss Kalyani Gupta was declared to be the best speaker among the competitors. The full list of winners is as follows :

First—Miss Kalyani Gupta (Punjab University).

Second—Mazhar Ali (Punjab University).

Third—Jolly Mohan Kaul (St. Xavier's College, Calcutta).

Fourth—Purnendu Kumar Banerjee (Presidency College, Calcutta).

Fifth—J. C. Mathur (Allahabad University).

Sixth—Sadhan Chandra Gupta (Post-graduate Department, Calcutta University).

Miss Gupta received a gold medal, and Mr. Mazhar Ali a silver medal. The Sir Asutosh Trophy for the best team went to the Punjab University, represented by Miss Kalyani Gupta and Mr. Mazhar Ali.

Miss Kalyani Gupta, who spoke against the motion, is the daughter of the distinguished artist Principal Samarendranath Gupta of the Mayo School of Art, Lahore, and a grand-

daughter of the veteran journalist and litterateur, Mr. Nagendranath Gupta. As a debater she had already won her spurs in an All-India debate held in Delhi in June last in addition to the laurels she had won at Lahore. Besides being an accomplished debater she is a brilliant student, and is now studying for her M.A. degree.

Mr. Mazhar Ali, who supported the motion, is also a reputed North India debater and has won several prizes in All-India debates. He also is an M.A. student.

### *Maulana Shaukat Ali*

In the natural course of things Maulana Shaukat Ali was expected to live many more years. Only recently he had said, like a cricketer that he was when young, that he expected to pile his century. But he has gone to his rest before completing even three score years and ten. In him the Muslim community has lost a stout-hearted champion. During the palmy days of Non-co-operation, he and his more gifted and brilliant younger brother Maulana Mohamed Ali were Mahatma Gandhi's most enthusiastic lieutenants. He was a most prominent protagonist of the Khilafat Conference. Though the Big Brother, as he came to be known, had ceased to be a Congressman, he wanted to work for Hindu Moslem unity according to his lights. He was a man of a heroic character. Internment and imprisonment could not deter him from doing that on which he set his heart.

### *European Politics*

The political situation on the continent of Europe has been undergoing such rapid changes that a monthly reviewer must give up the ambition of inditing any observations which may not appear antiquated when published.

### *Purge and Persecution of Jews in Germany*

West and East have alike condemned Germany's treatment of the Jews in the strongest language. What is required in addition is such support to the cause of the Jews as would stop their spoliation and persecution in Germany and their practical expulsion from that country. It should be possible for a union of all countries which are not anti-semitic to bring such pressure to bear on Germany as may result in her adopting a sane and humane

attitude towards the Jews. If unfortunately that be not practicable, the next thing which all countries that are condemning Germany should at once do is to announce how many German Jewish refugees they can receive and treat like their own nationals. Mere condemnation of Germany is not of much help to the Jews.

### *Dr. Goebbels' Tu Quoque*

Britain's and the United States' condemnation of Germany's treatment of the Jews has called forth recriminations from Dr Goebbels, which may be summarized in brief as *Tu Quoque*, "Thou Too."

All the world knows that lynching continues to disgrace the American soil, that every year some Negroes fall victims to mob fury in America, and that the Negro race is not yet treated there on a footing of perfect equality with the whites. All these are not and cannot be defended. They are condemned. But it must be said at the same time that American law and collective social practice as regards the whole Negro race do not approach in brutality and devilry the German so-called law and collective social practice concerning the Jews.

We are aware of the imposition of collective fines, of wholesale reprisals and of wholesale humiliation of some community or communities in some places, in our country, for the real or fancied offence of individuals. It is unnecessary to revive their dark, painful and disgraceful memory. They have been burnt into the soul of our people. And no Indian can think of justifying or glozing over them. But they are not comparable with what Germany has done and contemplates doing to the Jews.

And even if it were admitted that other nations had behaved as wickedly as or worse than Germany, two blacks do not make one white. No brute, no devil can be entitled to consider himself an angel, because there are or may be other brutes and devils.

### *Food For Republicans in Spain*

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's appeal for sending food to the Government party in Spain should meet with response in all provinces—even in flood-stricken Bengal and Bihar. As in these 'civilized' days food, too, is liable to be considered contraband of war and ships carrying food to be seized or sunk by belligerents, perhaps the Pandit has thought of some

comparatively safe means of sending the food collected to the party in Spain fighting for the cause of democratic freedom.

### *Items From The Provinces*

Prohibition, amelioration of the condition of the peasantry, improvement of labour conditions in factories, and education, are some of the principal subjects engaging the attention of many of the Congress ministries

Prohibition is making progress in several provinces, *e.g.*, Madras, Bihar, United Provinces.

In the United Provinces and Bihar *Kishans* (peasantry) and landlords are at loggerheads.

Labour strikes in several provinces and states give indications of discontent among the workers. How far and in what centres discontent is due to economic causes, and how far and in what centres it has been roused by labour leaders from political motives, cannot be ascertained without examining the details of each case. It is very much to be regretted that there was shooting on the occasion of the one-day strike in Bombay declared by way of protest against the Trade Disputes Bill.

In the educational sphere the Vidyamandir Scheme in the Central Provinces is being given effect to. The mass literacy drive in Bihar and U. P., and the popular free libraries in the latter are noteworthy. There are student troubles in Bihar, Bombay and U. P. The U. P. Ministry have resolved to deal firmly with strikes in educational institutions.

In Bihar the Maharajahdhiraj of Darbhanga has moved in the Patna University Senate,

'That the Senate do adopt Maithili as an additional subject for the Matriculation examination and as an optional subject for the I.A. and B.A. examinations, and as an independent subject for the M.A. examination.'

In his speech he quoted high authority to show that Maithili is an independent language with literature of its own, and urged that it has been recognized as such by the Calcutta and Benares Universities and that, according to his estimate, its speakers number 1½ crores.

The Ministry in Sind ought now to work with full vigour. Prof. Ghansham, leader of the Congress party in the Sind Assembly, has made out an unanswerable case for effecting an immediate reduction in the fat salaries of the officers of the Indian Imperial Services.

The Ministry in the North-West Frontier Province must be declared a failure, unless they



can prevent plundering and kidnapping raids on border localities like Bannu.

The Congress President's visit to the Panjab and his addresses there have been rousing much enthusiasm.

Delhi may have an individuality of its own. But when the Assembly is in session there, local affairs are thrown into the background. At present the Income Tax Bill is being hotly debated there. In spite of the protest of Sir James Grigg, the Finance Member, Dr. P. N. Banerjea was able to show that there had been 'indecent hurry' in the deliberations of the Select Committee.

The latest issue of the ministerial *Bengal Weekly* claims "Government concern for Aborigines," detailing "measures for improvement". Details have been given in it of two pottery factories started and worked by 42 ex-detenus, with Government help and encouragement.

The convicted political prisoners of Bengal should be released without further delay.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq's baseless charges against the Congress ministries have been again denied and refuted by those concerned.

Dacca University intends to include military science among its subjects of study.

The Assam Ministry has been gaining fresh supporters. The decision of the ministers to accept only Rs. 500 a month shows their superiority to the Saadullah team.

It is unfortunate that oppression and repression in some Orissa States have diverted public attention from the good things begun, done and contemplated by the Orissa Cabinet.

The anti-Hindi agitation in Madras, now carried on by women, too, with babes in arms, continues to be met with repressive steps, which have earned the unenviable distinction

of being approved by the Bengal ministerial organ.

### *Indian States, Princes to Combine ?*

In opening the informal conference of the ruling princes and their ministers in Bombay on the 28th November last, His Highness the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar said :

"We are meeting today at a crucial juncture in the history of the country. Issues of life and death importance await decision and demand of us a carefully planned and concerted action. The need for the States standing together was never greater than it is today."

How auspicious it will be if the princes take concerted action to strengthen themselves by conferring on their people those civic and political rights for securing which the latter are engaged in a non-violent struggle with the moral, and partly with the material, backing of the people of British India—particularly of Congressmen.

### *Bose Institute Anniversary*

Yesterday was celebrated with due solemnity the first anniversary after the death of Sir J. C. Bose of his Research Institute founded by him 21 years ago. The short lecture prepared for the occasion by Rabindranath Tagore which was read on the occasion is printed on another page.

### *General Strike in France*

The threatened general strike in France was to have commenced on the 30th November last. If it actually began, it cannot but have serious repercussions in other countries also. Some Indian students have gone to Paris from London to study the technique of the general strike.



## OPPORTUNISM WITH NO PRINCIPLES

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

HAVE we come to the pass where reason and justice must stand aside and brute force be the determining factor in the lives of nations and peoples? In his broadcast address, on 27th September, the Prime Minister said: "If I was convinced that any nation had made up its mind to dominate the world by fear of its force, I should feel that it should be resisted." Lord Halifax, speaking at Edinburgh on Monday of this week, said that whatever might be said to justify the German action with regard to Czecho-Slovakia, the German claim "was in fact advanced and pressed under an overwhelming show of force which was impossible to reconcile with the spirit of what we believe must be the basis of international relations." Hitler a week ago said that "their success was possible only because we were armed and determined to stake our force if necessary" and his henchman, Goebbels, the next day told the world "we did not want a war, but we were ready to fight had we not got what we wanted."

Preparations are now going ahead for the new session of Parliament and it is confidently asserted in many quarters that the whole of this country may be, if not conscripted, at least enrolled in a national register, not for peace but to decide what their work is to be if and when war comes. There is no doubt that in many ways we were very badly prepared should war have come last month. Trenches were dug in all public parks and indeed the work is still going on. Immediately of course the war profiteer rose in our midst and sandbags that were vitally necessary for the protection of the people rose in a single day from 2d. to 10d. in price.

At a meeting this week of Air Raid Precaution Officials, along with Naval, Military, and Air Officers, Mr. Eady, Deputy Secretary of State at the Home Office who is the Administrative Chief of the Air Precautions Department, made some appallingly frank admissions and not even under the cloak of secrecy. The Home Office, he said, "had no illusions at all about the state of unpreparedness of the country to receive a sudden air attack" and this Government official went on to tell his audience that the regulations issued by the Air Raid Precautions Department were "probably the sloppiest regulations that

were ever produced by any Government Department." He stated further that "the people who are known as the governing classes of this country had done very little to help Local Authorities' A. R. P." These damaging admissions, if they had come from members of the Opposition, would have been denounced as wild and unpatriotic. Coming as they do from the official responsible for Air Raid Precautions, we can only take them as another example of the Englishman's love for washing his dirty linen in public.

The Prime Minister is credited with being extremely anxious to bring into force the Anglo-Italian Agreement by 15th November. He is also anxious to get a friendly understanding with Germany. Italy has certainly withdrawn 10,000 of her so-called volunteers but at the same time she has supplied Franco with thousands of guns, which are of very much more use in Spain than were the men she has withdrawn. Russia is still ignored and Lord Winterton, a member of the Cabinet, even went out of his way to say that Russia was not in a position to fulfil her obligations to France and Czecho-Slovakia. This of course was denied by Russia at once, but I have seen no apology from Lord Winterton nor any endeavour on his part to substantiate his statements. On the other hand we have the assertion of Captain Liddell Hart, the Military Correspondent of the *Times*, that:

"The Russian army is more powerful than that of 1914 . . . her huge Air Force a far more potent menace to a potential Nazi aggressor."

And Lord Londonderry, on pages 99 and 101 of his recent book *Ourselves and Germany*, quotes Herr Hitler as saying to him that Soviet Russia has become the greatest military power, that she is enormously strong militarily as well as economically, and has "the strongest Army, the strongest Tank Corps, and the strongest Air Force in the world." There are of course not a few people in this country and in the Government who would like to see Great Britain linked with the Fascist countries, but that is certainly not the view of the great mass of the people.

Mr. Lloyd George, making his first speech since the crisis, also asserted that the Russian

Army is the greatest army in the world so far as numbers are concerned and so far as its Air Force is concerned. The French Army he declared to be today the best army in Europe. He pointed out only too clearly the steps by which we had given up our leadership in the world—Manchuria, Abyssinia, Spain, China, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. We were told on every occasion that the Government was preserving peace. We now see (what the Government refused to admit at the time) that every concession to violence brought nearer the menace of war—until we stood on the brink of the abyss. A few years ago most of the nations of the world were ready to follow our lead. Now today, as Mr. Lloyd George pointed out, it is doubtful if we could even get two to follow our lead. The weaker nations of Europe are not now looking to France or Britain for help; they are flocking to Berchtesgaden to ask the German Dictator to protect and shield them:

"They are there pleading for mercy. To that extent our leadership is being followed."

We are now in a state of peace that is no peace. The Prime Minister has merely achieved a postponement of war to be fought under much less favourable circumstances than before the betrayal of Czecho-Slovakia. With every surrender to force peace is put further into the background. The whole work of the late Arthur Henderson for disarmament and peace was thrown to the winds when the National Government took office in 1931. China, Abyssinia, Spain, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia, were all loyal members of the League of Nations. At the last General Election Mr. Baldwin and his supporters pledged themselves solemnly to "*steady and collective resistance to aggression*" in any part of the world. History shows how little that pledge meant to them. They have sneered at collective security. They have undermined the League of Nations until it is now helpless. And they boast that they have brought us peace. Hitler also can claim to have brought peace to many thousands of his opponents in Germany—the peace of the grave.

Without raising a finger we have allowed Abyssinia to be put under the despotic sway of Mussolini and now the Prime Minister is reported to be ready to accept still further humiliation by bringing the Anglo-Italian Treaty into force and so recognising the King of Italy as Emperor of Abyssinia. So does the Tory Party humble this once proud nation in the dust.

"Peace in our time" is what the Prime

Minister said he brought from Munich. Peace—and gas masks. Peace—and trenches in the public parks. Peace—with guns and armaments of all kinds being piled up at a rate never before imagined. "Shame and dishonour"—Yes. But peace—No.

The only way in which peace can be secured is by making a collective stand against violence and lawlessness. Instead of giving in to brute force time after time, a world-wide peace conference should be called to discuss and remove all legitimate grievances and to try to evolve a new system of political security and economic opportunity which will remove the reasons for and fear of war. The peoples of the world, of every nation, desire peace. Surely it is not beyond the wit of man to make a constructive effort to solve by discussion those economic and other problems that lead to war. Unless this is done there can never be peace in our time, or in any other time, and we shall go on from shame to shame and from dishonour to dishonour.

What, I wonder, does the Prime Minister think of the words of his brother, the late Sir Austin Chamberlain, when Foreign Secretary, in 1931:

"It is quite inconceivable that any British statesman, looking at the way in which the Nazis have brutalized their fellow-German opponents and their own Jewish population, could think for a moment of asking anybody to hand over to Nazi rule a single square mile inhabited by a single human being of non-German race."

It was left to Neville Chamberlain to do what his brother thought was "inconceivable" and hand over tens of thousands of innocent people to a fate worse than death.

And of course the Prime Minister cannot even now claim to have a united party behind him. Lord Cecil, on 20th September, wrote that:

"It is not suggested that Herr Hitler has convinced the Government that his demands are just. He has simply stated to Mr. Chamberlain that that is his will and the Cabinet have decided to submit. Submission to Herr Hitler means acceptance of the view that the only thing that counts in international affairs is brutal force, and that the hope of substituting for it reason and justice must be definitely abandoned."

And Mr. Eden, two days later at Stratford-on-Avon, said:

"Do not let us delude ourselves. The truth is that each recurrent crisis brings us nearer to war. The British people know that a stand must be made. They pray that it be not made too late."

The Archbishop of York, on the same day, said that:

"Many of us are profoundly alarmed at the apparent long-continued lapse of our policy towards an opportunism

which stands on no principles under the impact of forcible aggression elsewhere."

"Opportunism which stands on no principles" is a good description of the methods of our National Government ever since it came into office in 1931. How far will it be allowed to drag us down?

President Roosevelt in a broadcast address two days ago expressed the universal view that the peoples of the world are longing for an enduring peace.

"It is our business," he said, "to utilize the desire for peace and build on principles which are the only basis for permanent peace":

"It is becoming increasingly clear that peace by fear has no higher or more enduring quality than peace by the sword.

"There can be no peace if the reign of law is to be replaced by a recurrent sanctification of sheer force.

"There can be no peace if national policy adopts as a deliberate instrument the dispersion all over the

world of millions of helpless, persecuted wanderers with no place to lay their heads.

"There can be no peace if men and women are not free to think their own thoughts, to express their own feelings, and to worship God.

"There can be no peace if economic resources, which should be devoted to economic reconstruction, are to be diverted to intensified competition in armaments—to a competition which will merely heighten suspicion and fears and threaten the economic prosperity of each and every nation."

Do these words mean anything to our rulers? And, if they do, will they act so that the foundations are laid of a real peace and not merely, as during the past few years, of putting off the evil day until a stand must be made for principles and under circumstances ever less favourable for such a stand? On the answer to these questions depends not merely the peace of the world but the very foundations of civilisation.

London,  
28th October, 1938

## POEMS

By MURIEL JEFFRIES HURD

### JUNGLE CAT

The night creeps up with jungle stealth  
To arch her sable back  
Against the roofs and chimney-pots  
And rub a velvet track.

She captures all the silver mice  
That, gnawing through the sky  
Are pounced upon and held for toys  
Before they scamper by.

She rolls the world between her paws  
And lifts a wary tail  
When rustling leaves move in the wind  
Or stars begin to fail.

She prowls along the fence of dreams  
And loiters with a yawn...  
Until annoyed by barking dogs  
She springs away at dawn.

### ETUDE

There is a quietude in cedar trees—  
They stand so valiantly and tall,  
Like stalwart guards at perfect ease  
Against a studded wall  
Of stars.

Their giant branches build a phantom bridge  
For cavalcades of dreams to march  
Across the night and touch the ridge  
Until they span and arch  
The universe.



# A NEW AND BETTER BIBLE, FOR ALL

By JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND

THE WORLD is getting a new Bible,—a Bible far more interesting, far more intelligible, far more fresh and human, in every way far more valuable than the old. From what source does it come? Wholly from the careful and thorough scholarship of our time,—mainly from what scholars call the higher biblical criticism.

The Bible of the old view, of the old limited knowledge, was preeminently, if not wholly, the book of the Jew and the Christian, to whom it was believed to have been given as a special miraculous revelation. The Bible of the new view, while not losing its interest or value to the Christian or the Jew, becomes a world-book, of world interest and world importance, to a degree that the old was not and could never be. Our present task is to show how this is so.

Perhaps our purpose can be best accomplished if we ask and attempt to answer the two following questions: First, just what is the so-called "higher criticism"? Second, just what light does it throw upon the Bible?

To the first question the brief answer may be made: The higher criticism is simply literary and historic criticism or study applied to the Bible; it is simply careful, unbiassed, scholarly investigation.

In some respects it is unfortunate to use the word criticism; because some minds understand it to mean something negative and destructive. When we speak of biblical criticism, such minds think at once that we are finding fault with the Bible, "tearing it to pieces", "destroying" it. This is a wholly mistaken idea. True criticism is not necessarily negative; it is as likely to be positive as negative. It does not necessarily destroy; indeed it may not be destructive at all; its effect may be wholly constructive.

It is easy to see this when we consider criticism as applied to other books. For example, when we speak of Shakespearean criticism, nobody understands us as meaning efforts to destroy or to injure Shakespeare. Rather we are understood to mean efforts to find out all that is possible about the priceless book of dramatic writing that comes to us from that great poet. All literary criticism is simply the study of literature in the light of all the knowledge we can get bearing on the

literature in hand and helping us to understand it better.

Apply this to the Bible. The higher biblical criticism is the application of all the principles of careful literary and historical study to the Bible, with a view to getting the fullest and truest possible understanding of the Bible's origin and development—the sources from which its various books came, their writers, their dates, the purpose of their authors in writing them, and whatever else can help us to understand their meaning, their value, and their place in the world.

This brings us to our second and still more important question: How does the new knowledge which comes to us from this study affect the Bible? In other words, what new views of the Bible does it give us? The following answers are offered.

*First*, literary and historical scholarship shows us that the Christian (or Christian and Jewish) Bible does not stand alone. It is not the only sacred book of mankind; it belongs to an important family. There are many religions in the world. Most of those which are highly developed have sacred literatures. Sacred books do not come into the world arbitrarily—they come naturally; there are laws that govern their origin and growth. Just as he who would know one science must know other sciences, so he who would know one sacred book must know other sacred books. The best works that are being written on the Bible today are being written in the light of knowledge of other sacred books also; and it is wonderful how much larger and more luminous this method of study makes religion, and revelation, and God.

*Second*, the Higher Criticism shows us that, properly speaking, the Bible is not a book; it is a literature. It is a collection of sixty-six different, and, for the most part, wholly independent and unrelated books, bound together. And their being bound together no more makes them one book than binding together sixty-six books of your library or mine would make them one. They were written in three different languages, in half a dozen or more different countries, and some of the books nearly a thousand years

later than others. They were written by writers of as widely different characteristics and qualifications for writing as we can well imagine,—kings, peasants, courtiers, keepers of cattle and sheep, scribes and learned men, men without learning, men of widely different views on many subjects, men differing greatly in moral character and piety.

These sixty-six books differ, too, in the widest degree in their subjects, aims, purposes, style, literary quality, moral quality, religious quality. Some are histories, some are partly historical and partly legendary, some are poetry; some are predictions of the future, some are sermons, some are collections of the proverbial wisdom of the time; some are biographical; some are romances (as *Ruth* and *Esther*); some are letters or epistles. It will be seen then what I mean when I say that the Bible is not a book but a literature,—an exceedingly valuable collection of ancient Hebrew literature,—on the whole the best part of the literature produced by the Hebrew or Jewish people during the one thousand years and more that they lived in Palestine before they were driven out and dispersed over the world.

*Third*, accurate and careful scholarly investigation makes it clear that every book and every fragment of a book which enters into this literature came into being naturally—from human causes, which in nearly all cases we can trace as clearly as we can trace the causes which produced Homer's *Iliad* or Xenophon's *Memorabilia of Socrates*, or Cicero's *Orations against Catiline*, or Thomas Paine's *Crisis*, or Keshub Chunder Sen's *New Dispensation*. Christians have been accustomed to think of the books of the Bible as dropping, so to speak, from God out of heaven; as coming into existence for reasons that God knew, but not such reasons as have operated in the production of any other books. But all this is a mistake. There never were books in the world whose origin could be more clearly traced to natural human causes than the books of the Old Testament and the New. Scholarship has brought to light these causes, and some of them we shall see as we go on.

*Fourth*, the Higher Criticism shows us that a surprisingly large number of the books of the Bible are anonymous as to authorship; and not only anonymous, but composites—that is, books not composed by any one author, but compilations, books which show the hand of more than one writer, and often of more than one age, and which have grown by succes-

sive editings and successive additions. Today in our Western World a man writes a book and sends it out over his own name. As a result nobody feels at liberty to change it or to add to it without due announcement of the fact. But with the Hebrews and other ancient Oriental nations it was different. Most ancient writers seem not to have put their names to their writings. Ideas were common property, and writers felt at liberty to add to or change books to an extent that our notions of literary ethics would not justify at all. As a result, we know the names of only a few of the writers of the Bible, and a large number of the books show that they have come from more sources than one. Thus the Pentateuch (or the Five Books of Moses, so called) we find was not written by Moses, or by any single author, but was many centuries in coming into existence.

Many of the prophetic books show additions by later hands. The Book of Isaiah comes from two (if not from three or four) different writers, living more than 150 years apart; and the Book of Zechariah contains matter from three different prophets.

The Book of Psalms is the national hymn book of the Jewish people, which was more than 500 years in growing. It contains five distinct collections of hymns, which were formed at different times, in some cases probably a century or more apart. But at last all five were brought together to form the book as we now have it. Nor do many, if any, of the hymns come from David. Few were written within two or three centuries of David. Some were written as late as a century or a little more before Christ. Thus we see that the history of Israel for more than half a thousand years was rich with spiritual singers.

The Book of Proverbs bears the name of Solomon. It may have begun in a small way with him, but certainly it was several centuries in coming to be what we now have, namely a collection of the aphoristic wisdom of the Jewish people.

The Gospels grew, and show layer after layer of added material. The Book of Acts and the Apocalypse (or the Book of Revelation) both show imbedded documents, and more than one revision and addition.

*Fifth*, Biblical scholarship makes clear to us that the books of the Bible are not chronologically arranged; I mean, they do not stand in their places in the order of their composition. This is important to be borne in mind; otherwise we shall be confused when trying to trace the order of events in Jewish history,



and the development of the Jewish religion and civilization.

Genesis, which stands at the beginning of the Old Testament is really one of the later Old Testament books. So with the books which immediately follow Genesis—that is, Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers. They are all late in date. The prophetic books stand well on toward the end of the Old Testament. Naturally, therefore, we think of them as late in origin. A few of them are, but some of them are the very oldest books of the Bible. In the New Testament the Gospels stand first. But they were not written until after the Epistles of Paul. And one of the Gospels, that connected with the name of John, bears evidence of being one of the latest of all the New Testament writings, not having come into existence probably until well on into the Second Century.

Now, of course, from books all in such disorder as regards their age, it was impossible to obtain any correct conception of the historical sequence and progress of the people or the religion with which they deal, until we could get the disorder straightened out, and could discover the relative dates of the books. At last, however—thanks to the patient and persistent labor of the scholars of the past hundred years!—we have found out, approximately at least, the dates of most of the writings of the Old Testament and the New. As a result, we are at last able to trace with much clearness and with substantial certainty the progress of the Israelitish people, both in civilization and in religion, from their low condition as portrayed in the books of Joshua and Judges, when they had just arrived in Palestine, a band of only recently liberated slaves from Egypt, on and up through the various stages of their development, until they reached their final maturity.

*Sixth*, Biblical scholarship shows us that not all parts of the Bible have equal value; indeed that different parts have different historical value, different literary value, different moral value, different religious value. And this means that the modern doctrine of the Bible's infallibility, inerrancy, perfection in every part, is not supported by scholarship.

The Bible nowhere makes the claim of infallibility. Even if it did, the facts as scholarship bring them to light regarding the origin, growth, preservation and contents of its various books, would not sustain the claim. Even if any one book of the Bible made the claim of inerrancy, or of being God's perfect

word, as possibly the Apocalypse or book of Revelation at the end of the New Testament may be said to do, this would apply only to that particular book, not to the Bible as a whole or to either Testament as a whole: for each book of both testaments was written absolutely by itself, with no reference to any other, and there was no gathering of the books together into a collection or canon until long after each separate book was written. So that no claim, of any kind, that any book may make for itself, can justly be extended to cover any other book, much less all other books, in the Bible.

The fact is, the modern idea of the absolute infallibility and perfection of the Bible in all its parts, is something which was unknown to the ancient Jews, unknown to any Bible writer, and unknown to the early Christian Church. It did not come into existence until after the Protestant Reformation of the 16th Century. The Roman Catholic Church did not hold it, and does not hold it now in any such rigid form as Protestants have taught it. It was not held by Luther or Calvin. It rose during the century after the death of these two great reformers. The cause that gave rise to it was the need felt by the Protestants for an authority—an infallible authority—to offset the infallible authority which the Catholics claimed to possess in the Church. The Protestants having denied that the Church was infallible, were seemingly left with no infallible standard at all. In self-defense, therefore, they seemed compelled to set up the Bible as such. This they did; and from that time on the absolute and infallible authority of the Bible, appears as a central doctrine among orthodox Protestant churches. This was its first appearance as held by any considerable body of churches in Christendom.

*Seventh*, the larger and better Biblical scholarship of our time shows us—what it is immensely important for us to understand—that the Bible is the literary record of a great and remarkable Evolution, the evolution, through the period of a thousand years, of the civilization and especially the religion of the Hebrew people.

The Hebrew people did not begin their career high up, but low down. Their early conception of God was crude. Their moral ideas were imperfect. Many of them were idolaters. Intellectually they stood upon a plane not so high as that occupied by some of the peoples around them. Morally they were

probably a little above their heathen neighbors, but not much.

From this low condition they rose, slowly, painfully, with many relapses, up and up, through struggles, through vicissitudes, through the hardships of war, the hardships of peace, the hardships of oppression, through the bitter experience of reaping the harvests of their own mistakes and sins, up and up, to the condition which we see at the time of the great prophets, and later at the time of the birth of Christianity. And what is the Bible? It is the outcome of all these thousand years and more of Hebrew history and Hebrew life. It is the literature of this marvellous evolution. It reflects, as it could not but reflect the thought of the people in all stages of their development. Some of it represents their earlier and lower and cruder religious and moral ideas; some of it, their religious and moral conceptions farther advanced. In Isaiah, and the greater Psalms, but especially in Jesus, the development reaches its height; the evolution is completed.

Do we not see how much more intelligible the Bible becomes in the light of this thought? More important still, do we not see from what a crushing load the Bible is relieved by this thought? Under the old conception, that all parts are alike the equal and perfect word of God, men were obliged to defend as divine inspiration the stories of the swimming axe, the talking ass, and the sun and moon standing still at human bidding, the command of Jehovah to Joshua to slaughter men, women and innocent children, the imprecatory psalms, and everything else found in the Old Testament, no matter how unreasonable, unhistoric or immoral.

Was there no way of relieving the Bible of this burden, too heavy to be borne? None, except for men to open their minds as, at last, under the influence of growing knowledge, more and more persons are doing, to the fact that not all parts of the Bible are equally valuable, but that some parts come from the child-stage of the ethical and religious development of the Hebrew people, and therefore in later time are to be laid aside as outgrown, as manhood always drops the appurtenances of its childhood.

It cannot be overlooked that thus far in its history the Bible has been a book exerting both a good and an evil influence among men. Doubtless its influence for good has been greatest; yet there is no evading the fact that it has been used as an arsenal of defense for many of

the worst evils that have ever cursed the world. It has been estimated that the single scripture text, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" has caused the death of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of innocent human beings. Such books as Joshua, the Judges, and Chronicles, full of the records of cruel and inhuman wars, have been responsible in no small degree for keeping alive that terrible war-spirit which has wrought such havoc in Christendom during nearly every century since Christianity began.

The Bible has been extensively used as a bulwark of slavery. Polygamy has always appealed to the Bible for support. Were not Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David and Solomon, polygamists? Yet these men are represented as special favorites of God. Tyrannizers over women have gone to the Bible for texts wherewith to justify their tyranny. So have wine-drinkers for texts to defend their use of intoxicants. The Bible teaching that the insane are possessed of devils caused those poor unfortunates to be treated in the most inhuman ways for centuries. Inquisitions, persecutions and oppressions of all kinds have made their constant appeal to the Bible in support of their crimes against humanity. The Bible has been used as perhaps the most effective of all fetters to bind the human mind. There is hardly a science that has not had its progress blocked seriously by texts from the Bible. These are all facts which have their place in history, and to which we cannot close our eyes.

What is the explanation? Why has it been possible thus to turn the Bible into an instrument of evil in so many ways? The explanation lies largely in the false belief regarding the Bible that has been in so many minds in Christendom,—the belief that it is all and in every part the inspired and perfect word of God and therefore an authority binding upon all men for all time. If they could have understood that it is a human book, a record of the experience and growth of a people from very low ethical and religious standards on and up to conditions higher and better, and therefore that much of it has long been passed by and ought to be laid aside, its power for evil would largely have been taken away, while its power for good would have remained.

The principle of evolution or growth applied to the Bible, as intelligent scholarship is beginning to apply it, gives us a new Bible, stripped of these evil influences which attached to the old, and at the same time enables it to retain all the influences for good that it ever possessed. In its light we see that the low

conceptions of God and the imperfect morality of certain parts of the Old Testament simply mark the child-stage, ethically and religiously, of the Hebrew people. They show us the beginnings of the development. They let us see the low moral and religious plane from which the Hebrew people rose to what they afterward became. The Bible literature is at once the record and the product of that remarkable advance by which the crude polytheism of the slaves of the Exodus at last developed into the pure and noble religion of the better Psalms, of the Second Isaiah and of the Sermon on the Mount.

*Finally*, and not less important than anything that has gone before, the larger and better Biblical scholarship which is coming to our day, shows us that the Bible is not primarily a book of theology; but that centrally and above everything else it is a book of religion and life.

Grievous mistakes have been made in the past in the use of the Bible and are constantly being made today. Men are forever going to the Bible for texts, for texts to prove something, to bolster up some doctrine, to support some theological theory or dogma, as if the book were a theological treatise, a doctrinal text-book. The truth is, it is at the farthest removal from a theological treatise or doctrinal text-book. If it had been a collection of texts out of which to build theological speculations and dogmas, the world would never have cared for it, indeed the world would never have heard of it. It has lived and attained its great place among men because it is a book, not of theology but of life, and of that religion which grows out of life. This life quality in it is what gives the Bible its permanent interest and its priceless value.

The Bible is full of experiences of real men, the thoughts and deeds of real men, the hopes and fears of real men, the burdens and discouragements and problems of real men. It shows us the young man in his actual life, the old man in his, the poor man in his, the king in his. On its pages are smiles of joy and tears of sadness; the mother with her children, the shepherd with his sheep, the fisherman with his boats and his nets, the farmer sowing and reaping his grain, the woman drawing water from the well.

It paints the quiet joys and sweet securities of peace, the hurry, the rush, the glory and the horror of war; the laugh of childhood, the idyl of courtship and marriage; the tragedy of death; the poet singing his song, the

historian writing his chronicle, the priest ministering at the altar. It portrays with wonderful distinctness and power the evil-doer, hardened in his evil-doing, or repenting in shame and sorrow and turning to virtue; the prophet fighting against the wrongs and wickednesses of his time, as we have to fight against the evils and wrongs of ours; the lonely soul feeling out after God, and finding the divine hand in the darkness, just as men feel out and find today.

This is what the Bible is, when rightly understood. It is a book of life; a truly human and therefore a truly divine book; a book born out of what was most real and living in the experiences of a people for a thousand years. This is why the Bible lives, and will live; why it finds human hearts, and will continue to find them forever. This is the secret of its undying power.

What is needed is a study of the Bible that shall recognize all this and bring it all out into clearness, as the newer biblical scholarship does. When once we get such a study, when we stop going to the Bible for dogma, and begin to go to it for life; when the veil falls from our eyes, and we cease to look upon it as a strange far-away, mysterious book, unlike anything else in the world, with meanings that elude us; when we come to understand and feel the naturalness of it, the beating heart of it, the genuine humanness of it, then it will no longer repel us; then we shall be drawn to it, as we are drawn to Shakespeare, as we are drawn to Homer, as we are drawn to Burns, only still more strongly, for, while it is as fresh and living as any of these, it is greater than all of them. It is greater because it is more many-sided, it occupies an incomparably more central place in the world's history, it deals with the highest concerns of man, the things of the moral and spiritual life, and it speaks to man with a directness, an insight into the human heart, and an inspiring power greater than that of any other book known to the western world, if not to the whole world.

From the considerations now set forth it will be seen what was meant in the beginning by saying that the higher criticism (our new and larger biblical scholarship) is giving us a new, a more intelligible and better Bible,—one that is far more truly a world-book than the old has ever been, or can ever become.

There are men who, knowing little about the biblical scholarship of our day, call it negative and destructive. The fact is, it is fundamentally positive and constructive. It is

destructive in no sense except that it aims to destroy old, false conceptions in order to make way for truer ones. The scholars who are giving us our new light on the Bible are not iconoclasts;—for the most part they are earnest and devout men. They are men who in other things are trusted and honored; why should they not be in this? They are men who love and revere the Bible, and who have faith enough in it to feel sure that truth can do it no injury. It follows that to reject the higher biblical criticism is simply to turn our backs on both piety and intelligence.

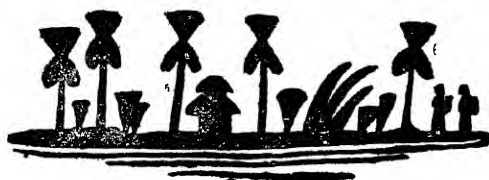
That the new, larger and more reasonable view of the Bible which modern biblical scholarship is giving us will sooner or later find general acceptance in the world, I believe, is as certain as any future thing. Of course it will have a hard and long battle to fight, particularly in Christian lands. Christian dogmatism is against it. The teaching and prejudices of many Christian centuries are against it. It wins only among minds that dare to think. But among such its victory is certain. Truth and reason are on its side. Already it is accepted by practically all independent and unbiassed scholars, Christian and non-Christian. It is only a question of time when thoughtful men generally will follow where scholarship and reason lead.

Does anyone fear that this larger and more rational view of the Bible will take away from the book some of its moral or spiritual value? On the contrary, it leaves undisturbed every truth that the Bible ever contained, every moral precept, every spiritual principle, every inspiring word, every noble thought about God, or man, or duty, or life,—everything that has power to feed the soul's hunger; every word of comfort or hope or trust, every call to courage; everything that is calculated to lift man up nearer God, or bring God nearer to man, or draw men nearer to each other as brothers, or make life more divine.

Nor is this all. The new thought not only keeps all that is valuable in the Bible, but it does more. It teaches that God is larger than the God of the Christian or of the Jew. He is

the God of the whole world. Inspiration is not limited to a single people of the ancient time. It is a reality of all time; it is a reality of today. God's spirit moves in the hearts and consciences of men in all lands and ages. Revelation is too large a thing to be confined to a single book. If the Bible contains precious revelation of God's truth, so too are there other precious revelations,—in the starry heavens, in the blossoming earth, in history, in art, in science, in the mother's love to her child, in the child's answering love as it looks up in the mother's eyes, in all the experiences of the deep heart of man. There is true revelation in the other great sacred books of the world outside the Bible, which have been bread of life to so many millions of the human race; and in the great seers, thinkers, poets, teachers of the things of the spirit whom God sends to every age,—the Buddhas, the Platos, the Dantes, the Savonarolas, the Luthers, the Miltons, the Wesleys, the Channings, the Brownings, the Emersons, the Rammohuns of the world. Through all these prophet-souls God speaks his word—his word which cannot be bound, his word which cannot be shut up in any one book or in all books, his word which is as large as all truth.

To sum up all that we have been saying: The outgrown Bible of tradition, credulity and ignorance, whose supposed infallibility fettered reason and hindered moral and religious progress, is being superseded by the new Bible which the scholarship and unbiassed inquiry of our day have given to the world. This new Bible is literature and not dogma; in it incredible stories are recognized as legend; impossible chronicles are recognized as myth; unworthy views of God and low moral standards are seen to be simply the imperfect conceptions of an early age. This Bible reveals the growing ethical perceptions, the rising spiritual ideals, the deepening God-consciousness, the marvellous, thousand-year-long religious evolution of an extraordinary people. Thus interpreted in the light of scholarship and intelligence, the Bible will never lose its interest, its greatness, or its moral and religious power among men.



# BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA : A LESSON FOR INDIA

By DR. TARAKNATH DAS

*Special Lecturer on Oriental History and World Politics,  
College of the City of New York*

In my article on "British Foreign Policy" written on April 17, 1938, published in the August number of *The Modern Review*, I pointed out that the British Government under the leadership of the Rt. Hon. Neville Chamberlain was working for isolation of Soviet Russia and conclusion of a Four Power Pact of Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany. The British Government agreed to dismemberment of Czechoslovakia to please Germany. It has been suggested that the British Government agreed to this dishonorable policy, for the purpose of preserving World Peace. But the fact is that the British Government, owing to the world situation, did not take the risk of being involved in a world war, which might be to the greatest disadvantage to the British Empire. The very existence of the German-Japanese-Italian anti-communistic pact, (see my article on the subject in the January number of *The Modern Review*), which is nothing less than an offensive and defensive alliance in practice, has played a very important part in Herr Hitler's great diplomatic victory in acquiring the Sudeten German territory by partitioning Czechoslovakia.

It is needless to emphasize the importance of Germany's strong military position, strengthened by the annexation of Austria. This was further strengthened by German-Hungarian agreement arrived at during the recent visit of Admiral Horthy of Hungary to Germany. In fact Czechoslovakia was surrounded by Germany, Poland and Hungary; and it had no possibility of securing any support from Russia unless Rumania allowed the Russian army to pass through Rumanian territory. France could not aid Czechoslovakia effectively without attacking Germany in her western frontier, where *German Siegfried Line* would be able to resist the French invasion without great difficulty. But the existence of the Rome-Berlin axis created a condition greatly disadvantageous to France, which wished to be sure of British support in case she was faced with a German or Italian attack.

Let us examine France's position in world politics: (1) In the Far East France could not maintain her position in the face of Japanese hostility, and Japan as a virtual ally of Germany might jeopardise French interests in the Far East. Therefore France's position was not secure in the Far East. (2) In Africa, France's position was precarious, because there has been political unrest in Morocco during recent months; furthermore Franco-Italian disharmony in world politics menaces French positions in Tunis, which can be attacked by Italian forces under Marshal Balbo in Lybia. Italy, since the disagreement with France, on her Spanish policy, has considerable force concentrated at the South Eastern French frontier, and Italian navy and Spanish rebels might cut off, or at least disturb, French means of communications, between Africa and France. Thus France, if involved in a war with Germany, just to aid Czechoslovakia, would face unfavourable conditions in the Far East, Africa, and French southern and south-eastern frontiers. Thus the French could not dare to take a definite stand without definite promise of support from Great Britain, which of all powers might aid France in the Far East and the Mediterranean and other quarters full of danger. To be sure France had an alliance with Russia—a mutual assistance pact in case Germany attacked any of the contracting parties; but Russia with her internal chaos (numerous military and naval officers have been executed in Russia during the last few months) and Russia facing a possible attack from Japan in the Far East could not give any direct aid to France, if attacked by Italy in Africa and other quarters. Therefore French statesmen, especially M. Daladier and M. Bonnett, decided that France would not go to war with Germany unless Britain agreed to come to her aid on the Czechoslovakian issue. It is well known now that the British Cabinet refused to come to the aid of France on the Czechoslovakian issue on the definite grounds that (1) Britain was never a party in guaranty-



ing Czech independence and (2) Britain could not jeopardise her own vital interest just to aid the Czechs, when Britain would be a gainer by isolating Russia through the co-operation of Germany, Italy and France, (3) Britain's world position has not been very comfortable, because of (a) the Sino-Japanese War, (b) Russian penetration into Sinkiang, (c) unrest in India, (d) Arab revolt, (e) as well as Anglo-Italian difficulties in Africa, the Mediterranean and in Spain.

It is needless to remind the reader that maintenance of British control over India is the fundamental principle of British foreign policy. As long as German-Japanese-Italian agreement remains in force and Britain fails to secure Japanese support in her world politics, she will not take the risk of entering into any conflict in Europe. In this connection it is most interesting to note that a Washington correspondent, in an article in *The New York Journal* of September 20, 1938, makes it clear that because of Japanese threat to British interests in the Far East, the Chamberlain government refused to take such a position as might bring about a war in Europe.

Lest there be any misunderstanding on this point I quote this article by Mr. Nixon, which explains Japan's dominating position in world politics. (It is the uninformed who think that the Chinese, aided by the Russians, would defeat Japan):

#### BRITISH FEARS REVEALED

By ROBERT G. NIXON

*International News Service*

WASHINGTON, Sept. 20:

A paralyzing fear that her own great empire would be the sacrifice of another general war in Europe led Great Britain to acquiesce in the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.

This amazing disclosure of the stakes wagered in the behind-the-scenes diplomatic battle over the German-Czech crisis reached high official quarters here today and was revealed to *International News Service*.

#### FEARED JAP ATTACK

In the midst of the crisis last week, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain was informed by the British intelligence service of a secret plan of Japan to strike at Britain's empire in the Far East.

The bold stroke of Nippon, Washington was informed, was to be held in leash until Britain's armed strength became wholly involved in a war with France against Germany.

Then, this authoritative source revealed, the Japanese navy and strong expeditionary forces were scheduled to strike successively and swiftly at Hong Kong, Singapore, the Malay States, India and Australia.

#### EAST INDIES NAMED

The Nipponese, it was stated, also planned to overrun the Netherlands East Indies, where are located priceless oil lands.

In the Malay States are the world's richest tin mines. Australia would provide Japan with an unending source of food and wool and an outlet for her teeming population, it was pointed out. From India—fabulous, untold wealth and an inexhaustible source of manpower.

Only by the might of its sea power, assured by the world's most powerful fleet, has England been able to keep a hold on this vast, sprawling Oriental empire.

#### FLEET TIE-UP VISIONED

Japan counted, it was asserted, on a major European war involving England in Europe and tying up the British fleet in European waters to blockade Germany, keep open its immediate sea lanes for food and munitions supplies and to watch Italy.

Without a fleet free to dispatch instantly to the Far East Britain's Oriental empire would be comparatively easy prize, according to high military and naval opinion.

Britain learned, it was stated, that the Japanese fleet, in its own waters as mighty as Britain's or the United States, has been kept entirely free of the present Sino-Japanese conflict.

#### HELD READY TO STRIKE

Japan, the British intelligence reported, was prepared to halt its present war in China, keeping less than a half million men in China to hold the conquered lands, and, with a million campaign hardened troops under arms, its strong fleet and the Japanese nation keyed to war's effort, strike south toward the British possessions.

American naval authorities believe the huge fortifications Britain has just completed at Singapore at a cost of \$250,000,000 would be powerless to halt Japan without a fleet based there.

The plan of Oriental conquest was unfolded to the British authorities, it was reported, at the height of the Czech crisis.

#### NEEDED U. S. AID

Prime Minister Chamberlain weighed the possibilities, with many other factors in the European situation, it was declared, and then came to his dramatic decision to fly to Berchtesgaden for a personal interview with Chancellor Hitler in an effort to find the key to European appeasement.

Chamberlain, it was asserted, realized that only in the event the United States could be persuaded to send its fleet far into the Pacific and hold Japan at bay could Britain's Far Eastern empire be saved if Japan launched a whole-hearted effort.

But this, the Prime Minister was represented as concluding, appeared utterly hopeless in view of American determination to remain strictly neutral and hold completely aloof from the European crisis.

The lesson for India is to take it seriously that Britain, in her present position, cannot defend India without aid from other nations. For this reason, Britain to curry favour with Italy, has agreed to Italian annexation of Abyssinia. She has helped "the unspeakable Turk" of yesterday, with a loan of £16,000,000 (sixteen million pounds) so that Turkey would act as an ally of Britain in the Near East. She has agreed to make concessions to Egypt, Iraq, and other Arab States to get Arab or Moslem support against the poor Jews, who deserve world sympathy in their plight. Britain agreed to Japanese protectorate over Manchukuo and



is now really seeking revival of Anglo-Japanese Alliance, so that Japan may be used to protect British interests in the Far East and India. This may not be believed by many but this is the actual fact.

*Britain's dependence upon other Powers is primarily due to the fact that a disarmed India is not a military asset to the British Empire.*



Hitler strangles the Czechs with the British Lion's Tail

—From *The New York Post*

Furthermore, Britain wishes to keep India disarmed, to keep her under subjection. A disarmed and militarily weak India cannot recover her independence nor can it maintain its independence even if it is given to the people.

It is rather disheartening and amusing to notice that Indian leaders who admire Soviet Russia, which maintains the largest standing army and air force in the world, speak of "non-violence" as the national policy of nationalist India.

Indian leaders are anxious to aid Abyssinians who fought Italians, they sympathise with Spanish loyalists who are fighting for democracy, they send Ambulance Corps to China as a gesture of sympathy; but they do not take any effective step to increase Indian national efficiency in matters of National defence!

Lakhs of rupees have been spent in the so-called Charkha movement, Khilafat movement and other non-essential things, while ignoring the need of spreading military education in India. The time has come for Indian statesmen to do two things: (1) Raise a crore or more rupees of national defence fund to spread military education in India with a programme of training at least 3,000,000 or more men within the coming five years and (2) take definite steps for concluding an Indo-British military alliance which will be of great value to Britain and India.

If Britain opposes these two programmes, which should be furthered by Indian Princes as well as Indian nationalist leaders, then it would be evident to India and the world at large, that Britain wishes to keep India defenceless and at her mercy and at the mercy of possible invaders.

What has happened to Manchuria, Abyssinia, Spain, Czechoslovakia and China should be a lesson to India. India cannot attain her free-

dom by mere nationalist agitation, debate in the legislative assembly or by securing a few jobs for Indian politicians. India must set her own house in order—and should take up the question of national defence with all earnestness. The responsibility lies with the young leaders of India.

New York City,  
September 20, 1938.

# EDUCATION FOR JOURNALISM IN INDIA

By S. G. WARTY, M.A.

"To us in India, Journalism is more a Mission than a means of livelihood."

—SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

It needs no saying that journalists play the most important part in shaping public opinion in a country and yet it is a recognised fact that it is the one profession in the world which a man is permitted to follow without specialised studies. It is not to be denied that much of the technique of journalism has to be acquired by practice, by actual work in a newspaper office, but the journalist, if he is to prove really useful to the community and successful in the declared purpose of his profession, is as much in need of studying its principles and its subject-matter, as the engineer is in need of studying the principles of engineering, the doctor the principles of medicine and the lawyer the principles of jurisprudence.

Without a clear background of these broad, theoretical and specialised studies, the journalist who has acquired mere practice, is apt to be narrow-visioned, possessed of prejudices, full of strong and unreasonable likes and dislikes. Instead, then, of being a boon to the community which it is certainly his privilege to be, he may prove a great danger, for he may vitiate the atmosphere of thought by his wicked misrepresentations and fanciful statements, lower the public tastes, and impair the standard of morals prevailing in a community.

It is for this reason, that journalists must of all people belonging to the learned professions, be men of wide studies and liberal outlook, especially so in India, for this is a country where the printed word exercises the greatest influence and carries the greatest authority. But how can these wide studies and liberal outlook be assured, unless the journalist, before he actually embarks on his career, acquires the necessary culture that a sound general education imparts and thereafter passes through the special studies pertinent to his profession?

Is there then a need for education in journalism in India? What part can the Universities play in the matter? Would a degree in journalism be helpful and if so what should be the syllabus of studies? Such are some of

the questions which I propose to discuss in this article.

## CAN UNIVERSITIES HELP ?

The question of instituting degrees in journalism in our Universities in India assumed some prominence for some time but has not been systematically pursued. In England and the United States where journalism has made enormous strides, there are many private schools which propose to teach journalism, sometimes by postal tuition also, the best-known and the best-organised of these being the London School of Journalism where a systematic practice of writing is taught in various branches, article-writing, paragraph-writing, descriptive writing, story-writing, etc. In none of these schools however, is the background of a certain standard of general culture prescribed as necessary in the scholars seeking admission to the course. And besides, wide and liberal studies do not form a part of the curriculum, all that is really enjoined being practice in writing.

Few Universities there have yet introduced courses and degrees in journalism. The London University is perhaps the only University where systematic higher instruction for the degree of journalism is imparted and the syllabus of studies properly arranged. Considering that in India, journalism as carried on at present is largely in the hands of very poorly equipped persons, the gain to it would be immense if the Universities undertake the work of instruction and raise its standard, thereby elevating the profession itself and placing it in a deserving position.

If we take an illustration from the growth of commercial education in Bombay, we find that until the Sydenham College of Commerce was started and the B. Com. degree instituted by the University, the level of commercial education imparted by the various private schools in Bombay was very low, going rarely beyond what may be called the "rule of thumb." The commercial graduates, endowed with culture, are bringing a more liberal out-

look on their work and have demonstrated their capacity for pluck and initiative.

#### THE SYLLABUS OF STUDIES

If it is recognised that the Universities should introduce a course in journalism and a degree to mark the end of that course, what should be the special studies that the students should be made to go through? What should also be the standard of general education for the entrant aspiring for the degree in journalism?

In the Universities in India, a pass in the First Year Course in the Arts College is made compulsory for a candidate before he joins a college imparting professional education. For the degrees in teaching and in law, the necessary qualification for admission is still higher, and only after the candidate obtains the B.A., or the B. Sc. degree can he hope to join the professional colleges. It is my considered opinion that no candidate should be admitted to the special studies of journalism in a University, until he has first acquired the B.A. degree.

The journalist must be a truly educated man, with the most liberal inclinations and having a sympathetic outlook on all kinds of knowledge. To speak in the jargon of the latter half of the nineteenth century, the journalist must be a man who knows "something of everything and everything of something". His task is to deal with human beings, their ideals, their prejudices and their aspirations, by a right understanding of their psychology.

As regards the special studies for the degree in journalism, one has to take note of the fact that in India, journalism at the present day almost completely consists of political writing so great being the emphasis placed on politics. For this reason a scientific and systematic study of politics in all its practical and theoretical aspects, must form a necessary part of a course in journalism. The aspirant for a journalistic career must be intimately acquainted with the currents of economic and political thought in the modern world, the forces now at play in shaping mankind and its actions, and the problems of each country and nationality on the globe, with their historic background. The journalist must be able to take a world-view of things and to look at the problems at hand from that perspective. Says Mr. Wickham Steed:

"The ideal journalist would be one who, having mastered and assimilated the wisdom of the ancients, the

philosophies of the more modern, the knowledge of scientists, the mechanics of engineers, the history of his own and of other times, and the chief factors in economic, social, and political life, should be able to hide all these things in his bosom and to supply as much of them as might be readily digested to his millions of readers in proportion as he divined their desire for them."

#### PRACTICE IN WRITING

Next only to political and economic studies, the candidate must be required to study the history of the growth of journalism in the world and its present position in each country, the methods of its appeal to the public and its influence on the course of public affairs. Then again, the knowledge of the principles of newspaper organisation as developed in the course of years, will serve to impart a realistic bent to the studies and carry the student over the whole field of what may be called "Press-dom". It would be very desirable if students while thus under training, are made to visit important newspaper offices to see how the whole organisation works from beginning to end, to see how the issue comes out within the allotted time.

Practice in writing should, I think, also be attempted while under training. The first thing that a journalist has to learn is to condense elaborate news or writing into intelligible summaries to suit the limited space at his disposal, and he should be able to do so whilst running over the sheet itself with his blue pencil. He should also cultivate the practice of describing events in a picturesque yet in a truthful manner. Similarly a certain number of exercises in article-writing of various sorts must be made compulsory. The principles in regard to the reviewing of books with some practice must also be taught.

The main difference between newspaper writing and other writing is that, in the first case the length of the article is governed by the stern and imperative consideration of space, and within this limitation everything of importance must be said in interesting and intelligible manner so as never to weary the attention of the reader. A newspaper is an institution for the education of the populace by popular means, just as a school is for the education of the children, and therefore the method of its speech and idiom must not be much above their capacity to understand.

In addition to these compulsory subjects, specialisation in voluntary subjects should also be prescribed, and such subjects may profitably be Indian Politics, European Politics, Asiatic Politics, American Politics and so on. This

would necessitate intensive studies in particular subjects and make the journalist specially capable to write on his subjects at a moment's notice. Indeed it is an advantage to have men so equipped on the regular staff of a newspaper.

It should be possible for a graduate of the University to be able to imbibe so much of education pertaining to journalism within a period of two years. The study should include of course a knowledge of the law pertaining to newspapers and libel.

## SOME VITAL LESSONS FROM MEXICO

By DR. TARAKNATH DAS

RECENTLY when the nationalist government of Mexico declared that it would nationalize the oil industry of the country and thus take over the interest of American and British oil companies, after paying what may be regarded as reasonable compensation, the British government violently protested against such measures. The Mexican government, instead of surrendering to British demands of restitution of oil property of British nationality, surprised the whole world and particularly Lord Halifax, the British Foreign Secretary, when it broke off diplomatic relations with the government of His Britannic Majesty. In the past it was the habit of the British government to recall its diplomatic representative to express its displeasure towards a government which dared to oppose British economic and political interests; but this time Mexico turned the table on Great Britain and the latter had to recall her minister from Mexico city. The Mexican government determined to do its share that the people of Mexico should own the resources of the country and be not subject to exploitation by imperialist powers. Mexico has been so far able to oppose Britain, because she has the tacit support of the government of the United States in the matter of the oil-property controversy, and furthermore owing to the existence of the Munroe Doctrine, Britain does not dare use any form of force against Mexico. The Mexican government has also the full support of the Mexican working class and peasants in its programme of government ownership of vital industries of the land.

But the most interesting news from Mexico is contained in the following news-despatch published in the *New York Evening Post* of June 28, 1938.

MEXICO INCREASES HEALTH EXPENSES, CUTS ARMS COSTS  
GENEVA, June 28 (UP).

Mexico in the period 1928 to 1937 increased its expenditures on health and education and reduced those

on armament, a study by the League of Nations Economic Intelligence Service revealed today. The publication revealed that Mexico's public debt rose from 961,800,000 pesos (\$211,596,000) in 1928 to 1,239,000,000 pesos (\$272,580,000) in 1937.

The report stated that expenditures by the Secretary of War, Marine, and Department of Mill Supplies—combined in 1935—decreased from 96,600,000 pesos in 1928 to 80,300,000 pesos in 1937, while public health expenses jumped from 6,700,000 pesos to 14,900,000 pesos and public education expenditures rose from 25,800,000 pesos to 59,400,000 pesos.

Does this mean that the Mexican government is decreasing its efficiency in the field of national defence by reducing expenditure? On the contrary, the Mexican government *has improved its defensive power immensely*, during the last few years, by systematic spread of military education among the youth of the land and the workingmen. The Mexican workingmen are the back-bone of the present government. They are, through the national labour union, organized into a national militia, which is ready to supplement the regular army in upholding the government. This new organized labour military force costs the government very little; and it is not only an asset to the government but it is a factor in preventing the reactionaries from coercing the progressive elements in the government.

Indian nationalists now running the provincial governments and aspiring to control the Federal Government of India of tomorrow should have a definite programme of spreading military education and increasing the power of national defence and at the same time reducing the burden of heavy military expenditure which primarily aids British Imperialism. Mexico shows the way for India.

New York City,

June, 28, 1930

# THE VINE FESTIVAL IN ITALY

By SANTIMOY MOULIK

THE autumn in Italy offers a spectacle of wide contrasts to that in other countries of western and northern Europe. "The light that loses and the night that gains," as Swinburne describes the English fall, heralds a period of darkness and drizzle, of bare trees and slippery roads. In the Scandinavian countries and northern Germany, the autumn is the worst season which has neither the fascinating twilight of summer nor the romantic snow-shine of winter. In Italy, however, the autumn is the best season after the spring; it is the season of harvest festivals, of outdoor games and excursions in the cool and delightful atmosphere that follows the trying heat of summer. In spite of the falling leaves and occasional drifts of cold wind from the Appenine valleys, the sky is always blue, just that blue which one usually finds on the canvas of Giotto and other 14th century Italian painters. Under these skies and in the limpid light of clear and sparkling days, the Italian peasants celebrate their harvest festivals of which the Vine Festival is the most celebrated and the most picturesque.

In a bright and busy atmosphere on a charming September evening the ninth annual session of the National Vine Festival was inaugurated in Rome this year under the auspices of the National Dopolavoro Institute, in the Basilica of Massenzio on the famous Imperial Way that connects Imperial Rome with the Colosseum. The stalls were arranged with a decorative style which is typical of the Italian festive occasions. These stalls exhibited the best varieties of grapes produced in the different grape-producing centres of the country. High above were the brooding vaults of the Roman basilica, which under the decorative effect looked like the vineyards of the Agro Romano, sheltered as if from the wind by aqueducts, and provided with miniature rustic sheds made for the occasion to complete the rural scene. Gaily and colourfully dressed maidens, in the costumes of their respective native provinces, were in charge of tempting the visitors to buy their grapes. It was a scene which one sees on the streets of Rome during the entire month of October.

Round and about the stalls were constructed also small inns where one could find wine

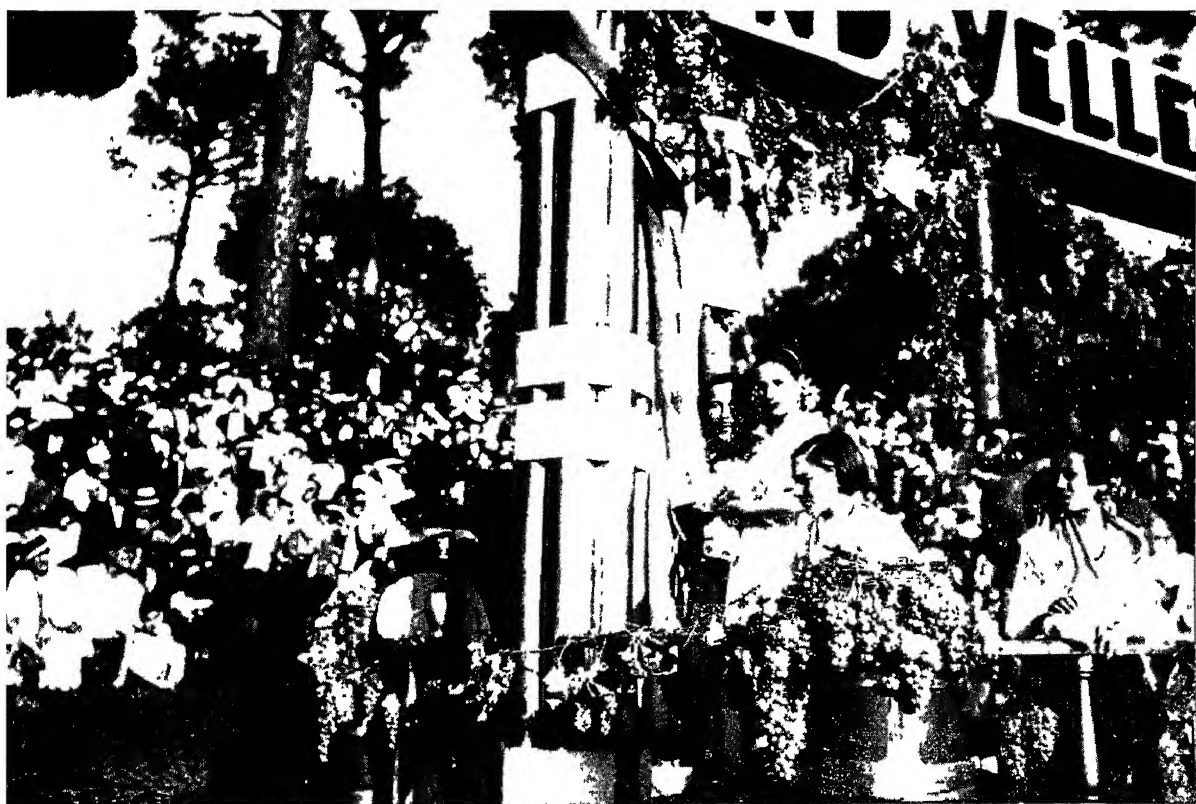
and sausages, pastry and ices, providing some place of gossip to the visitors. For the visitors were also organized a special orchestra and vocal concerts performed by distinguished musicians and artists of Rome.

The visitors were further allowed to buy bottles of wine at reduced rates at the Exhibition and to bring them out, if they desired, of the basilica without paying any tax.

The Corporation of Rome, which takes a very important part in the organization of these exhibitions, offers every year a prize to the grower of the best type of grape exhibited. This year the prize was won by a farmer of Tivoli, about fifteen miles from Rome and famous for its excellent vineyards. Fancifully the farmer named his product "L'Uva Duce" (Duce Grapes). Of these, I am sure, sixteen would make a seer. Other varieties were named as follows: Regina, Pizzutello, Zibibbo, Moscato, Panse, Precoce and Maccarese, etc.

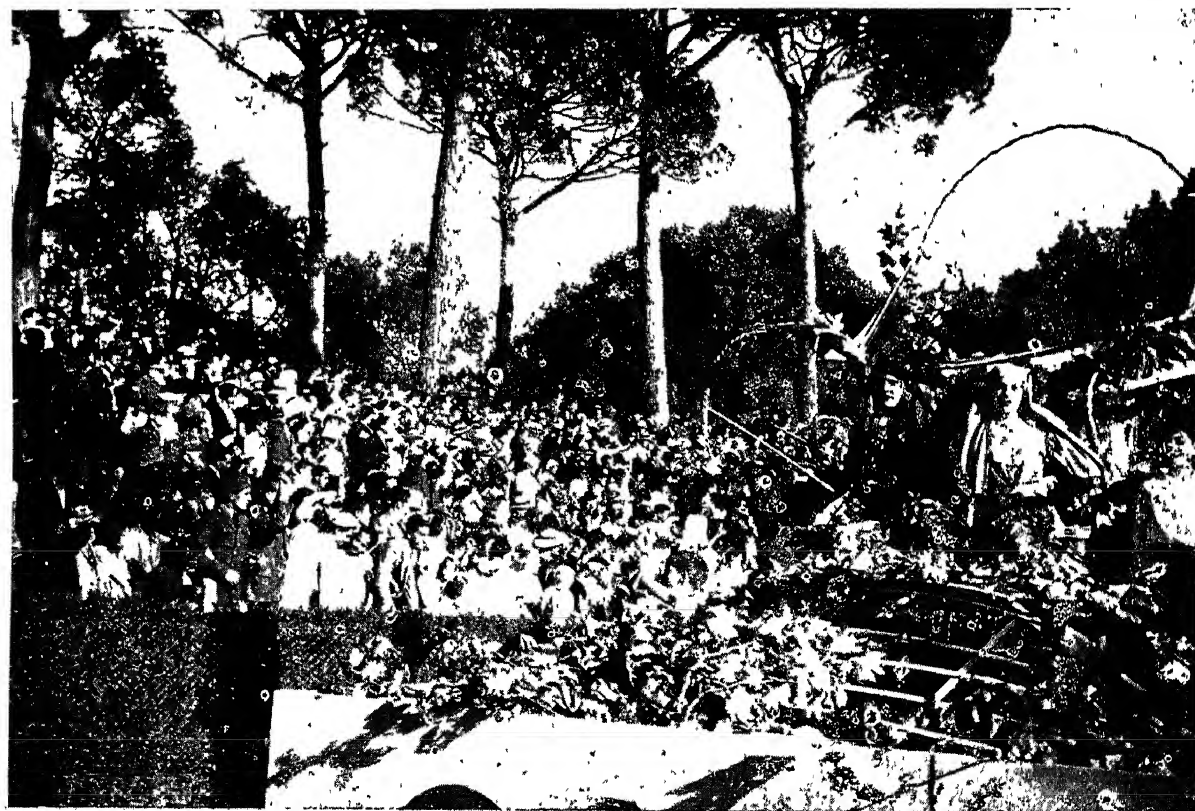
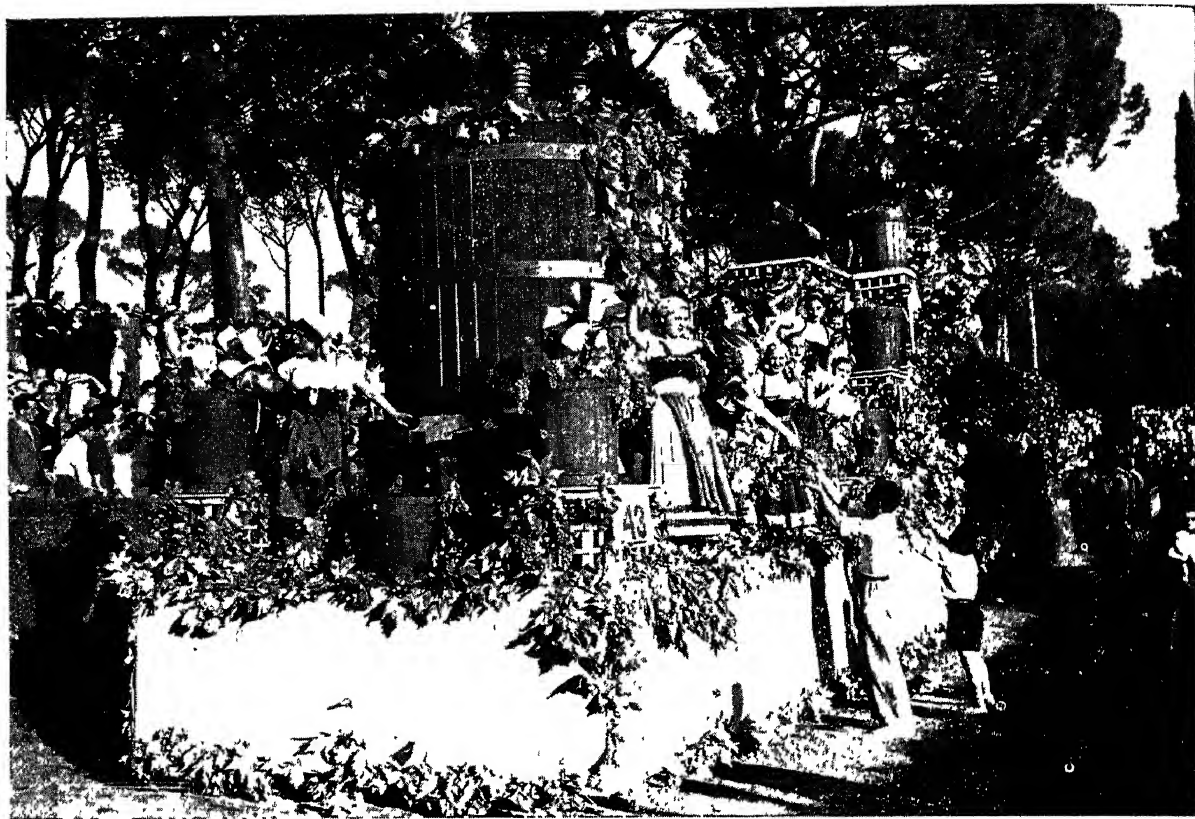
The National Dopolavoro or Afterwork Institute also plays a large part in the organization of and in imparting colour and grandeur to this exhibition. This Institute, as is well known now, was established to offer facilities for amusement to the industrial and agricultural workers of Italy. More generally it was designed in the lines of a social welfare institution which could effectively deal with the problem of how best to employ the leisure hours of the workers consonant with the ideals of social justice and national vigour. It has offered a great impetus to the revival of artistic, sportive and intellectual life of those classes of the people for whom otherwise such pursuits remained a luxury. It itself sets on foot new movements in the field of sport, travel, culture, social welfare and the arts, ranging from music to drama, from Thespi's Car to the Radio and Cinema, from fine arts to home-crafts. All its efforts are to compensate the monotonous and unpleasant industrial life of the masses by means of offering facilities of joy, recreations and various diversions, making popular the festivals of the patron saints, triumphal cars, mystery plays and above all, the folk festivals and folk dances. In the spirit of its mission, the Institute this year organized a procession of decorated cars loaded





Top : Gaily dressed maidens celebrate the Vine Festival  
Bottom : Fascists celebrate the National Vine Festival





Top : Distribution of grapes  
Bottom : Procession of the Queen of the Vine Festival

with grapes and maidens in the Piazza di Siena, a pine-covered amphitheatre in the heart of Rome's public park, the Villa Borghese, which presented the spectacle of a mixed atmosphere of rural harvest festival and the urban carnival.

There is an economic side as well to this merry festival. The Government seeks to encourage the domestic consumption of grapes which not only brings more money to the

farmers but also improves the health of the citizens. The propaganda for the increasing consumption of grapes is a very familiar thing now in Italy, and those who are in charge of this propaganda may deserve the best congratulations for the results so far achieved. The consumption of grapes has increased by leaps and bounds in Italy during the last ten years, and the figure is always on the increase.

Rome.

## AT THE BIRTH-PLACE OF SHAKESPEARE

By M. MANSINHA

THE little English town of Stratford-on-Avon where Shakespeare was born, is now completely changed from what it must have been in the Poet's time. Things that one meets with now in the streets of Stratford could not have been dreamt of even by the gigantic imagination of Shakespeare. The electricity, the wireless, the ubiquitous motor car with its nasty petrol smell, the new houses with modern amenities but with a thoughtless uniformity that makes one get sick of their sight—these have changed Stratford from an Elizabethan village into a modern town, but I personally believe the changes have been for the worse. They have destroyed the sylvan charm and peace of the beautiful Avon Valley as far as they can.

But fortunately for the lovers of nature as well as of Shakespeare neither coal nor iron has been discovered near about Stratford. And that is the one reason why the destruction of nature has not been so complete and enough of natural charm of the place still remains to give the modern visitor an idea of the environment in which the extremely sensitive imagination of the boy Shakespeare must have collected those impressions of nature which later on made his poetry so vivid with concrete and realistic imageries. For, travelling from the North of England, while I passed through Birmingham and Sheffield and the country round about them on my way to Stratford, I could realise at once what the fate of Stratford-on-Avon might have been if anything to gratify the greed of the Capitalist had been found there. For man's hand has not created uglier places than the industrial towns of England and Mammon's servants are too coarse to

possess any respect for Shakespeare's memories to have spared his birthplace from the process of rape on nature which is associated with modern industrialism.

### II

It is curious to know that although this small town of England has been attracting hundreds of thousands of tourists from all parts of the world, the common Stratfordian is rather indifferent to the associations of the Poet's memory. As soon as I got down at the railway station of Stratford I got into the company of two ladies with whom I began to talk. I said to them, "You must be proud of being the citizens of Stratford where Shakespeare was born." "No," replied one of them, "We don't feel it at all. We are rather frightened of him—he becomes a terror to us through his plays from our school-days!"

There is a cinema-house at Stratford; perhaps the only one for many miles around. And an English clergyman informed me that many from the country come to Stratford to see the films and never bother about the theatre where the great plays of Shakespeare are produced. On Sundays the lawns along the Avon become a veritable beehive with visitors with hundreds of motor cars parked along the roads. I came to know that most of these people are mere hikers and holiday-makers and don't care twopence for Shakespeare! One morning, while walking round the memorial theatre I got talking with a boy. I asked him by the way who Shakespeare was. And he replied that he is the man who has written a lot of letters! And he asked me if I had gone to the Picture-house where the film, "Mickey

Mouse" was being shown, for, in his opinion, that was ever so much nicer than the plays staged in the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre!

### III

Shakespeare worship was really begun by Goethe in the last century. Since then English scholarship has left no stone unturned in resurrecting Shakespeare tradition from the



The sleep-walking scene from *Macbeth*

oblivion of the past and revitalising it. And any student of Shakespeare must be amazed at the success they have achieved. Every little thing connected with the name and the life of the Poet has been unearthed from the graveyard of time to both satisfy and whet all the more the curiosity of Shakespeare lovers. Thus has been discovered the curious incident that the Poet was witness in a legal case or that a Londoner had appealed for police-protection against Shakespeare and two other gentlemen who had threatened his life! These little incidents far from explaining the mysterious genius of the Poet have intensified its mystery. For we are amazed at the fact that a man who was so commonplace and ordinary in his worldly life could produce the phantasy of the *Midsummer Night's Dream* or the marvellous introspection of a *Hamlet*.

Like the incidents of his life that have come to light, the house where he was born, the school where he was taught and the place where he spent his last days stand in bold contrast to his magnificent creations. For these Shakespearian relics are but little more than primitive. Shakespeare's father was not only a prosperous tradesman but was at one time the Mayor of Stratford. And on his mother's side the Poet was still more fortunate. But both the birthplace and Mary Arden's house are far from giving one the idea of their inhabitants being very well-off. In these Elizabethan houses the floors are covered with rough stones without mortar or cement, the roofs are supported by rough-hewn timbers and the houses are so low that one runs the risk of striking one's head against the ceiling if one is not mindful enough. There were holes in the walls instead of glass-windows, family boxes went without iron hinges as those things were unknown and wooden trenchers were used for plates in the days when Shakespeare wrote his magnificent plays. I was all the while wondering how such a miracle as a Shakespeare came out of such crude environment.

Of all places connected with Shakespeare's name the Grammar School at Stratford where he was educated as a boy interested me most. The history of this school is nearly five centuries old and the successive generations of young Stratfordians have sat and heard their lessons in the same room, where Shakespeare sat and heard his, for the last three centuries and they are still doing the same. In Shakespeare's days, of course, the school was a small affair with 30 to 40 boys. To meet the new conditions the school has been greatly extended, but the ancient class-room is carefully preserved. It is on the upper storey of an old Elizabethan house that looks ramshackle from outside, but is really still strong and solid. To the right-hand side of the Headmaster's platform a brass plate tells you where Shakespeare is said to have sat as a student. It is at the top of the first bench, which indicates that the boy Shakespeare must have been a brilliant student to occupy that position.

As is the English custom, the names of other boys besides Shakespeare who have gone out of this school and made names in the wider world are written in letters of gold on wooden boards hung on the walls of the class-room as the finest incentive to the ambition of the successive batches of students. I looked

over the lists and to my surprise found the names of some who have joined the Indian Police, Medical and Civil Services! And just opposite to the Shakespeare-plate there hangs on the opposite wall another brass plate dedicated

"To the memory of Ralph Reynolds Garlick, Senior District and Sessions Judge, Bengal, some time a member of the school . . . who died at the post of duty by the hand of an assassin at Alipore, July 27th, 1931"

A few yards up, across the street are the ruins of New Place, the biggest house in Stratford in his time which Shakespeare bought and



Romeo and Juliet in the balcony scene

lived in after he retired from the stage in London and returned to his native place, rich and famous. After Shakespeare the house changed hands many a time till it came under the possession of a clergyman named Francis Gastrell in 1759. But the unfortunate priest had no peace for the inquisitive crowds who wanted to look round Shakespeare's house. As the easiest way of stopping this annoyance that blockhead of a minister pulled the entire house down and in his devilish vandalism even cut down the spreading mulberry tree which Shakespeare had planted with his own hand. Now the visitors only see the foundations of the New Place which testify to the tradition

of its being a substantial building. In the middle of the courtyard there is a well, exactly as we have in our homes in India. Superstition has turned it into a wishing-well, so that lady-visitors often walk round this well three times with their particular desires in the hope of being fulfilled. A few yards from the well there still stands a mulberry tree which is said to be an offshoot of the original Shakespeare tree.

Right next to the ruins of the New Place is Nash's House where Nash, Shakespeare's grandson-in-law lived and died. Nash seems to have been a famous citizen in his times for it is recorded that Elizabeth, Shakespeare's grand-daughter and later Nash's widow had the honour of once receiving in this house the Consort of Charles I, King of England. This house is now converted into a Shakespeare Museum, where the visitors are shown along with other things a pair of kid-skin gloves and a brooch as the only personal relics of Shakespeare that have survived destruction.

#### IV

It was Garrick, the famous English actor who first suggested to set up a permanent playhouse at Stratford as the most fitting memorial at the birthplace of England's greatest playwright. But the suggestion took nearly a century to turn into a fact. It was left to a citizen of Stratford, Mr. Charles Flower, who took up the proposal in right earnest and set up a Memorial Theatre in 1869. Unfortunately that theatre caught fire in 1926 and was half destroyed. The present Memorial Theatre was completed in 1932 and was opened by the Duke of Windsor, then Prince of Wales.

The Memorial Theatre now stands right on the bank of the Avon in the midst of beautiful parks and grassy lawns. But in ugly contrast to its charming natural surroundings this modern building looks like a factory from the outside. Some say it looks like a gas-factory, and I imagine rightly so, as every evening when the plays are on, the audience, and more so the actors and the actresses, do let a huge amount of carbon dioxide gas out. But its ugly exterior is amply made up for, however, by the comforts and conveniences it provides inside for the audience. It seats nearly 1,200 spectators and for all classes of the audience provides comfortable air-cushioned seats. And the builders have so cleverly brought the service of acoustics to their service in building this theatre that even the faintest whisper on the stage is clearly audible at the

farthest corner of the auditorium. As I sat up in the balcony far away from the stage I have personal experience of it. Wood panelling is the only decoration of the interior of the theatre, for which all parts of the British Empire have contributed their peculiar timbers as tributes to the memory of the great English poet.

The theatre gives performances of Shakespearean plays from April to September every year which covers the Shakespeare festival. The festival reaches its peak on April 23rd, Shakespeare's birthday, when ambassadorial representatives of all nations come down from London and hoist their



The writer in front of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon

national flags in homage to the great poet at his birthplace, and starting from his father's house in Henby Street march in a reverent procession up to the Trinity Church, where the poet lies buried and which stands a little away from the Memorial Theatre on the bank of the Avon.

Every year the governors of the Memorial Theatre select eight of the thirty-seven plays of Shakespeare and perform them every week over the six months from April to September. The performances as I saw them this year were not very remarkable, but to the foreigners who have never seen a Shakespearian play on

the stage, they give a fair idea of its real dramatic qualities. As is not unknown to students of Shakespeare in India, the Elizabethan stage was absolutely bare without any kind of modern stage devices. The dramatic effect of the plays entirely depended on the poetry of the passages, the high-sounding bombastic declamations of the actors and the histrionic art whatever it was. The modern stage is something that Shakespeare could have never dreamed of. The accompanying pictures of the well-known scenes from *Romeo and Juliet* and *Macbeth* will give the readers an idea of how far the modern stage has been successful in bringing reality on to the stage. But I personally believe that all these mechanical devices add little to the proper appreciation of Shakespeare's plays, the real worth of which lies in their magnificent poetry. But this poetry was rather overshadowed, as I found, by the stage devices and the declamations of the actors. And I was shocked also by the crude buffoonery and drunken vulgarity of the comic scenes of certain plays. In the book one does not often feel the grotesque atmosphere of these scenes, but on the stage they sometimes came to me as a shock and altogether changed my opinion as to the artistic worth of such a play as the *Twelfth Night*.

For the last two years the governors of the Memorial Theatre have arranged a Shakespeare Conference extending over a fortnight during the Festival season and have decided to continue it in future. During the Conference days eminent Shakespearian scholars deliver lectures on Shakespeare's art in general and on the plays of the evenings in particular. This year the general subject for discussion was "Shakespeare at Work" and Shakespeare scholars like Professor Dover Wilson of Edinburgh and Dr. Harrison of London University were among the many speakers. But the small audience consisted mostly, as I could judge, of school mistresses who were busy taking notes of the lectures, thus giving the whole thing an atmosphere of a school room. There were three Indians, including myself. I also met a Chinese litterateur—a novelist and essayist in Chinese—who told me that he is at present translating some plays of Shakespeare into Chinese for which he has been sent by the Chinese Government. He also informed me that he met Tagore in China during his Chinese tour and has translated some of Tagore's poems into Chinese.



# LADAK, THE HIGHEST INHABITED COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

By SUBODH CH. GANGULI, BIDYARATNA, B L

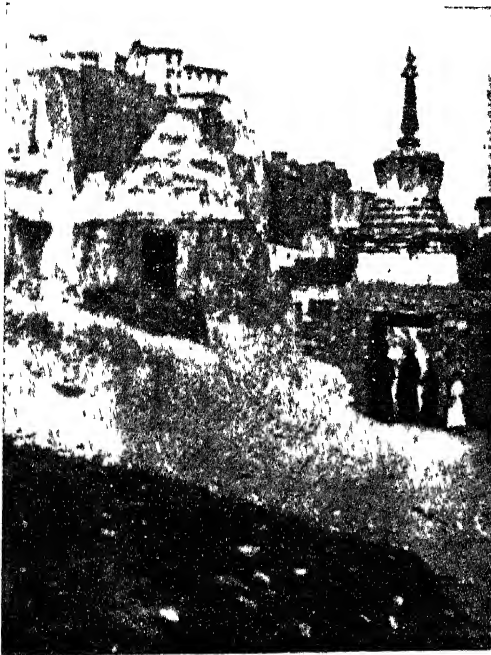
MANY people have visited the beautiful valley of Kashmir, the Switzerland of Asia and immortal in its glory all the world over. The wild grandeur of the snow-capped mountains which surround the soft loveliness of the valley with its winding rivers, unruffled lakes and immense forests of deodar and pine, all so happily and exquisitely combined, has led poets of all times to claim for Kashmir the name of an earthly elysium. But few have cared to pay a visit to the wild and lovely region which comprises the frontier districts of Ladak, the land of Markhar and Ibex and of Buddhist Lamas and their wonderful monasteries called Gumphas.

The native state of Kashmir with an area of 845 thousand square miles is the biggest in India. It has a population of 36,65,000, three-

the probable routes to be followed and proposed length of stay with dates. From Gunderbal through the Sind valley, we started along the Treaty High Road. The route, 144 miles long, consists of 14 marches from Srinagar and is fit for ponies. But it is impassable before the month of June. The shaggy black Yak is the only means of transport.

After leaving Srinagar and the Dal Lake, the round winds up through beautiful fields of golden candy tuft, under the giant deodar forest of the Sind valley to the Zoji-la.

The whole valley lay beneath us and we could follow for miles the sinuous reaches of



The monastery in the village of Lama Yoru



Ladakian women in their picturesque costume

fourth of which is Mahomedan. It is divided into four districts (i) Kashmir, (ii) Jammu, (iii) Ladak and (iv) Gilgit. On account of the strategic position of Gilgit, the British Government have of late taken it into their own hands.

In our application for a permit to go to Ladak, to the British Joint Commissioner, Ladak, Srinagar, Kashmir, we had to mention

the Jhelum and the other rivers that bring fertility to this flat land from the surrounding mountain snows.

Gradually trees become scarcer until turning a corner where the trees presented a picturesque scene. Here we felt a shivering cold on account of a blast of cold wind. There was still snow on the top of the pass. Our ponies made their wandering way. The beauty of Kashmir was left behind, in front lay a vast expanse of sand, rock and mountain ranges. The track led through valleys between barren



hills and sloping plains—through primitive villages of stone and mud. Away from the villages, grass became almost scarce but occasionally there were vegetation where a spring or tiny stream trickled down the heights above.

The view at night was of magical beauty. The far snows gleamed in the moon-light; the plain stretched out dim and blue as if into infinite space. From this height it almost seemed as if we were gazing down on some other world.

One has to pick one's weather carefully to cross a Himalayan pass in winter and spring and one must hurry over quickly; for the sud-

images there were lamps burning in ghee as also incense. Small dishes of food were offered by pilgrims.

After leaving Spittack on the Indus, two days' march from Lama Yoru the long straight road seemed to stretch across an arid plain of sand before the lowest fringe of green was reached. We came here at noon and we could not find any water, for the available water was



The door of the Shankar Monastery, Leh

den fierce winds that often spring up are then very formidable and sometimes destroy travelers with their deadly cold.

We passed the little monastery village of Lama Yoru lying in a fertile valley between the hills. Rows of memorials to dead Lamas stretched along the way. At the gate of the monastery, a large prayer wheel is seen inside. We entered some temples very dimly lighted. There were the images of Buddha and the rolls of prayers and sacred writings stacked upon shelves around the walls. In front of the



The track led through valleys between barren hills and sloping plains

melted snow and it is only about 4 o'clock in the afternoon that the snow water from the mountains reaches Leh. During the day-time, streams are mere trickles but in the evening all the footpaths become rushing rivulets.

The western Himalayas with an average height of 17,000 feet above sea-level divide the State of Kashmir into two portions—different in climate and other physical respects and the people, different in race and religion. To the south of the range there live the Aryans while to the north live the people of Mongolian stock.

In Ladak, the people are Buddhists and though subjects of Kashmir, Grand Lama is their real lord. Ladak has an appearance practically of Tibet, the same strange scenery and climate, the same language and dress.

In Kashmir there is a regular rainfall and



The shaggy black Yaks is the only means of transport in the ice

the summer months there are refreshed by the water stored by the heavy winter snow-fall. It is no wonder therefore that it presents a beautiful land of green verdure and radiant flows. But these mountains intercept the clouds from the south, crossing India from the distant seas. This causes the black waste of Central Asia where practically there is no rain-fall, and even the winter snow-fall is not sufficient. It is therefore a cloudless region, always burning or freezing under the clear blue sky.

Ladak is the highest inhabited country in the world. There is cultivation of crops at a height of 15,000 ft.

Our road wound up through the outskirts of the town and we came up to a picturesque bazar. The many brilliantly tinted wares displayed in front of the low flat-roofed houses and shops, and the Tibetans strolling about lent colour and romance to the picture. We eventually reached the Dak Bungalow, and thus came to Leh, the Capital of Ladak at a height of 11,500 ft. above sea-level.

The Ladakians live a very dirty life. They never take bath in their whole life nor do they light a lamp at night. They have mostly wooden houses; only the poor who cannot afford to have them build earthen houses. They consider themselves fortunate to have a guest. They offer him food but do not speak to him lest he might take offence and curse them.

The women's costumes are very picturesque,

the head dress of cloth studded with turquoise, is elaborate in proportion to the wealth of the woman's husband. Large ear-rings and massive necklaces, bracelets of chastened silver or brass are the usual ornaments.

There is no purdah in Ladak. Women can own land in their own right and the rich ones choose their husbands. There is no fortune to be made in Leh; the men have to wander far to find grass for their cattle. They go trading to countries. Their flat Mongolian features and yellowish skin together with their pig-tails give them a Chinese appearance.

The varying effects of light are very beautiful especially in the evening when the setting sun paints the picture with hues which gradually fade from glowing shades of richest rose to purple shadows.

The King of Ladak is an incarnation of the first priest-king. His kingdom is under the rule of Kashmir. He lives in the village of Stock, quite near to Leh, and as he only draws the revenue of that place he is very poor and has never been to Srinagar. He visits Leh once a year and stays in the castle built on ledges of rock.

We went up to the castle one day through a labyrinth of dirty passages; after climbing several ladders and steps we reached a courtyard used for religious dancing. This natural fortification has a commanding view of the

desert and surrounding country. Higher above it is the monastery "Gumpha" situated on the highest point of the hills overlooking Leh.

Two Lamas live in the Gumpha. There is a room; the idol, too big to be brought up so high and through the door, was made where it stands. There are the wheel of life and rows of images each with a lamp in front which is never allowed to go out.

OR

At Leh the two main trade routes from Yarkand and Chinese Tibet converge and then continues as one road upon which no vehicle ever runs.

At last one day we stole out of the sleeping city before dawn, out into the desert and over to the mountains of Kashmir and covered the return journey along the same route on ponies and reached a more civilised world.

## SANCTUARIES FOR ANIMAL AND BIRDS IN CEYLON

By H. C. R. ANTHONISZ

SANCTUARIES for the safeguarding of animals and birds in Ceylon are very necessary, owing to the unlimited facilities for poaching. Moormen and Singhalese villagers are the chief offenders; no animal or bird escapes their attention.

We have so far provided 11 sanctuaries, 8 for animals and 3 for birds. These sanctuaries have watchers and helpers to see that no poaching goes on.

It has been necessary to create these sanctuaries owing to poaching by day and at night by the aid of electric torches.

The poachers shoot anything edible, but chiefly go in for deer and elk. The flesh of these animals find a ready market and a rich harvest is derived from the sale of their flesh, either fresh or dried.

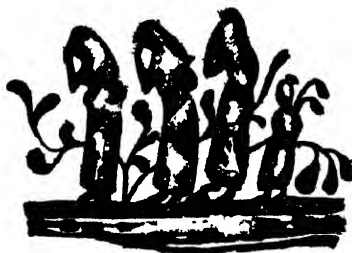
Yala in the Southern Province and almost bordering on the Eastern Province is the oldest and most important of these sanctuaries. It was at first put in charge of Mr. Engelbrech, an repatriated Boer prisoner. He got this place into good order. He was a marvellous man. He died a few years ago. Elephants, wild buffaloes, leopard, deer, elk, pig, peafowl, etc., abound here. They are not afraid of man and one can come across herds of 400 to 500 deer

here. The mouse deer which is not a protected animal, is a pretty spotted little thing no bigger than a big hare. It's eyesight is defective during the day and it does its feeding chiefly during the night. It's hoofs are pretty and jewellers mount them in gold and sell them as ornaments.

Some people erroneously call it the "moose deer"; this of course is a huge animal, the biggest of the deer tribe and its habitat is in cold countries, such as Canada, New Zealand, etc.

The bird sanctuaries are frequented by wild ducks, pigeons, blue coot, painted storks, flamingoes, the Ibis pelicans and various members of the crane, besides teal, cotton teal, dub, chick, etc. Those of the duck tribe, flamingoes and a few others, come in during the north-east monsoon, when the lagoons and tanks get filled with rain water. They are abundant from November to mid-January.

I do not know the conditions prevailing in India but I learn that no sanctuaries have been established there. It is then I think, very necessary, to have a few large preserves, well protected, otherwise game is bound to disappear in time.



# A CHINESE STATESMAN'S MESSAGE TO YOUNG ASIA

By DR. TONG SHAO-YI

*Ex-Premier of the Republic of China*

[NOTE :—The *New York Times* of October 1, 1938 reported the tragic death of the Rt. Hon. Tong Shao-Yi, the First Premier of the Chinese Republic and co-worker of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen. It was reported that the seventy-eight year old veteran elder statesman of China was hacked to death by a so-called Chinese patriotic *axe-man*, who suspected him to be pro-Japanese. These men entered the home of the retired statesman on the false pretence of presenting him a scroll in recognition of his patriotic services to China. Once in the house, the ruffians hit the unarmed and unsuspecting old man on his head with an axe! What chivalry!]

The late Tong Shao-Yi was one of the greatest Asian statesmen with the vision of Asian Independence to be attained through Sino-Japanese and Indian co-operation. At one time he was anti-Japanese and supporter of the late Yuan Shi-kai; but after he became the Premier of the Chinese Republic, he realised the necessity of peaceful development of China, which could be possible through friendship between China and Japan. During the World War, he, like the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, was opposed to China's entry into the World War on the side of the Entente Powers. In 1917 he incurred the displeasure of the British authorities in China and the British Government by writing the *Introduction* to a booklet *Is Japan a Menace to Asia?* by Dr. Taraknath Das, published by the Commercial Press, Shanghai. This essay may be regarded as his *Message to Young Asia*; and the following is the full text of it.]

The future of Asia depends upon the ability of the Asiatic people to assert their rights politically. Political weakness of Asia has been the cause of many troubles and wars during the last century and half. Asia as a whole except Japan, affords for the strong Powers unbounded natural resources, cheap labour, markets, defencelessness and inefficient governments which give every incentive for aggression. About the modern imperialism among the Great Powers, Mr. Walter Lippman in his book *The Stakes of Diplomacy* rightly says:

"It is not enough to say that they are *expanding* or *seeking markets* or *grabbing resources*. They are doing all these things, of course. But if the world into which they are expanding were not politically archaic, the growth of foreign trade would not be accompanied by political imperialism. Germany has expanded wonderfully in the British Empire, in Russia, in the United States, but no German is silly enough to insist on planting his flag wherever he sells his dyestuffs or stoves. It is only when his expansion is into weak states—into China, Morocco, Turkey or elsewhere that foreign trade is imperialistic. This imperialism is actuated by many motives—by a feeling that political control insures special privileges, by

a desire to play a large part in the world, by national vanity, by a passion for ownership, but none of these motives would come into play if the countries like China or Turkey were not politically backward."

Political backwardness is not inherent among the Asiatic people, though it is the current opinion among the western students. China in the past had her bright periods of history, her glorious days of Imperialism. In the field of culture and civilization China contributed her full share when she was politically strong. India of Asoka and Akbar was far ahead of any of the European countries of those ages. It is by contact with the Orient that Europe learnt many useful things for her present civilization. Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar in his excellent work *The Chinese Religion Through Hindu Eyes* has very rightly said:

"The darkest period of European History known as the Middle Ages is the brightest period in Asiatic. For over a thousand years from the accession of Gupta Vikramaditya to the throne of Pataliputra down to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks the history of Asia is the history of continuous growth and progress. It is the record of political and commercial as well as cultural expansion—and the highest watermark attained by oriental humanity . . . It was the message of this orient that was carried to Europe by the Islamites and led to the establishment of medieval universities. In describing the origin of Oxford, Green remarks in the *History of the English People*: 'The establishment . . . was everywhere throughout Europe a special work of the new impulse that Christendom had gained from the Crusades. A new fervour of study sprang up in the West from its contact with the more cultured East. Travellers like Abelard of Bath brought back the first rudiments of physical and mathematical science from the schools of Cordova or Bagdad'."

Professor Holland in his great work *European Concert in Eastern Question* has conclusively proven that the European Powers acted in concert to destroy Turkish supremacy. All the European Powers kept silence when all the treaty obligations were violated during the Turco-Italian War and the Balkan Wars. To us it is quite clear that the Great Powers work unitedly to extract certain concessions from China. Mr. Millard in his book *Our Eastern Question* says :

"Great Britain endeavoured definitely to outline her own and the spheres which she conceded to other Powers,

in response to a reciprocal attitude from them. That Great Britain's position and her predominating vested interest in Central China and Kwantung would be respected and that she in turn would respect Japan's position in South Manchuria, Russia's position in North Manchuria and Mongolia, France's position in Yunnan and Germany's position in Shantung, was clearly demonstrated in agreements and by various acts."

Among other things the Concert of the Great European Powers have had one motive before them—exploitation of Asia and Africa to their advantage. This aggression of Europe in Asia can be stopped for the good of Asia and Europe by a solid Asiatic unity not merely from a cultural standpoint but also from a political standpoint. This stupendous work of political regeneration of Asia by an Asian Concert has great moral and ethical aspects. There cannot be effective peace as long as one nation or a group of nations looks down upon the other as inferior and tyrannizes. Friendship and fellowship can be established on equal footing. Japan's demonstration of military strength forces the so-called superior nations to shake hands with her, though with great reluctance. Political assertion of Asia will make Europe and America more tolerant and respectful towards human rights.

Because Japan is politically strong, she is able to develop her country politically and culturally. China is struggling to be free and she should accept co-operation from any quarter that is truly friendly. Japan is China's disciple of the past and all-far-sighted Japanese believe that *Japan without China and India, is in the long run, without legs*, I would say that China without Japan and India is without legs. The fulfilment of Indian aspiration depends upon a strong united Sino-Japanese Alliance. Those Japanese and Chinese statesmen who are conscious of the real interests of both nations are not suspicious of one another. But it has always been the case in the world's history that only a few people can detect the true situation, while the mob misses the right perspective of difficult problems. So the masses of China and Japan and especially the jingoists of both countries, whether consciously or unconsciously, are acting against their own highest interests by distrusting one another. To our regret we find that the *anti-Japanese feeling in China is being fanned to flames by those outside interests which do not want to see China and Japan united*.

About Indian unrest Mr. H. Fielding Hall, a British Civil Servant in Burma, has spoken in his book *The Passing of Empire* (1914) in the following way:

"The discontent has not passed, nor will it, nor can it pass. It is deep-rooted in the very nature of things as they are, now. It is not local, nor is it confined to one or two strata of society, nor is it directed to one or two acts of Government. It is universal, in all provinces and all classes, directed not against this act or that act, but against the Government as a whole . . . This discontent is not sudden. It has grown slowly for many years. It is not local; in one province it may be more apparent than in another, but it is universal. It is not temporary, but increases. So much is admitted by those who know . . . India feels uncomfortable and clamorous for anything she can get. The Indian Government gives her what it can, offering profoundest condolence, which is sincere, and for the rest sitting upon the chest . . . Man is gregarious, and he is so made that he cannot fully develop himself except in larger and again larger communities. To reach his full stature in any way he must develop in all ways. He must feel himself part of ever greater organism, the village first, the district and the nation and finally humanity. But in India all this is impossible. Except the village there is no community that exists even in name, and we have injured and almost destroyed even that. Thus an Indian has no means of growth. He cannot be a citizen of anything at all. Half his abilities and sympathies lie entirely fallow, therefore he cannot fully develop the other half . . . It is the slowly growing consciousness of an energy that has no outlet, of a desire for advance in every direction, that causes unrest. In some ways the educated classes feel it most. Elsewhere they see men of their class cultivating their patriotism, increasing that sense of being and working for others, of being valuable to the world at large, showing capacity for leading, ruling, thinking, advancing in a thousand ways, while none of them is for them. They want to express the genius of their races in wider forms than mere individuality, but they are not able to do so. They want a national science and literature and law, they cannot have it. No individual as an individual can achieve anything. Not till he feels he is a cell in a greater and more enduring life can he develop. But this is not for India."

Can there be anything more pathetic than the condition of the people of India, one-fifth of the population of the whole world? The cause of the three hundred and fifteen millions of the people of India is the cause of Asia and of Humanity. Japan and China, if far-sighted, should not be unmindful of the problems of the people of India, because a strong, free India will be a source of strength to them.

We have been tired of hearing that Japan is a menace to Asia. Now comes a Hindu scholar, Mr. Taraknath Das, well-versed in world politics, who tries to show that Japan is not a menace to Asia with Asian supremacy, but rather, that Japan is a menace to European aggression in Asia. Some western author has recently said: "Japan is an international nuisance and she may easily grow to be an international peril." We, however, do not look at a rising Japan in the same spirit. We wish only that China and India be equally strong, that Japan hold her own on the Asiatic conti-



ment against European aggressors. Then the international nuisance, charged to Japan, but really traced to other outside forces, will cease to exist in Asia. The awakening of Asia is the most outstanding feature of the present age. The future of Asia is bright and glorious if the new spirit of Asia be rightly directed in co-operation with all the Asian people. We hope, though we may not live to see fully accomplished, that Japan and China and India

will work unitedly, standing for Asian Independence against all outside aggressions.

Shanghai, China,  
19th of December,  
5th Year of Republic of China.

This essay was written some twenty-one years ago. The world situation has changed greatly since then. But it still remains true that friendly understanding and co-operation between *independent* China, *independent* Japan and *independent* India, if and when possible, would be a blessing to Asia and to the world.—Editor, *M. R.*

## WHAT IS KARNATAK?

### Is It A Kanarese-Speaking Province?

By SHAN. RA. SHENDE

KANNADIGAS have achieved their object of getting through the legislatures the resolutions recommending the creation of a new province for Karnatak. The flat refusal of the Governor of Bombay at Bijapur to do so and the negative answer by the Secretary of State for India, have not, in the least, discouraged them, but on the contrary they are thinking of taking a deputation to England to convince the people and authorities there. Even Mahatma Gandhi is not silent in this matter, as he is engaged in drafting a scheme for the redistribution of provinces on linguistic bases and therefore Karnatak has bright hopes, in the near future, of having a separate administrative unit for it even though the Hon'ble Mr. C. Rajgopalachariar has recently disfavoured this move of the Kannadigas.

#### II. BOOKS UNDER REVIEW

And this makes one anxious to know which tracts of land will go to form that province and whether it will be a purely Kanarese-speaking one. Though it is clear that this has to be determined by a Boundary Commission, it is equally clear that the Commissioners will mostly rely upon the information supplied to them. The readers might well be aware that for twenty years the people of Karnatak have been vigorously carrying on movements in different forms for this purpose with influential and representative bodies behind them and have published books giving elaborate informations, descriptions, charts, maps, and statistical

tables to make out their case clear and strong. These books had been furnished to the legislators and officials concerned and must have been in the hands of M.P. and the British Cabinet Members. The latest book, namely, *A Case for Karnatak Unification*, published by the All Karnatak Unification League, Belgaum, at the time when resolutions for the creation of the Karnatak Province were tabled in the Provincial Legislatures provides an inquisitive reader with a table with names of the parts they desire to get included in the would-be province.

Since the members of the Boundary Commission will certainly weigh the information supplied to them in a book-form by such a body as referred to above and rely safely and mostly upon it, it is intended here to test the same to find out whether it is virtually a Kanarese-speaking Province.

#### III. DEFINITION OF A LINGUISTIC PROVINCE

In the first place it is necessary to give here what a linguistic province should be. A linguistic province can only be of tracts of land containing contiguous towns and villages with a clear majority of the speakers of the one and the same language the authenticity of which can only be ascertained with the help of the language figures for the same from the latest Census Reports.

But since the Census Reports do not only not provide us with the language figures for towns and villages but not even those of the



Talukas we have to make use of the figures of districts only. The 1901 Census has given these figures of some of the Talukas and the writer shall have to use these wherever necessary.

The books published so far on this subject show in a table 13 parts (8 districts and 5 Talukas) which the writers desire to get included in the proposed province. This table gives only the numbers of total population but does not provide with the figures of speakers of different languages in use there. Had the table contained language figures of those parts it would have been very easy for the reader to judge which language is predominant there and whether these parts can really be called Karnatak. The writer of this article has, therefore, collected these figures and given in a table printed at the end of this article.

#### IV. DO THESE PARTS DESERVE INCLUSION IN KARNATAK ?

Now let us examine each division serially in the light of the above principle and the figures in the table and find out how far the claim of each one is valid to be included in Karnatak:—

(i and ii) The districts of Bijapur and Dharwar show without doubt a clear majority of the speakers of Kanarese. These therefore deserve to have a seat.

(iii) As regards the district of Belgaum the majority of the people in Eastern Talukas speak Kanarese while the Western Talukas show predominance of Marathi. The figures given below are from 1901 Census as these are not available from that of 1931.

	Population	Kanarese	Marathi
(a) Belgaum Taluka ..	1,05,528	38,564	48,956
(b) Chandgad ..	32,034	951	30,378
(c) Khanapur ..	81,908	26,609	48,643
(d) Chikodi ..	1,86,400	92,547	78,713
(e) Belgaum Town : proportion of numbers of speakers of Kanarese to that of Marathi is 2 : 3.			
(f) Athani Taluka : A group of villages is predominantly Marathi speaking.			

Evidently the first three Talukas and a little less than half that of Chikodi cannot be claimed by Karnatak. 1/3 of the district must necessarily be left to Maharashtra.

(iv) The Eastern Talukas of the Bellary District will have to be handed over to Telugu and the western ones can go to Kanarese. The proportion of the speakers of these languages is 3 : 5 in this district. No Taluka language figure is available. 3/5 of this District shall have to be ceded to the Andhra Desha.

(v) In the South Canara District Kanadi, Marathi-Konkani and Malyali have nearly the same strength. Tulu, which is the local language,

is double in numerical strength to that of each one of the above. Tulu has no script nor literature of its own, while Kanadi is, by chance, endowed with official favour and has been made the vehicle of instruction. This resulted in Tulu having succumbed to Kanadi.

The position of the four languages is as follows:—

Kanarese is spoken in the North-Eastern part while Marathi-Konkani has a hold towards North-West. Malayalam has made a home in the south and Tulu has spread in the whole of the centre of the district. The language figures of 1911 and 1931 show that Marathi-Konkani, Malayalam and Tulu have increased in number while Kanarese is decreasing.

Census		Kanarese	Tulu	Malayalam	Marathi & Konkani
1931	} out of every 10,000 of the population	1782	4928	2177	1763
1911		1871	4281	1983	1661

Deserving Talukas should therefore be made over to the respective languages.

(vi) Kanadi is not the chief language in the North Kanara district. The proportion of Kanadi to Marathi is 7 : 5. The Taluka language figures for 1931 are not available and therefore those of 1901 are given below —

	Population	Kanarese	Marathi
(1) Karwar Taluka ..	58,540	12,595	42,551
(2) Hallyal ..	35,122	10,558	19,501
(3) Supa Petha ..	21,008	1,186	19,053
(4) Yellapur ..	28,814	11,975	9,027

The first three Talukas and nearly half of the fourth cannot be claimed by Karnatak. 5/12 of the district shall have to be excluded from the would-be province.

(vii) Coorg has her local languages Kodgu and Yerda and spoken by 1/3 of the population. Kanadi, which is foreign in the land, is the mother-tongue of only 6 out of 16 of the population.

(viii) In the Nilgiri district Kanadi has been registered against 1/5 of the population while Tamil and Badaga speakers share 1/3 and 1/4 respectively of the Humbar race. Each one is stronger than Kanadi. Nilgiri, therefore, cannot at all be classed as a part of Karnatak.

(ix) Sholapur Taluka contributes 1/4 of the population to Kanadi, while Marathi speakers are double the above. It is neither justifiable nor practicable for it to be classed as a part of Karnatak.

(x—xiii) Nothing can be said of these Talukas as to their place in Karnatak, since no language figures are available.

The above details show that out of the 13

parts intended to be divisions of Karnatak, the first two districts belong to it but out of the remaining 11, six districts cannot wholly be classed as parts of Karnatak; Sholapur is a non-Karnatak Taluka and the fate of the last four cannot be determined. This is the position of the Kanarese in Karnatak.

#### V. NAME KARNATAK A MISNOMER

From the above and some other points of view the name Karnatak as applied to these 13 parts is a misnomer.

Firstly, the districts and Talukas, which by virtue of majority of non-Kanarese languages ought to have been excluded have been linked with Karnatak. What is real Karnatak is a question to be solved

Secondly, the total population of the so-called Karnatak, as is supposed to be, is 70 lacs (1931 Census) while Kanadi speakers will be only 50% of them.

Thirdly, the total number of Kanadi-speakers in British India is 112 lacs but only 1/3 of this i.e. 35 lacs can only find place in the so-called Karnatak and 70 lacs will have their homes outside it.

Fourthly, the language Kanadi belongs to the Dravidian stock, while its speakers hail from the Aryan race.

Fifthly, the Kanadi, as spoken in these parts being an outsider is an admixture and does not possess the grace, beauty and elegance of the classic Kannada language of Mysore, its home and real Karnatak.

Sixthly, the people of the northern part of the so-called Karnatak are racially and culturally Maharashtrians

The book under review, which was furnished to the members of the Assemblies to win sympathy and votes when the resolutions

for creating a separate province for Karnatak were being discussed, is thus exposed and the readers will now judge the correctness of its purpose.

It is true that the component parts of the would-be province are to be determined by a Boundary Commission after giving a chance to all neighbouring languages to lay before them their say and the Commissioners will not depend upon what an interested party has said; still it is unjustifiable, on the part of such influential and representative bodies as the Karnatak Unification Sabha and the Karnatak Unification Sub-Committee of K.P.C.C. and the newly formed The All Karnatak Unification League, Belgaum, to claim what is not theirs.

#### VI BASIC INFORMATION NOT WITH THE GOVERNMENT

When the Bombay Government have not, the writer has made sure, preserved the language figures of the Talukas of this Presidency collected by the Census Authorities in 1931, one will doubt what other source of information on the point of dispute the Boundary Commission will be guided by in order to lay hands on towns and villages to class these as parts of the proposed province of Karnatak and determine boundaries thereof

When, this way, the position of the Government is insecure as regards the basic information required for the creation of linguistic provinces, there is no wonder if private efforts will prove inadequate and misleading.

The redistribution of provinces is, beyond doubt, most essential, but whether it should be done by languages or otherwise and which is the opportune time to do so, is a problem worth consideration and that, too, with a broader angle of vision.

A table showing 1931 Census figures of important languages spoken in the proposed Karnatak Province.

Divisions	Population	Kanarese	Marathi	Tamil	Malayalam	Tulu	Telugu	Kodagu	Yerda	Badga
(1) Bijapur District	869220	712229	27496	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
(2) Dharwar "	1002677	863924	46018	..	...	...	...	...	...	...
(3) Belgaum "	1076701	695600	273275	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(4) Bellary "	969794	538598	11549	...	...	...	905775	...	..	...
(5) South Canara "	1372241	244552	241890	..	298743	561623	..	...	..	...
(6) North Canara "	417835	229566	158119	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(7) Coorg "	163337	62767	1577	...	14914	14275	...	44585	19026	...
(8) Nilgiri "	169330	29967	1801	54311	17432	...	9482	...	...	42521
(9) Sholapur Taluka	272018	?	?							

—Since 1931 Census does not furnish language figures of Talukas, the same are below from that of 1901.

(9) Sholapur Taluka 2,03,905, 49,414, 1,07,044.

—The proportionate rise in 1931 population over that of 1901, will be the same as regards the numbers of speakers of languages.

(10-13)—(10) The Madagasira Taluka of Anantpur district (11) Hosur Taluka and (12) Krishnagiri Taluka of Salem district, (13) Kollegal Taluka of Coimbatore district, are left unmentioned, language figures being not available.

# THE MENACE OF WINGED DEATH

By K. R. R. SASTRY, M. A., M. L.

*Allahabad University*

NO NATION can afford to have among its leaders political ostriches and this principle applies *a fortiori* to the weaker nationalities. A glance at the world situation will clearly reveal the dangerous potentialities therein as regards the interests of India. Today, the world is an armed camp with the principal nations vying with each other in the race for building up armaments. India is like a fattened calf already offered as a sacrifice to any nation which is strong enough to oust Great Britain from her control over this country. Her large population, her great consuming capacity, her military emasculation, her industrial backwardness and wealth of raw materials, make this country an attractive bait. It is imperative that the leaders of Indian thought should become alive to this danger and concentrate on the necessity for building up *the defensive strength of India*.

Recent tendencies in warfare have revealed that aerial strength will determine largely if not finally the results of war. The aerial strength is one which can be easily built up. It is not costly either, for aeroplanes are comparatively cheap to buy and to man. India is essentially a country where danger of aerial warfare exists and where offensive aerial measures can easily be undertaken. It is obviously impossible for Indians to build up a strong navy; a navy takes time to build up and its cost is one beyond the resources of our country. *In the air however India can offer successful resistance, if prompt measures are taken immediately to build up an air-force and to train up personnel necessary for that force.*

The danger to India can come both from the east and from the west, sending over large aircraft carriers to be based, upon one of our west coast ports. Similarly from the east,—we can imagine an enemy to capture one of our eastern ports and to erect an eastern air-port thereon. If India is to offer any successful resistance, it will have to lay out air-bases both on the west and the east which will be within striking distance of enemy locations. A fleet of two thousand aeroplanes whether from the east or the west is not too high to be imagined as being sent by the enemy. In the

Spanish war which is waged on a comparatively minor scale there are over one thousand aeroplanes on the nationalist side. In the Chinese war also, large numbers of the Japanese planes are operating in China.

In modern warfare, the use of the aeroplane is varied. Apart from such cases as reconnoitering, conveying troops and ammunition and assisting espionage, the air-arm has three uses. It assists in actual combat by bombing, and machine-gunning enemy troops, artillery positions and supportings. In the Chinese war it has been observed that this assistance vitally affected decision in many an engagement. Secondly, the air-arm is used in bombing and destroying the means of communication and transport like bridges, roads, railway lines and stations. It is easy to imagine how helpless our own country would become if our means of communication are violently disrupted. The Hong Kong Canton Railway was repeatedly bombed by the Japs from the air. The Chinese labour gangs have repeatedly repaired the lines after each attack with infinite patience and indomitable courage; but even then, the results were not entirely satisfactory. It is doubtful if the labour gangs in India will evince the same amount of discipline or courage as the Chinese. While we have more road and rail mileage than the celestials, our communications are very exposed. Except for some railway bridges, these are left absolutely unprotected. Elementary military tactics tell us that all our important arterial bridges, (road and rail) important railway stations and yards should be protected by anti-aircraft weapons and where necessary by small air-force detachments. It is obvious that any enemy attacking India from afar will first establish himself near a port and after landing troops, artillery, and ammunition, send over large bombing squadrons to confuse and paralyse the defender's means of communication. This is essential to prevent large concentrations prejudicial to the invaders and this method has been successfully employed in China and is sure to be employed here.

The third main purpose of the air-arm is

to demoralise the civil population by violent attacks on open cities and other points of vulnerability. In theory, international laws prohibit the bombardment of open towns; but in practice this form of attack is invariably employed. Twelve years ago, the theory was propounded by the Italian General of Aviation, Douhet, who indicated in his book *Mastery of the Air*, how the civilian population of an attacked country, their homes, shops, and municipal services should become main military objectives, so that war can be carried behind the enemy's lines and the morale of the people cracked. The lessons of General Douhet are well learnt at every Military Academy. The Spanish and Abyssinian wars bristle with instances of Douhet's theory in application. These attacks have diverse objects. The principal one is to create confusion and strike terror in the mass of the civil population. After all, wars are sustained by a sort of mass psychology. The morale of the non-combatants can often be rudely shattered by a policy of "frightfulness" in war. Nothing can be more awe-inspiring than wholesale and surprise attacks from the air on the unprotected populations of cities. The bombing can be so severe that a popular anti-war hysteria can be induced in influential sections of the people and Governments can be forced to fly from their headquarters to less central localities. Diplomatic contacts can be interfered with and the reins of public control which are so vital in war may be forcibly slackened. The Italian success in the Ethiopian war was not a little due to the annihilation of the town of Harrar.

The bombing of cities has other objectives, namely, to put out of commission the cities' water and electric supplies. Since in modern cities all social utility services are concentrated in some degree, the danger of an attack on these services can be easily imagined. As the bitterness of the strife increases, nations become desperate and their moral consciousness gets blunted. This happened in the last Great War resulting in the use of poison gas, explosive bullets and unstinted submarine warfare, and is bound to happen again. In a war, all possible means will be considered to be justified by the end, which is national safety. The use of incendiary bombs has already commenced. The world is not yet aware of the full nefarious possibilities of thermite bombs. It has been estimated that a 100 lb. thermite bomb, can smash its way through five stories of a concrete building and set fire to whatever comes in contact with it. In the next war

wholesale asphyxiation of helpless city residents is certain to be attempted. What measure of success will attend this attempt, future alone can decide. It is significant that all nations exposed to this form of attack are vigorously organizing to meet it. Gas-masks for all civilians, gas-proof refuges, fire-fighting equipment and decontamination squads are being feverishly arranged. It is doubtful if all these measures will effectively neutralise the anticipated danger. The present plight of such important cities as Shanghai, Nanking, Madrid, and Barcelona tells an eloquent tale of the horrors of aerial bombardment, whose black picture has not been over-painted by writers like H. G. Wells in their prophetic romances. To the horrors of bombs will be added the plague of epidemic disease when food and water supplies are deliberately or otherwise contaminated.

The general air-arm is divided into broad categories *viz.*, the bombers and the fighters. Of course, there are special types of machines for scouting and aerial photography, transports of troops and for throwing smoke-screens. The bombers are intended for attack and the fighters for protection and defence. The former are large-size machines skilfully camouflaged, comparatively silent and capable of rising to great altitudes with heavy load and with a large flying radius. The art of aerial bombardment has achieved remarkable progress. The machines are able to climb up, fully loaded, to a height of nearly 25,000 feet, and drop their deadly missiles with a fair degree of accuracy on the targets below. A small boat like *The Panay* was directly hit at Nanking in a few minutes while steaming at some speed. Anti-aircraft devices are, alas, of uncertain utility; the ironic association of the *Archies* with them is unhappily true. For one thing, the fire is so dispersed that it is not effective; besides, the strongest gun so far made is not able to meet its mark beyond a height of 12,000 ft. (although the British claim for their 3.7's a range much higher than this figure). Since bombers usually keep above this altitude, the guns rarely do more than scare them off from short-range attack. The few bombers which have been shot down by anti-aircraft guns appear to have been surprised when flying low or while diving for a hit against a comparatively difficult target. It is also possible that they might have lost height owing to mechanical failure and then run into a withering fire.

The principal weapons against the bombers

are the fighters. The latter are comparatively small machines, usually manned by two (a pilot and a fireman) and capable of very high speed and effective gunnery. The latest models are said to travel at nearly five miles per minute. These monoplanes are supplied with powerful machine guns which spit fire fore and aft at a terrific velocity. The chaser planes are built not only to stand severe aeronautical strain but to be able to manoeuvre with ease and rise rapidly into the air in a few seconds. Their cruising range is limited and they cannot carry much load but they are essentially built for swiftness of attack. It has to be remembered that bombing planes are never sent out without an escort of fighting planes to ward off attack. The strength of the air escort varies with the anticipated opposition. Where the defenders are known to have no air equipment, no escorting will of course be necessary as for example in the bombing of the villages in the Indian frontiers, in the French Morocco, and in Palestine. The fighters are also employed in ground engagements as a supplementary means of attack when countering a comparatively ill-equipped foe. In Palestine and in China, it has been reported that enemy infantry were frequently machine-gunned from the air; and in the latter stages of the Great War, the German means of communication were seriously jeopardised by air raids.

The use of air-power has nowhere exploded the old theories of warfare as in naval strategy. Hitherto, nations measured their strength on water in terms of the weight of their flotilla and the range and the size of their guns. Although Great Britain has had to climb down from the ambitious pedestal of "a two-power standard" in naval equipment, yet till the twenties she was considered to be invulnerable at sea. The rapid improvements in aerial science have caused great misgivings to the protagonists of big ships. For one thing, the last war proved inconclusive as regards the utility of capital ships. The battle of Jutland was an anti-climax to the vaunted potency of Britain's senior service. The advent of the air-fleet arm caused such a furore in naval circles that committees were appointed to decide the future of dreadnaughts. The outcome was naturally inconclusive but it was recognized that the battleship, though essential was not unassailable by air-craft. Over-deck

protection consequently became a matter of vital concern. The tendency is at present to armour heavily the vital parts of the ship exposed from the air. In addition, all the heavy vessels carry naval planes either in their own bodies or auxiliary carriers, to ward off bombers. It is doubtful however whether the big battleship is now sufficiently impervious to aerial attack. The big ships offer such large targets that to hit them is not difficult. In the Spanish war, evidence of this superiority of the air-arm was forthcoming in the attack on the German pocket battleship *Deutschland*, which was subjected to fire unexpectedly by two Red bombers and heavily damaged in spite of vigilant anti-aircraft action. The Nationalist warship *Espana* is claimed to have been sunk by Republican aeroplanes in a similar fashion. It can be taken as established fact that the superiority of the battleship no longer remains uncontested. Even if efficient anti-aircraft guns be carried, these cannot be effective against bombers which, regardless of their own destructive power, dive on to the deck of a ship with terrific speed and impact.

If this be the situation with armoured dreadnaughts, the case is much more serious as regards merchantmen. They are absolutely at the mercy of hostile action from the air, as the destruction of many trading vessels in the Spanish war has proved. In a future war, the countries dependent on sea-borne supplies of foodstuffs and munitions will be set at serious disadvantage as their mercantile arrangements are certain to be paralysed by indiscriminate air attacks. *England especially is faced with a crucial problem.* In the last Great War, she was still ruling the waves in most of the world, as Austria had no navy worth the name and the German grand fleet was bottled up in the Kiel Canal. She was therefore able to extensively import war materials and provisions, and to transport troops from the Dominions, India, and from America, till the German "U" boat organization was perfected. In the latter years of the struggle submarine inroads played such havoc with British supplies that the Allied position became critical in 1917 and there was talk of a separate peace. Only the entry of U. S. A. with her immense shipping resources into the war and the development of the anti-submarine contrivances (*e.g.* the famous "Q" boats) saved the situation.

# THE ANDHRA PROVINCE AGITATION

By C. NARAYANA MURTHY, B.A., B.L.

THE advantage of linguistic division of India is an accepted doctrine. The Congress Working Committee silenced the agitation in the Andhra Desa by its resolution. The Andhra Maha Sabha at its twentieth session held under the presidency of Sir S. Radhakrishnan on the 8th and 9th of October has passed some resolutions and has given a new orientation to the plan of action to be pursued in future. It is convenient to examine some of those resolutions at a later stage of the present article and we shall proceed to study the problem before Sir Radhakrishnan took the lead.

Dr. Pattabhisitaramiya, a member of the All-India Working Committee and President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, besides some others, presented the case for the immediate formation of the Province on 24th July, 1938. Sree Rajagopalachari in his tour of the Andhra area encountered ugly demonstrations at Guntur on 16th July. Dr. Pattabhi, though he was in Masulipatam on the 22nd of July and addressed a public meeting, thought fit to condemn the demonstration made on 1st August, '38, in his Gokhale Hall speech at Madras in the following words: all Andhras should hang their heads in shame. In that self-same speech he defended the mighty results achieved by the Deputation and the concrete effects of the Andhra agitation. He said that though he did see the superfluity of the Deputation after the speeches of the Premier delivered in the course of the Andhra tour he did not advise to put it off and yet defends it though the Congress was committed to linguistic distribution of Provinces long ago. We may guess the reason with correctness. Mob-emotion was at a whiteheat. The Beelzebub he had raised could not be called back. If he did not dance to the tunes of his own creation he might be regarded as unfaithful to his own people. Individual conviction was therefore sacrificed. The Deputation went and therefore it had to be defended. That the Congress resolution was no more than a command to shut up has been emphasised by Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao in his speech at the Andhra Conference as the Chairman of the reception committee:

"The Working Committee gave the assurance that the Congress supported the action of the legislatures of Madras and Bombay. But was that assurance necessary? The principle of linguistic provinces has long been accepted and acted upon by the Congress. Indeed an Andhra Province was for Congress purposes a territorial unit. Thus the important part of the resolution was that which called upon the people to desist from further agitation which might divert the attention from the main issue. I take it that the issue here meant is that of independence."

Therefore the Andhra Provincial Congress Working Committee had to pass a resolution to save its face: "appreciating the sympathy" of the Madras Government at its meeting on 12th August, 1938.

With the session of the Andhra Maha Sabha on 8th October a new orientation has been given to the Andhra agitation. What was yesterday floundering in the gutter is to-day elevated to the Empyrean. What was yesterday a street-brawl is today a cultural and political agitation of the noblest magnitude. The Philosopher-Patriot has done what Dr. Pattabhi with his masterly mind which wanted to be all things to all people and be the same to himself all along did not do. Dr. Radhakrishnan's Presidential address is a fine piece of restrained criticism. See these:

"We cannot improve the country faster than we can improve ourselves. Our leaders and managers of public opinion have a great responsibility. They must not contract men's outlook, confirm their prejudices or inflame their passions. . . Our leaders have been influential in the Madras Government from the year 1920 down to the interim Ministry of 1937, except for a short interval. They were and are patriotic Andhras and for some reason, which I am not able to understand, they demanded a Province when out of Power and took no steps to accomplish the idea when in power. . . I can understand the mood of disillusion and chagrin in which the Prime Minister found the Andhra districts during his recent tour. I cannot, however, refrain from entering my strong protest against the disrespectful demonstrations that were directed against him. No situation, however charged with political acrimony, can justify a lapse from good manners. From the civilized we at least expect civility."

The important resolutions are those dealing with the Sree Bagh Pact and that making Madras as the Capital for the future Andhra Province. Of the eleven Districts (Andhra) there are five which go by the composite name



of Rayalaseema. They are Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur, Bellary and Chittoor. They are economically backward, equal in area almost, with extensive sparsely populated areas which can easily absorb the overpopulated Circar Andhras, and with large mineral resources. These two contiguous parts of Andhra Desa have some substantial differences, most of them accentuated after the formation of the Andhra University. The Circars because of their economically superior position have been trying to exploit their brothers of the Rayalaseema. Even this time in the Andhra University elections not a single member was elected from among the candidates of Rayalaseema. There are very many other differences which show that there is no genuine feeling of brotherliness but an eyewash thereof and that is the Sree Bagh Pact.

The Sree Bagh Pact was signed by some self-styled representatives of Rayalaseema and the Circars. It grants some economic advantages, political representation on District basis instead of population basis, fixes either the Capital or the High Court in Rayalaseema, the choice being given to Rayalaseema. According to this "Representative Pact" it is hoped there will be no disadvantage to any. It comes into force after the formation of the Andhra Province. It is now recognised that there is a strong opposition about the representative character of the Pact. By the Maha Sabha's recent resolution fixing Madras as the Capital the Pact is impliedly overruled in part even without the intangible advantages that should take place at a remote date. As Mr. R. Suryanarayan Rao of the Servants of India Society said that the Pact requires revision as it is illusory. Further he says that, that with

the growing needs of the Madras Province for ameliorating the distressed conditions of Rayalaseema with the revenues from excise source cut off, our idea of the formation of a new Province should make us seriously think. Unfortunately, Mr. Lathe stated that the Canarese-speaking districts of Madras and Bombay will not be self-supporting financially. The Tungabhadra project is partly in Canarese area and an immediate division will have to be postponed for financial reasons. So the financial position should completely be examined before the decision is taken.

At this point we may discuss the point of contact between Federation and Linguistic Provinces. As Prof. M. Venkatarangiah of the Andhra University has suggested, all the Canarese areas contiguous may be given to Mysore, the Telegu area to Hyderabad, the Malayalam areas to Travancore if we should have ideal Linguistic Provinces in the Madras Presidency. This can only materialise with an absolutely powerful democratic Federation. That is the sort of Karnatak Province advocated in *The Modern Review* for July 1938 by Mr. V. B. Kulkarni. It is just that type of Province that is visualised by the present writer and all agitation therefore for separate Provinces should at present cease and the Congress not embarrassed. All administrative steps may be taken to this end and the census figures of 1931 be taken as the basis of computation in view of the controversy that will arise in Bi-Lingual areas. It is this lead that was given by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. The sooner it can be formed the better, says the Maha Sabha resolution. Meanwhile let differences be bridged by advocating concrete measures of substantial advantage.



# INDUSTRIALISATION OF INDIA

By NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

WHATEVER may be the limitations of Provincial autonomy, it must be admitted that its inauguration has brought about a genuine enthusiasm in the country for new endeavours in diverse directions. This is natural, for self-government always generates an ever-increasing sense of self-improvement and uplift. The history of more than a year's regime in the provinces is indeed a fair record of earnest endeavours on the part of the provincial governments for bettering the conditions of the masses and for effecting other ameliorative measures. There are, of course, limitations both financial and constitutional, but the way in which the provincial governments are trying to grapple the many problems of India's social and economic life is indeed encouraging. The conference of Industries Ministers of seven Congress Provinces which concluded its session at New Delhi only recently is an instance in point indicating the earnestness with which the provincial governments are facing their tasks.

The proceedings of the Conference as well as the resolutions passed demonstrate an eagerness for the progressive and rapid industrialization of the country. But this very eagerness, which we can easily understand and appreciate, has perhaps somewhat clouded the sense of economic realism of the members. In our enthusiasm to achieve rapidly, we must not lose sight of what is best worth achieving or of the best and most practical way of achieving it. The resolutions adopted by the Conference provide only the outlines of a comprehensive scheme of economic planning. But a strict analysis would reveal a number of gaps in the approach work—gaps which would seriously prejudice the chances of achieving an outstanding success by pursuing such a scheme. Before a consideration of these difficulties can be undertaken a short resume of the resolutions may here be given:

(1) A planning committee will shortly be appointed to undertake the preliminary work of giving effect to the decisions (a) that a comprehensive scheme of national planning should be formulated which will provide for the development of heavy key industries, medium scale industries and cottage industries keeping in view India's requirements, resources and the peculiar conditions prevailing in the country and (b) that pending the submission and consideration of a comprehensive

industrial plan for the whole of India, steps should be taken to start the following large scale industries of national importance on all-India basis and the efforts of all provinces and Indian States should as far as possible be co-ordinated to that end: (i) manufacture of machinery and plant and tools of all kinds, (ii) manufacture of automobiles, motor boats, etc., and their accessories and other industries connected with transport and communication, (iii) manufacture of electrical plants and accessories, (iv) manufacture of heavy chemicals and fertilisers and (v) metal production and industries connected with power generation and power supply.

(2) An all-India planning commission will be appointed which will submit interim reports on each industry detailing therein their recommendations on the following points: (i) place or places where particular industry should be established with due regard to all relevant circumstances, such as the supply of raw materials, natural and local advantages (ii) method of organization of industry; whether it should be under complete state control or under private enterprise and in the latter case, the mode of state aid and (iii) method of financing the industry and its management.

(3) Industrial and power alcohol should be manufactured in India.

(4) All the provincial governments and Indian States should co-operate with and assist one another in matters of marketing, industrial research, compilation and distribution of commercial and industrial intelligence, expert advice and technical and vocational education.

(5) The project of manufacturing automobiles in India should be examined by the planning committee in all details.

Separately considered nothing much can be said against any of these resolutions. They focus attention on different spots in the economic field and emphasise the need for improvement or reform in regard to many of our outstanding deficiencies. But considered as component and logical parts of a comprehensive programme of economic planning for India the resolutions are open to comment. In the first place, the question suggests itself: whether the scheme of economic planning which the planning committee and the planning commission are expected to produce will cover only the industrial development of the country or whether it will embrace all the aspects of India's economy. From the proceedings of the Conference and particularly from the first resolution,\* it appears that the economic

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\* "This Conference of the Ministers of Industries is of opinion that the problems of poverty and unemployment, of national defence and of the economic regeneration in general cannot be solved without industrialization. As a step towards such industrializa-

planning will concern itself only with the industrial development of the country. Obviously exclusive emphasis has been laid on industrialization as a panacea for all the economic ills of the country. One should remember that the factors of India's economic prosperity are many among which industrial development is only one, albeit an important one. But that does not probably justify the formulation of a programme which covers only a part of the entire economy of the country. Agriculture as yet is the largest industry of the land absorbing nearly 70 per cent of the population. If this is not planned according to the requirements of the country or side by side with the development of other factors of national economy the results achieved are likely to be halting and lop-sided. The economic planning as envisaged in the resolutions of the Conference is thus more or less piecemeal and being piecemeal it falls short of planning in the truest sense of the term. An all-India planning commission should embrace every aspect of national economy. The problem is essentially that of effecting an all round improvement. A special pleading for industry to the neglect of agriculture or a sentimental clinging to agriculture to the neglect of industry are errors which economic analysis is prone to commit in this country and from the former error the deliberations of the Industries Ministers' Conference is not entirely free. The Bombay Committee recently formed has perhaps a clearer perception of this question than the proposed Planning Commission are likely to have if they adhere strictly to the resolutions passed by the recent conference. In this connection some observations made by the Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker, Finance Minister to the Government of Bengal, in his address at the Ganesh Festival at Gwalior some time ago, are very pertinent. He said:

"India's policy of industrialization should be determined on the basis of the requirements of her own economic order. In certain details, India may initiate and adopt with profit the industrial methods and technique of other countries. But the main objective of our policy should be a broad-based and remunerative agriculture, succoured by flourishing cottage industries and further sustained by the development of larger industries."

tion, a comprehensive scheme of national planning should be formulated. This scheme should provide for the development of heavy key industries, medium scale industries and cottage industries, keeping in view our national requirements, the resources of the country as also the peculiar circumstances prevailing in the country. The scheme should provide for the establishment of new industries of all classes and also for the development of the existing ones."

It must not be supposed that this is an attempt at belittling the utility or necessity of sectional enquiry such as has been envisaged in many of the resolutions of the Industries Ministers' Conference. On the other hand, one must concede that the most essential prerequisite to successful economic planning is a careful scrutiny of every aspect of our economic life. But the planning itself is a gradual and progressive process which while abjuring the policy of drift should not seek drastic and piecemeal changes in the internal economy.

In the second place, economic planning to be successful must be in harmony with the tenor of a country's political and economic traditions and with its genius. In evolving an economic plan it is idle to look for absolute excellence. We must correlate our plans to the conditions and circumstances in our own country and not seek to graft on an unresponsive soil an alien ideology simply because it has thrived in another country. We often look wistfully to Soviet Russia as a model of successful and rapid economic regeneration through wholesale industrialization and we are so much awed by this economic regimentation that we often view only the phenomenon and not the political and economic background against which it appears. The President of the Congress in opening the Conference observed that no industrial advancement was possible until we passed through the throes of an industrial revolution. If industrial revolution is an evil, it is a necessary evil. We can only try our best to mitigate the ills that attended its advent in other countries. Furthermore, we have to determine whether this revolution will be a comparatively gradual one as in Great Britain or a forced march as in Soviet Russia. Observed the President:

"I am afraid that it has to be a forced march in this country. In the world as it is constituted today a community which resists industrialization has little chance of surviving international competition."

But while one can readily understand one's zeal in the matter of the economic reformation of this country we must not mistake zeal for wisdom or allow wish to father our thoughts on such economic regeneration. A forced march towards an industrial revolution sounds well and is likely to appeal to our sense of honour and disturb our inferiority complex. But who is to force this march—the State or the people? The President looks for State initiative in this matter. But to successfully bring about an industrial revolution the State, like Soviet Russia, has to be a Socialistic State

which India yet is not. There remains private enterprise. But it has to be seriously considered, whether to expect a successful industrial revolution in India, with her traditional dependence on agriculture, her slow political evolution and her conservative traditions, through private enterprise, is within the bounds of economic realism. The industrialization of a country should be strictly correlated to its economic conditions, its resources and its political organisation. This consideration necessitated the industrial evolution being slow and gradual in England and in India it must needs be more so. To force the pace of the industrial revolution in a country which is hardly ready for the stress it must involve or to attempt to break away too suddenly from the past is not always a wise policy. If there is too wide a gap between one step and the next in the process of our industrial evolution it is not likely that our achievements will either be lasting or real. In this connection Mr. N. R. Sarker made some interesting observations in the speech already referred to which may bear elaborate quotation:

"It is my firm belief that the future can only be built on the foundation of the past and that any slavish adoption of methods or theories which have succeeded in other countries or avoidance of what seems to us the defects in their systems can hardly guarantee the best of results. It is generally a mistake to graft a new system on an existing and perhaps a completely different one. We can no doubt gradually evolve a system that will be beneficial to us. But we cannot borrow a ready-made system from other nations whose very genius differs from our own and pronounce it as the best possible and impose it on ourselves.

"It is best to recognise the necessity for continuity and for not breaking away too suddenly with the past. Nothing in our national life is so thoroughly bad that some means cannot be found of using it for a further advance and thus avoiding the dangerous interregnum between total demolition and the completion of reconstruction. Finally, it is best to rely on reality, to take the world as we find it today and not as we think it ought to be, not as we hope it will be in time to come, believing that only thus is it possible for each succeeding generation to leave it, in fact, a little better. It is an obstinate blindness to reality and a pathetic faith that it is possible to make human nature approximate to their ideal simply by wishing, and thus to dispense with the slow and painful process of evolution, which waste the noble enthusiasm and generous sympathy of so many of our more zealous reformers today. It is thus my firm belief that in evolving a new scheme of industrialization every phase and aspect of our industrial life must be taken into consideration. Cottage industries, middle-sized industries, large scale industries must all find a place in such a scheme for they have each an important bearing on our economic life."

There is, in the resolutions passed at the Industries Ministers' Conference, the stipulation that the Planning Committee will ascer-

tain what industries should be under the complete control of the State and what industries under private initiative and control. It is thus recognised that there may be a duality of control over the whole field of economic reform. It would therefore be necessary to co-ordinate these divergent authorities, for unless we are clear as to what authority will execute the plans we may evolve, our programme will not lead us very far.

Then there is another important difficulty. In order to give effect to a planned programme which the provinces may formulate it will be necessary to induce the Central Government to participate in such a programme. The States also should co-operate if any economic planning on an all-India basis is to be essayed.

In a normal course of things, the Central Government should have taken the initiative in organizing the Conference the provincial Ministers have convened and in appointing the planning commission for formulating a comprehensive programme of economic planning, but things being what they are, the initiative has been taken by other authorities which clearly points out that there may be difficulty in ensuring the sort of co-operation between the provinces, the Central Government, and the States as would be necessary to execute the plan.

It should be recognised that there are many spheres such as trade, banking, fiscal policy, railways, etc., in which the provincial authority is not competent enough to exercise full influence with the result that unless the Central Government render co-operation and assistance at every stage, no substantial results will be achieved.

The object in enumerating these difficulties is not to disparage the efforts at economic planning but merely to show that very great circumspection and care is necessary in evolving a planned programme for the whole of India. It may also be a little premature to set to the task. The Central Government is now on the point of transition and the provincial governments also have not as yet settled down and succeeded in evolving a system of inter-provincial co-operation and collaboration in all matters of economic and social importance. Just at this moment, it is doubtful whether the planning committee or the planning commission will be able to address themselves to the task of formulating an economic plan with that measure of harmony and determination which is essential for success. And even if a scheme is formulated it will lack the necessary

atmosphere and conditions under which it may be launched with any surety of success.

While, therefore, the creation of planning committees and commissions is always desirable for studying the existing conditions and evolving an economic programme for the country, it is open to question whether the conditions necessary for essaying a comprehensive plan have yet come into existence. The provinces will, for the present, carry on their individual

programmes of economic development, endeavouring all the while to secure the co-operation of other provinces and where necessary of the States and the Centre. Only when such development is well under way and the prospect of co-ordinated effort over the whole field of our economic life can be envisaged, would it be worth while and profitable to attempt the larger task of planning the economic reorganisation of the whole of India.

## LEGISLATIVE PRIVILEGES UNDER THE NEW INDIAN CONSTITUTION

By FAZLUR RAHMAN, M. A., B. L.

*Member, Bengal Legislative Assembly*

THE Law of Privileges is a part of the Constitutional Law of a country. The proper functioning of a Legislature depends to a very great extent on the privileges it enjoys. Section 71 of the Government of India Act, 1935, which secures to a Provincial Legislature some important privileges and also empowers it to define its privileges in other respects, is thus of great importance. Every Provincial Legislature will soon formulate its privileges by its own Act and it is necessary that the proper scope of the Section should be clearly understood before any such legislation is undertaken. There appears to be some misconception about the scope of the Section; and to remove such misconception I have attempted an interpretation of the Section. A discussion of the subject by constitutional lawyers would perhaps have been of great advantage to the legislatures in India.

Sub-Section 1 of Section 71 of the Government of India Act, 1935, has conferred on every Provincial Legislature the privilege of "freedom of speech." The right interpretation of this Sub-Section requires a correct appreciation of the privilege as it obtains in England. Mr. Joseph Redlich in his book—*The Procedure of the House of Commons*, Vol. III, pp. 48-49, has ably explained this subject in the following manner :

"By Section 9 of the Bill of Rights it was declared that the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any Court or place out of Parliament."

"The statement in the Bill of Rights shows the limits within which the principle is to be applied; the claim made is not for absolute freedom of speech; speech is only to be independent of every authority except the private jurisdiction of Parliament over its own members. The power of Parliament to judge the acts and speeches of its members is the starting point, a condition precedent for its complete and absolute liberation from the control of any exterior authority. We can, of course, conceive a Parliament which disclaimed such an autonomous Jurisdiction, and refused to call its members to account for transgressing the bounds of usage and tradition; and again a Parliament might declare in advance that it did not insist on any standards of speech among its members and would exercise no control over them; in such cases we should be without the historic premises from which the privilege was deduced in England. The struggle there for freedom of speech was waged to emancipate the action of Parliament from all influence of Crown, courts of law and Government; it was never a fight for an absolute right to unbridled oratory, for freedom to each member to say exactly what he pleased. From the earliest days there was always strict domestic discipline in the House and strict rules as to speaking were always enforced. The House could point to its autonomous regulation of the conduct and speech of its members, and to its enforcement of its rules; its power of so doing enabled it to claim and to win for its members the right of exemption for all responsibility at common law for what they said in its debates. . . .

"We have therefore found not merely that definite rules of debate are compatible with freedom of speech; we have been led to the conclusion that they are an absolute necessity if the words of the members are to be protected from question by any other Court or authority. Freedom of speech and self-imposed rules of debate are linked conditions for the existence of true parliamentary action.

"A further consequence is the necessity for special legal provisions to secure obedience to the rule thus laid down for speech and debate. Without such sanction we

should still lack the proper foundation for the privilege of freedom from external restraint."

Three propositions emerge from the above quotation: (1) that Parliament has private jurisdiction over its own members in regulating speeches and debates; (2) that there should be legal provisions for securing obedience to the rules laid down for speeches and debates; and (3) that its members should have the right of exemption from all responsibility at law for what they may say in its debates. These propositions have practically been embodied in Sub-Section 1 of Section 71 and in Sub-Section 1 of Section 84 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

Sub-Section 1 of Section 71, excepting the portion relating to the publication of the report and proceedings of a legislature, may be divided into three parts: firstly, the qualifying clause, *viz.*, "subject to the provisions of this Act" and to rules and standing orders regulating the procedure of the legislature;" secondly, "there shall be freedom of speech in every Provincial Legislature;" and thirdly, "no member of the Legislature shall be liable to any proceedings to any Court in respect of anything said or any vote given by him in the Legislature or any committee thereof." The qualifying clause, that is, the first part of the Sub-Section, controls the second part and not the third part of the Sub-Section. This clause gives the Legislature Jurisdiction over its members to regulate their speeches. The first and second parts together secure freedom of speech to each member of the Legislature but subject him to the jurisdiction of the House, that is, to its rules of procedure. Sub-Section 1 of Section 84 of the Act gives legality to the rules of procedure made by each chamber of the Legislature so as to secure to them the obedience of its members. The third part of Sub-Section 1 of Section 71 secures to each member of the Legislature immunity from all liability at law in respect of anything said or any vote given by him in the Legislature or any Committee thereof.

The above interpretation of Sub-Section 1 of Section 71 is the only one which is consistent with the privilege of freedom of speech, as it obtains in the British House of Commons. Under this interpretation of law, a member will subject himself to the disciplinary jurisdiction of the Legislature if he says within it anything in violation of its rules and standing orders, but shall be completely immune from all liabil-

ity at law for such statements, and his speech, though not within the restrictive provisions of the rules and standing orders, cannot be questioned or impeached in any court of law. A reference to Section 67(7) of the Government of India Act which has recently been repealed, also confirms this view.

The other interpretation that the qualifying clause in Sub-Section 1 of Section 71 controls the entire Sub-Section; that the privilege of freedom of speech is not available to a member when he exceeds the bounds of the rules and standing orders, that for every speech that he delivers he is liable to be brought before the Court of Law where he has to justify the speech, and that neither the Speaker nor the Legislature can give him any protection, makes the privilege of "freedom of speech" absolutely meaningless and illusory. This position being completely inconsistent with the scheme of Provincial Autonomy could never have been intended by the Government of India Act, 1935. Moreover, the construction of the Sub-Section does not bear this interpretation.

But to prevent the mischief from any misinterpretation of the Sub-Section, a provision may be made in a Provincial Act, defining privileges, to the following effect:

"Notwithstanding anything contained in any law, no member of the Provincial Legislature shall be liable to any proceedings in any Court of Law for anything said or any vote given by him in the said Legislature."

This provision is within the competence of the Provincial Legislature, inasmuch as the Legislature has full power of legislating on criminal law including all matters included in the Indian Penal Code at the date of the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935, and also of making laws on criminal procedure including all matters included in the code of Criminal Procedure at the date of the passing of the Act. Moreover, it has full power of dealing with the laws of evidence and of judicial proceedings, of declaring what constitute actionable wrongs and of legislating on questions of the jurisdiction and powers of Courts (*Vide* items numbered in 1, 2, 5, 14 and 15 concurrent Legislative List of the Seventh Schedule appended to the Government of India Act, 1935). The fact that the powers of the Legislature in the matter of legislation on criminal law and on actionable wrongs have been limited by the exclusion of the offences in respect to matters of privileges, does in no way affect the competency of the Provincial Legislature to make a provision of law like the one proposed above, inasmuch as the said pro-

\* The Government of India Act, 1935.



vision does not mean any declaration of any offence regarding privilege but means an exclusion of certain actions from the field of criminal offences and actionable wrongs.

Sub-Section (2) of Section 71 of the Act has empowered a Provincial Legislature to define its own privileges by an Act. Section 100 read with items numbered 12 and 37 in the Provincial Legislative List of the Seventh Schedule appended to the Government of India Act, 1935, has given powers to the Provincial Legislature to protect its own privileges by declaring any breach of the privilege to be an offence.

These latter powers of the Provincial Legislature have not in any way been limited by Sub-Section 4 of Section 71. It cannot reasonably be maintained that this Sub-Section by providing punishment for one kind of breach of privileges, has by implication abrogated the express provisions of law, empowering

the Legislature to declare as offences other kinds of breaches of privileges. The only limitation that has been imposed on the powers of the Provincial Legislature in the matter of protecting its privileges is by Sub-Section 3 of Section 71 which disables the Provincial Legislature from assuming the status of a Court or from vesting it with any punitive or disciplinary powers, other than the power of removing or excluding persons infringing the rules or standing orders, or otherwise behaving in a disorderly manner. A Provincial Legislature, though it cannot confer on itself the status of a court to try and punish as offences the breaches of its privileges, can however declare them as offences and empower the courts of law to try these offences and provide punishment for them (Read Section 100 with items numbered 1 and 2 in the Provincial Legislative List and item numbered 15 in the concurrent Legislative List).

### Mahatma Gandhi's Birthday Celebration in U. S. A.

"For many more years to come may the shining example of the precious life of Mahatma Gandhi continue to enlighten humanity and guide man's erring steps by showing the non-violent way to World Peace and Happiness."

The above resolution was unanimously and enthusiastically adopted in a public meeting at 3-30 p.m. on October 2, 1938, assembled to celebrate the Birthday of Mahatma Gandhi at the Ball-room of the Hotel New

Yorker, New York, under the joint auspices of the All-World Gandhi Fellowship and the World Fellowship of Faiths. On the previous day in the afternoon, a similar celebration was held under the same auspices at the Fritz-Carlton Hotel, Boston, Massachusetts. Principal speakers in these meetings were Mr. Richard B. Gregg, Rev. George Paine, Rev. C. A. Butterfield, Mr. Yusuf Meherally, Dr. Mahanam Brata Brahmachari, Rev. Gladys Grier and Mr. Kedernath Das Gupta. The subject of discussion was "Gandhi's Way to Peace."



## THE POPULATION PROBLEM

BY PROF. A. CORREIA FERNANDES, M.A.

THE population problem has always engaged the attention of some of the master-minds of the world from the earliest times. In the works of Aristotle and Plato we find considerable attention devoted to the discussion of the problem of happiness in its relation to numbers. In fact, what is in our days called the population problem is suggested by Aristotle in connection with his polity and by Plato in his *Laws* and *Republic*.

But the population problem in its more objective, historical and scientific aspects began to engage the attention first of Europe and then of the world since Malthus wrote his famous essays on the population problem. With him begins the first comprehensive and pseudo-scientific attempt to envisage the problem of human numbers in their various aspects and to detect and formulate laws regarding growth of population and its relation to prosperity and welfare. Since his days the population problem has been a perennial source of controversies, polemics, disputes, conferences and learned treatises.

It may interest the reader to know that the Bible stands first in the amount of commentaries it has given rise to and in the volume of apologetic, explanatory, inspiratory and critical literature that has grown round the *Holy Writ*.

The next book which has produced the largest amount of literature, apologetic as well as denunciatory and critical, is Karl Marx's *Kapital*. Shakespeare comes next, soon followed by the population problem, if in the literature on the subject, we include the innumerable and voluminous decennial censuses undertaken by all the civilised nations of the world.

In India the population problem has gained importance in comparatively recent times. About even ten years ago very few people devoted their attention to it. To-day Indian economists and demographers, provincial governments, welfare organisations, special conferences are all devoting close and concentrated attention to the problem of population. A definite movement seems to be growing in the country towards the adoption

of what is called a population policy through a widespread use of the technique of birth-control. Neo-Malthusian leagues have been started and a number of provincial parliaments have been confronted by their members with resolutions on this problem.

It is, therefore, worthwhile to understand exactly what is meant by the population problem, to determine its real nature and to discuss such measures as may be necessary to deal with it, measures not repugnant to moral principles and also to the deep spiritual nature of Indian society and to its social customs and religious traditions.

The population problem has as many aspects as the colours of the rainbow, and whenever only one of these aspects is repeated, emphasised and over-emphasised the country gets a wrong perspective of the real population problem. The qualitative aspect is as important as the quantitative. The problems of health, sanitation, low expectation of life, malnutrition, unscientific diet are so many important aspects of our population problem which are as important as birthrate and death-rate, national dividend, the growth of food-stuffs and of industries. Generally, it has become now the practice to identify the population problem of India with the rate of its increase alone, giving a subsidiary place to the qualitative aspects of the problem.

India is a vast country as large as the whole of Europe excluding Russia. But it is only one-half of the total area of the United States with a population three times as large. The growth of population of India within the last four hundred years has been as follows:

Year	Population in Millions	Rate per cent of actual increase in successive inter-censal periods
1600	.. 100	—
1750	.. 130	—
1850	.. 150	—
1872	.. 206	—
1881	.. 254	1.5
1891	.. 287	9.6
1901	.. 294	1.4
1911	.. 315	6.4
1921	.. 319	1.2
1931	.. 353	10.6

The same growth can be expressed in another way, particularly from the year 1872 when India had its first organised census.

Period	Increase in Millions	
1872-1881	..	48.0
1881-1891	..	33.5
1891-1901	..	7.0
1901-1911	..	20.5
1911-1921	..	3.8
1921-1931	..	34.0

In 1935 the population of India must have stood approximately at about 377 millions assuming that the rate of increase of this population has been the same as that revealed in the last census, namely, about one per cent. per annum.

Thus we see that from 1600 to 1935 the population has increased from 100 to 377 millions. When Malthus was writing his thought-provoking lament on the law of population and the positive and negative checks which control it, the population of England was only 10 millions. Since then, the population has increased almost according to the Malthusian law, that is, has practically doubled itself every 25 years and has thus confirmed, so far as England is concerned, the Malthusian law of population. It is now about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  times as large as the population of England during the days of Malthus. And yet, whereas Malthus with a population in his country of only 10 millions was profoundly distrustful of the future of his country, and also of the rest of the world, on account of the threatened saturation with which he thought the world would soon be confronted, the British public today, and particularly its economists and statisticians, are alarmed not at the over-population of England, but at its threatened under-population in the coming decades. Already before the war the population of England was not increasing as fast as during the Victorian period. After the war there has been a remarkable increase in the expectation of life which has given to England a fictitious and an illusory growth of population. But the net increase of population has been negative, particularly in recent years. And as the process of elimination through old age continues the stage of depopulation which already has begun in England tends to be more and more pronounced as years roll by.

Turning to India, it is interesting to speculate on what would be our population if the Malthusian law had been in operation in India. Assuming that the population was in 1600, as Moreland states, about 100 millions

during the days of Akbar, today the total population of India should have been 6400 millions, taking a period of 50 years for the doubling of the population. Even if all the positive checks of Malthus had been in full force, the population of India under worst conditions of the Malthusian law should have been at least 2000 millions which is more than the total world's population today. It is only enough to mention this calculation to show how absurd is the Malthusian law of growth of population when applied to large and ancient countries like India. The contrast between India's and England's growth of population is, indeed, very remarkable. Within a single century the population of England has followed the Malthusian rhythm and tempo of increase. But in India a period of nearly  $4\frac{1}{2}$  centuries had to elapse before India could have had a growth of population which is only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  times its total population over four centuries back. This shows that the laws controlling the growth of population are not fixed, determinate and are not even determinable. They show the absurdity of the logistic formula.

The growth of population depends on a multitude of factors when it is not controlled by artificial, neo-Malthusian methods. Those, therefore, that calculate India's growth of population even at the rate of ten per cent. revealed in the last census have to be cautioned against this optimism or pessimism, as the case may be, about the future of India's population. The growth of eight per cent. was considered by many as a normal and natural growth. But this rate does not find confirmation in all countries or at all periods. Each country seems to have its own rate.

Let us now examine some other features of India's demography. The birthrate in India is fairly high though there are several other countries in the world which have a distinctly higher birthrate.

Country	Birthrate per mille	Deathrate per mille	Natural increase per mille
British India	.. 35	24	11
England and Wales	.. 15	12	3
Federated Malay States	.. 36	20	16
Palestine	.. 45	19	26
Japan	.. 32	17	15
Egypt	.. 42	27	15

India Years	Annual number of births	Birth rate per mille	Annual number of deaths	Death rate per mille
1871-1880	Not available	—	3,540,202	20
1881-1890	.. 4,565,687	24	5,058,578	26
1891-1900	.. 7,174,694	34	6,662,417	31

India Years	Annual number of births	Birth rate per mille	Annual number of deaths	Death rate per mille
1901-1910	.. 8,591,136	38	7,657,513	34
1911-1920	.. 8,810,018	37	8,142,364	34
1921-1930	.. 8,345,364	35	6,347,063	26
1931	.. 9,135,890	35	6,615,099	25
1932	.. 9,054,506	34	5,805,666	22
1933	.. 9,678,876	36	6,096,787	22
1934	.. 9,288,897	34	6,856,244	25
1935	.. 9,698,794	35	6,578,711	24

From these tables it is clear that India has what many economists consider more or less a high birthrate. It is about 35 per 1000 as against the birthrate in England and Wales of 15, and even less in France and some other countries of western Europe. On the other hand, Palestine and Egypt have a much higher birthrate.

As all are aware, the growth of population is determined by four factors: birthrates, death-rates, immigration and emigration. The last two factors are not playing any important part in India's population just now. The birthrate in India has been fairly steady from the beginning of the present century. And if this rate is maintained it is clear that the population of India at the next census will be a little under 400 millions. It is possible that this figure may be increased due to the fact that the expectation of life in India has been showing in recent times, some progress. Already we have moved from about 24 years of average to about 26 years. And this progress in general health and longevity will naturally be reflected in the coming census. The total births in British India in 1935 were a little over 9½ millions. The crude birthrate in 1935 was about 35 per mille of the estimated population as against 33½ in 1934. There is a larger number of males born in India than females. But, contrary to what happens in Europe, the deathrate among women in India being much higher than among men, particularly during the reproductive ages of 15 to 40, there is a paucity of females in India, whereas there is in the west a paucity of males. I give below a table of females per 1000 males for different countries in different periods. The table is taken from Mr. P. K. Wattal's book *The Population Problem in India*.

Country	Females per 1,000 males (actual population)
England and Wales (1931)	.. 1,087
France (1926)	.. 1,083
Turkey (1927)	.. 1,079
Germany (1925)	.. 1,067
Italy (latest)	.. 1,045
Holland (1930)	.. 1,012
Egypt (1927)	.. 1,009

Country	Females per 1,000 males (actual population)
Japan (1930)	.. 990
United States of America (1930)	.. 976
Australia (1921)	.. 967
Canada (1921)	.. 940

The death-rate in India is, as we have seen very high, and only Egypt can beat India's record in this direction. The death-rate in England and Wales is exactly one-half of the deathrate in India. Infant mortality occupies a very important place in our death-rate. The number of people that die in India every year is almost equal to the total population of Switzerland. The crude death-rate in 1935 was 23.6 per mille, a figure which is lower than that for 1934. Different provinces have different deathrates, but this rate among females for the age-period 15 to 40 is higher than among males. Thus in 1935, 5½ lakhs of males died between the years 15 to 40 as against 6 1/3 lakhs of females. The total deaths of children under one year exceed a million and a half which reveals an appalling condition of health and maternity life in India. This problem demands an immediate attention.

The result of this heavy deathrate among females at the reproductive age is that we get at the age of nine, in spite of the higher mortality of boys, only 59,859 girls to 61,411 boys. Such a population tendency produces many undesirable consequences. It promotes traffic in girls, leads to great disparity of age between husband and wife, and in big cities like Bombay and Calcutta where the disproportion between males and females is terrible, it creates promiscuous sexual relations, diffuses venereal infection and gives rise to many other social evils.

Another qualitative problem connected with India's population is nutrition. As is now widely recognised nutrition plays a great and fundamental part in one's life. In fact, there is some truth in the saying "Man is what he eats," though the truth of this aphorism must not be carried too far. The world has only in recent years realised the great relationship between diet, health, intelligence, work and energy. One of the great contributions which the League of Nations has made to the world's progress is its investigation of the problems of nutrition. The problem, no doubt, is extensive and tremendously complicated. But it is one which deserves far more attention than has been given to it by the world in general and by India in particular. In India, only since the

present Viceroy assumed the reins of office, interest in questions of nutrition has grown rapidly. The Indian Research Fund Association has done remarkable work in this direction and rich fruit is expected to be gathered in the near future after the present investigations that are in hand have been carried to a successful end.

In a recent note on *Nutrition Work in India* prepared by Dr. Ackroyd, the following views are expressed:

"Hitherto the view that malnutrition is prevalent in India has rested on *a priori* reasoning; on general knowledge of the conditions prevailing in the villages and the poorer quarters of towns and cities; on scattered observations regarding the existence of food deficiency diseases; on animal experiments; on the pronouncements of experts; rather than on exact data collected by systematic research. Research in India is, however, now being organized for the collection of these fundamental data, which will enable the whole problem to be defined and clarified, and vague general statements replaced by precise knowledge.

"Human nutrition research and public health nutrition work are impossible without knowledge of food values. There is at present no comprehensive table of food values available for general use in India. In 1935 a systematic survey of the nutritive value of Indian foodstuffs was begun in Coonoor, and has rapidly progressed."

Dietary surveys are being carried out by the Coonoor and Calcutta research units. And the preliminary results already show that the diet of the average villager is deficient not only from the point of view of quality, but also of quantity. But what is curious is that a greater degree of malnutrition and under-nutrition is found among the poor people of India in its towns and cities, whereas in Europe and in America urban nutrition is decidedly superior to the rural degree of nutrition. Blood examination in South India has also shown that the hæmoglobin contents of the blood in South India is on an average about 20% below European standards. This does not appear to be a physiological fact, but rather the result of a poor consumption of iron in the ordinary diet. Similarly, the basal metabolism of average Indians is lower than that of average Europeans. If the diet researches are given a practical turn and are utilised to organise a standard diet for the people of India in the different provinces, the result will be a rise in the quality of India's population and an improvement in its health. The problem of nutrition is indeed a very important problem and offers vast possibilities for India's physical regeneration.

The problem of the relation of food supply

to population is a very intricate and enormously controversial one. There are diverse opinions on the subject though the prevailing view seems to be that the growth of population and the growth of food supply not having kept the same proportion in their rise there is a lag between food and population with the result that the pressure on the soil has increased so as to create a condition of over-population and even a state of saturation. It is worthwhile to examine this view since the problem of over-population in India has been discussed more in relation to the food supply than to the total income of the country.

Generally, the view that there is a shortage of food supply and that the condition of over-population has been reached in India is held by economists and publicists like Radhakamal Mukerjee, P. K. Wattal, K. T. Shah, Ranadive and others. Official reports, particularly those issued annually by the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India and investigations and researches of experts in nutrition also appear to subscribe to the view that in India a state of over-population, if not of saturation, has already been reached. The next census is expected to give us a population of 400 millions and it is claimed that this population has not got enough food supply in the country, if by food supply we mean a certain minimum number of calories, say 2,800, per diem per head, which is necessary in a climate like that of India to enable an average human being to maintain his life with a certain minimum amount of efficiency. The following is a calculation of deficiency of food supply.

Total area	..	..	66,41,57,589	acres
Cultivated area	..	..	22,58,45,734	"
Fallow, though cultivated, area	..	..	15,18,14,555	"
FOOD SUPPLY :				
Necessary quantity of food supply	..	..	810	lakhs of tons
Total produce	..	..	760	" "
Seeds and animal food	..	..	218	" "
Foreign exports	..	..	55	" "
Deficiency	..	..	323	" "

Another way of putting the same problem is as it has been presented by Professor Radhakamal Mukerjee in his recent book *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*.

India's population in 1931	..	353	millions
India's population capacity on the basis of her food supply in 1931	..	291	"
India's food shortage in 1931	..	42	billion calories
India's present population 1935	..	377	millions

India's addition to food supply between 1931 and 1935	..	30.3 billion calories
India's present food supply	..	280.4 " "
India's present food needs	..	321.5 " "
India's present population capacity 1935	..	329 millions
India's present food shortage	..	41.1 billion calories
Present number of "average men" estimated without food assuming that others obtain their normal daily ration	..	48 millions

It has also been stated that of the total population 2% are over-fed, 10% have ample food-supply, 30% sufficient to eat and 58% less than sufficient.

In proof of this extensive malnutrition and under-feeding the following tables are given:

Period	Number of Famines	Estimated Mortality
1800-1825	.. 5	1,000,000
1825-1850	.. 2	400,000
1850-1875	.. 6	5,000,000
1875-1900	.. 18	26,000,000

AVERAGE EXPECTATION OF MALE LIVES IN INDIA AND ENGLAND

Age	India	England
0	.. 26.91	55.62
10	.. 36.38	44.64
20	.. 29.57	45.78
30	.. 23.60	37.40
40	.. 18.60	29.19
50	.. 14.31	21.36

In every civilised country the span of life is lengthening. Many health workers are confident that before the close of the twentieth century the normal life in some western countries may reach the biblical three score and ten. But Indian expectation of life is very low.

Another way of showing the population pressure in the country is to demonstrate how there has been an important change in the agricultural activities of India. The cultivator, it is stated, is resorting to inferior cropping due to economic pressure and in many parts of the country the cultivation of major cereals like wheat and rice do not show a satisfactory increase. On the other hand, barley and cheaper millets are taking the place of wheat and rice, particularly in northern India where the poorer sections are increasingly using bread of inferior grains.

In discussing the problem of food supply in relation to population we must not forget that it is not possible for any country to keep a definite ratio of increase between its population and its cultivable area, cultivated area or even its food supply. National agricultural production will necessarily be limited by natural

restrictions. But the quantity of food alone is not the criterion to judge of the population problem. We know how England was considered over-populated with a population of only 10 millions, and today the general outcry in England is that population is not increasing at its old ratio of the second half of the last century. It may be mentioned also, in passing, that the cultivable area of England today does not differ materially from what the country possessed in the days of Alfred the Great. But so great and fundamental have been changes in agricultural technique that the same area today produces much more than even Malthus ever dreamt it would do within a comparatively brief spell of a hundred years. Again it must not be forgotten that the population problem cannot be discussed always in terms of food supplies within the same country. If that were so, then England would have been saturated with population nearly 2½ centuries ago.

But let us examine the position of food supply in India. The following index numbers show the variation of population and food supply in India.

	Population	Food supply available for consumption (unweighted)	Excess-or Deficit of food supply Index in relation to population Index
Average of five years 1910-1911 to 1914-1915 (base)	100	100	
1915-1916	.. 103	125	+22
1916-1917	.. 104	126	+22
1917-1918	.. 104	122	+18
1918-1919	.. 105	87	-18
1919-1920	.. 100	113	+13
1920-1921	.. 99	99	0
1921-1922	.. 100	120	+20
1922-1923	.. 101	125	+24
1923-1924	.. 101	109	+ 8
1924-1925	.. 101	103	+ 2
1925-1926	.. 101	113	+12
1926-1927	.. 102	117	+15
1927-1928	.. 102	111	+ 9
1928-1929	.. 103	120	+17
1929-1930	.. 104	122	+18
1930-1931	.. 107	123	+16
1931-1932	.. 114	122	+ 8
1932-1933	.. 117	123	+ 6
1933-1934	.. 118	122	+ 4
1934-1935	.. 120	123	+ 3

It will be seen from these tables that there is no lag between food supply available for consumption and the growth of population from 1910. The food supply has increased between 1910 and 1935 to 123 whereas the growth of population is 120 and food supply weighted is 125.

India being an exporting country, the rise in her exports is another indication of the



growth of food supplies. The following table shows the total exports of grain and pulse from 1901 to 1930 in millions of cwt. From 1930 onwards the position for a couple of years deteriorated on account of world depression. But from 1933 India has again experienced an upward trend. I have left out the period 1931 from the table as it was hardly normal in any sense of the word.

Year	Total Exports of Grain and Pulse in millions of cwt	
1901	..	43.7
1905	..	67.2
1910	..	78.6
1915	..	48.6
1920	..	29.7
1925	..	61.2
1929	..	50.0
1930	..	52.3

A student of mine and myself two years ago began to work out details for a minimum vegetarian diet as we understood it from the needs and requirements of about a hundred students with fifteen servants living in a hostel on rice, wheat, bajri, jowar, pulses, gram and soyabeans. From careful tables of every-day purchases and consumption maintained at this institution, tabulated by my student and afterwards checked and corrected by myself, we arrived at the conclusion that about 22 ounces of vegetarian food are necessary for a student per day, which gave us about 12½ mds. of food grains per year. Working on this principle on the census of 1931, we arrived at the figure of 53 million tons as needed for a vegetarian diet more or less of a minimum standard but sufficiently nutritious so as to give the necessary calories and vitamins for the normal functioning of the human body. For the population of British India it was calculated that the total food requirements were about 42 million tons. Of these, about 23 to 24 million tons were made up of rice, 18 millions of wheat and jowar, and 4½ million pulses. The total present-day production of food as given by Sir M. Visveswarayya is as follows:

Rice	..	..	33.2 million tons
Wheat	..	..	9.3 " "
Other food grains	..	..	18.4 " "
Total	..	..	60.9 " "

We must take about 10 million tons for seeds and cattle and we are left with 50 millions for the population of British India whose requirements on the basis of a strictly vegetarian and none too rich diet of my friends of the hostel and on whose consumption I worked out

the figures come to about 45 to 46 million tons. Our calculation shows that there is no definite shortage of food in India even after taking into consideration exports of foodstuffs.

Comparing the calculation of food production given by Visveswarayya with that of Jathar and Beri, we get the following:

Rice	..	..	30.79 millions
Wheat	..	..	9.36 "
Jowar	..	..	6.18 "
Bajri	..	..	2.13 "
Gram	..	..	3.37 "
Total	..	..	51.83 "

But according to Visveswarayya and some others the total food required for the population of India is about 85 to 90 million tons which gives 18½ mds. per year. Working on this basis there is a definite shortage of food in India. Nevertheless, the possibilities of meeting this shortage are very clear. If our agricultural technique could be only as efficient as that of China, then we would be able to increase our food supply in such a way as to exceed even the shortage assuming that Sir Visveswarayya's calculations are a true indication of the food shortage. On the basis of one acre per head as opposed to East's minimum of 2½ acres per head as representing the area necessary for producing enough food per man, we find that we are not very far away from this requirement. The following table gives the acreage per capita from which we see that India has not to be very pessimistic regarding the crop requirements for her population.

Country	Crop Area: Acres per capita	
Japan	..	0.36
China	..	0.44
India	..	0.78
U. S. S. R.	..	4.2
United States	..	3.3
Canada	..	28.9

An improvement in agricultural technique and an effective remedy for the consolidation of holdings will create a satisfactory food position in India even on the basis of the present productivity of the land. But the possibilities of a new agricultural revolution are so great that one feels inclined to think that the dark and ominous prophecies of those oppressed with the population problem envisaged in terms of the food supply are premature and almost unfounded. The methods of distribution of wealth in the country are eminently defective and are to a very great extent responsible for the maldistribution of income and even of the food supply. That is a problem that deserves careful and immediate attention.

But as I stated before, the population problem cannot be discussed only in terms of food supply. The ability of a country to maintain an optimum population depends upon its agricultural, as well as commercial and industrial wealth. In this connection the progress made by India though far short of the total possibilities or even minimum requirements is not altogether despicable or even unsatisfactory. There has been an all round increase in the production of our industries and this increase is reflected in the increased national dividend which today is between 70 and 80 rupees per head. The possibilities of the development of industries, small scale as well as large scale, are almost immense, and will favourably react on the national dividend per capita in India. The following table shows how national dividend, though still almost insignificant when compared with countries like England and America, has moved upwards from decade to decade.

Authority	Year of calculation	Estimate of annual per capita income (Rs.)	Index of prices 1873=100	Income adjusted to price changes (Rs.)
Dadabhoi Naoroji	.. 1870	20	102	20
Famine Commission as corrected by Lord Curzon	.. 1881	27	96	27.8
Lord Curzon	.. 1901	30	110	27
Findlay Shirras	.. 1911	80	129	62
Wadia and Joshi	.. 1913	45	143	30
Findlay Shirras	.. 1921	107	236	45
V. G. Kale	.. 1921	84	236	35.9
Shah and Khambatta	.. 1921	74	236	31.6
Findlay Shirras	.. 1929	111	207	53.10

The danger in our industrial development consists in the multiplication of large scale industries with very little regard to the importance of small scale industries or to the inherent defects in the present distribution system. Increased production of wealth through machinery and large scale production will be only a partial remedy to India's poverty, food shortage, low standard of life and unsatisfactory expectation of life. The population problem has also to be examined from these wider, but nevertheless, more fundamental, aspects.

There is a widespread talk in many parts of India on the necessity of a population policy. The poverty of the people, widespread unemployment and under-employment, low vitality and productivity, large mortality, high birthrate are supposed to be evils which can be cured by the magic of a population policy, identifying such a policy with neo-Malthusian

methods of birth-control through an almost universal use of contraceptives.

India is teeming with population problem which do not necessarily mean the problem of birth-control. In the first place, the most obvious and the most urgent and fundamental problem today is the qualitative problem. The standard of life, of education, of sanitation, of production, of vitality has to be raised by a comprehensive system which can be done only through a vigorous and persistent state action. All the attention, energy and resources which India can at present command would be perhaps too limited to deal with the qualitative aspects of the population problem. But the task, however immense, has to be carried out with courage, imagination and knowledge. Closely connected with the general toning up of the whole level of social, economic, moral and cultural life is the problem of maldistribution which intensifies poverty and destitution in India. It cannot be denied that almost one-fourth of the population of India is below the margin of subsistence. The foodstuffs are not exhibiting a proportionate shortage. In fact, even the available foodstuffs to the extent of 50 million tons exclusive of exports can certainly produce a better system of nutrition, provided the system of distribution is modified in such a way as to bring a larger number of producers and consumers within the orbit of social justice. Besides, there are endless prospects of a veritable revolution in our agricultural technique which will give to the country a greater quantity of food supplies. This, quite apart from the possibilities of a comprehensive industrialisation of the country both on a large and a small scale.

The Malthusian law of population has been conspicuous throughout history for its non-working rather than for its operation. In India itself, we have seen how after 400 years our population is only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  times as much as it was early in 1600. In the case of China the situation is still more evident. The working of the Malthusian law of population should have saturated China and produced an overflow of the Mongolian race throughout the rest of Asia. We know of several races and peoples that have disappeared from the face of the world, not through the operation of the Malthusian positive and negative checks, but from a sheer lack of moral vitality. The growth in numbers is not merely a biological process conditioned by economic factors. If this were so, the world would not have witnessed the rise, expansion, development and then a fall and

disappearance of many races, creeds and peoples. Inhabitants of the old Roman empire disappeared not as a result of any widespread operation of the Malthusian checks, positive or preventive, and so also the ancient Egyptians, Greeks and many other races and civilisations. The moral factor is important and perhaps as important as the biological factor. Only when a country is morally vigorous and economically stable does the population increase at a certain rate, but if a race is even well fed and apparently prosperous and morally and politically devitalised and sapped the increase in numbers is checked by the absence of moral fertility and the stage of depopulation gradually sets in. It is strange that the economist and the sociologist should devote hardly any attention to the moral factor influencing the growth of population or contributing to depopulation. And one great force which undermines the moral responsibility and blows to smithereens ethical principles is the deliberate use of the neo-Malthusian methods as the corner-stone of what some people call a population policy. Neither the Malthusian nor neo-Malthusian theories of population can explain its growth and movement over long periods of human history which probably goes back to some 40 to 50 thousand years.

Western Europe is now confronted with the problem of depopulation and of declining population. The tendency which had begun before the War has been recently accentuated to an alarming extent with the result that the population problem of Europe is the problem of its declining population. Even Russia had to reverse its whole population policy almost in a state of panic and officially burn its new neo-Malthusian boats. In Italy and Germany all kinds of devices, ingenious and disingenious, are being popularised for the purpose of stabilising if not increasing the rate of the population growth. The situation in France is even worse. England is also confronted with the problem of a stationary population which is really an issue of declining population. There has been a considerable growth in European longevity which has created the illusion of a stationary population in the last decennium though in reality the population in the earliest

age growths has shown a marked downward tendency. In 1881 there were in England as many children as old people of 65 and above. In 1907 seven times as many children as old people. Today the proportion is three to one. And in 1965, if the trend goes on, it will fall almost one to one. Such a situation is almost disastrous. And these conclusions are confirmed by analysis of recent changes in birth and death rates in England. Thus the birth-rate has declined almost steadily from its peak to 36.3 per 1,000 in 1876 to about 17½ today. The following table is an illuminating commentary on the declining population of England.

TOTAL POPULATION, ENGLAND AND WALES  
(000's OMITTED)

Age group	1881	1901	1935	1965 (estimated)
75 and over	.. 336	442	908	1549
65—74	.. 852	1076	2308	3311
45—64	.. 3708	4845	9016	10811
25—44	.. 6734	9252	12476	11114
15—24	.. 4875	6367	6428	4967
5—14	.. 5948	6829	6572	4601
0—4	.. 3521	3717	2860	2149
Total	.. 25974	32528	40568	38502

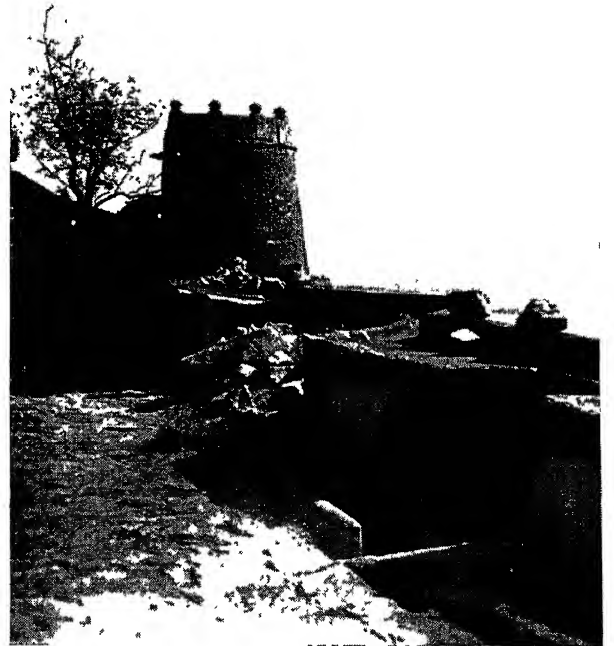
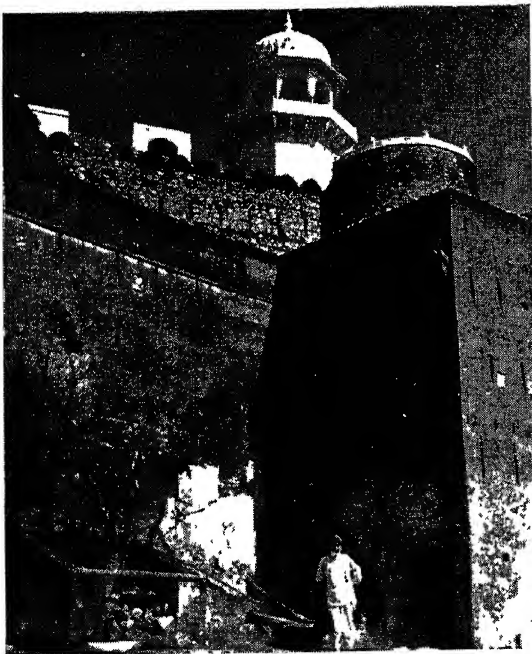
Apart, therefore, from moral aspects, the neo-Malthusian population policy if adopted in India may produce serious moral, social and even economic disintegration of consequences which today are the nightmare of European statesmen and economists. It is true that India has been seized more or less suddenly with a population problem. And the only reaction has been to attack its quantitative aspects sometimes quite irrespective of ethical considerations. But the qualitative factors are equally important as well as the modifications of external forces and circumstances economic and social which are powerfully contributing to the weakening of the standard of life. It is a problem that cannot be considered only in one aspect. It is a multiple problem demanding cool and careful study, a long view both of the past and the present and a mental attitude uninfluenced and undisturbed by panic and haste.

## THE CHARANS OF RAJPUTANA



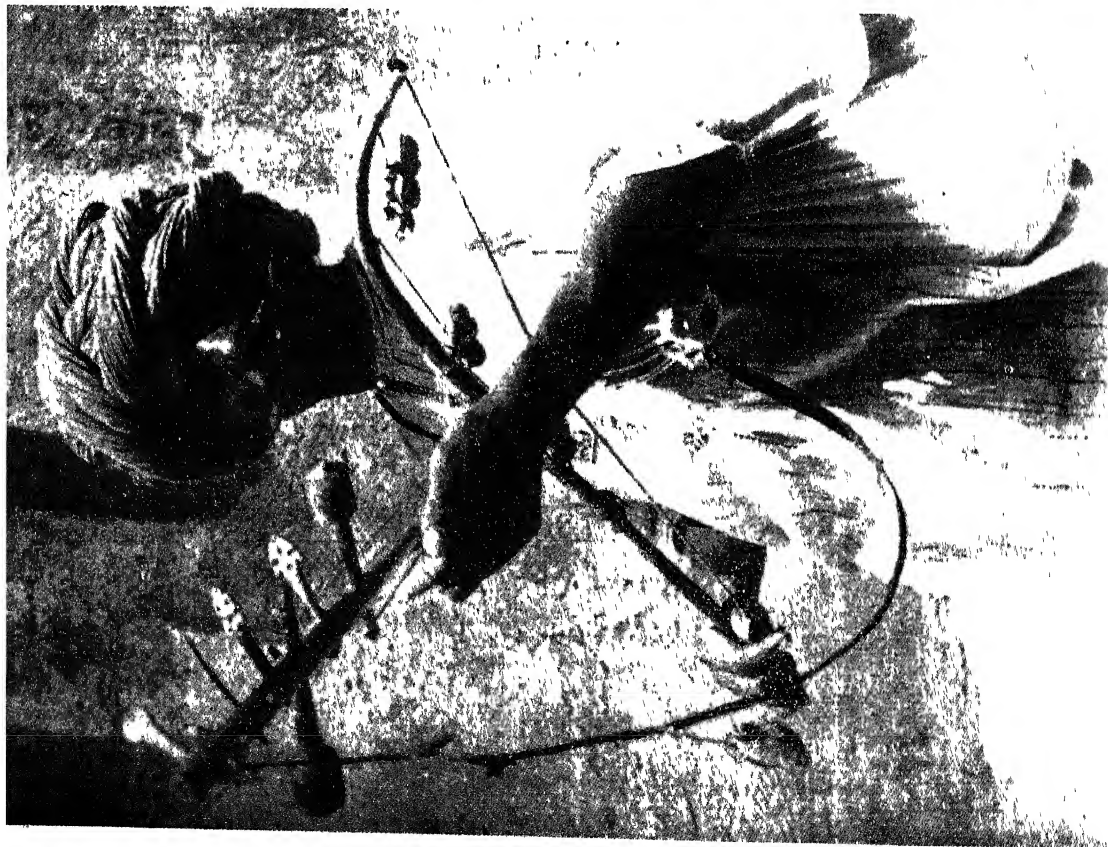
A Rajput  
Perhaps he dreams of the past history of his land

—R. R. Bhardwaj



Rajput Forts

—S. Bhatia



The wandering minstrel  
He sings of the past and of Rajput manlydom  
Songs of Rajput  
chivalry dear to the people, again and again come to his lips



The Charan today  
—*Jayantilal Parekh*  
“The Rajput war-poetry is a widow now,” he sings, “the great Maru Rag to which she was wedded is no more alive”



## THE CHARANS OF RAJPUTANA

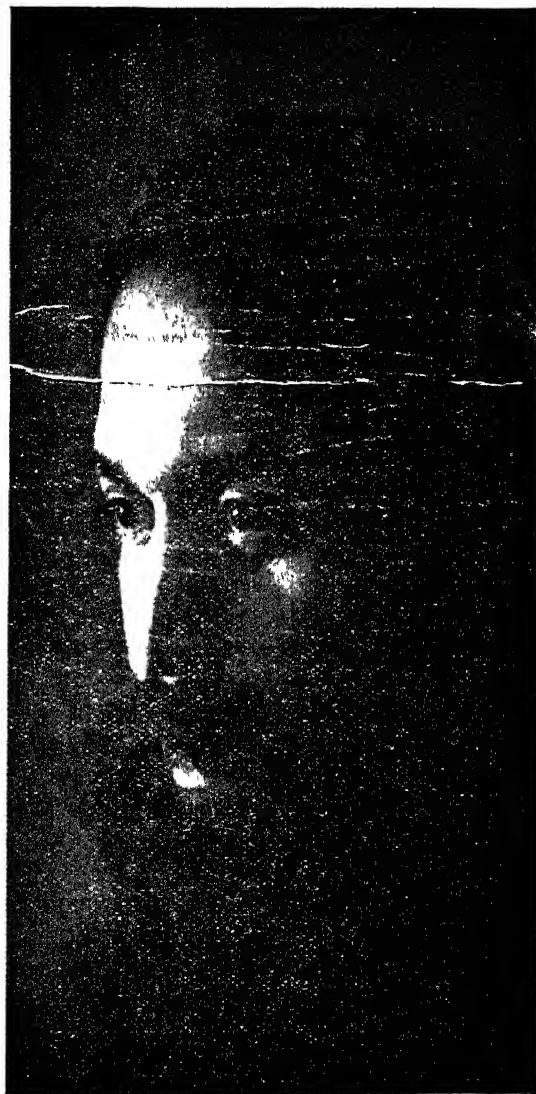
By DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

THE sense of race was strong in the Rajput bard, the singer of heroic *Doochas*, who called himself Chāran. "One who sympathizes and inspires is a Chāran" the etymologist would tell. The Chāran was undoubtedly such a one.

The origin of the Chārans, however, is not an easy problem of history. It seems probable that the tenth century A.D., found them scattered in various parts of North India, and that round about Kanauj, their favourite centre, they had rich colonies. Then came a time when the Chārans from far and near rushed to Sind, where in a village, called Chalkana, a Chāran of Sauva clan, was going to be a victim of tyranny at the hands of Hammir Soomra, the king of Sind. The name of that Chāran was Mammat, and his father, Mada, in his time, had captured the imagination of the Chāran race at large. The king saw Mammat's eldest daughter, Ubbatdevi, and fell in love with her at first sight. The king wanted her to be his bride, but her father refused to give her in marriage to him, saying: "My daughter will remain a virgin all her life, for my community calls her a goddess." And it was true. The Chārans had declared that Ubbatdevi, Mammat's daughter, was the incarnation of Mother Hinglaj<sup>1</sup> Ubbatdevi had six sisters: (1) Guli, (2) Huli or Hol, (3) Rekhyali or Rephli, (4) Ichha or Achhi, (5) Charchika or Chhachhi, (6) Laghvi or Langi or Khodiar: they all were incarnations, half or full, of Hinglaj, the Chārans believed. The king of Sind put their father in his prison, and all the sisters miraculously escaped. The youngest one went to *Tantaniadara*, a stream fourteen miles from Bhavnagar in Kathiawar, and the others, including the eldest one, reached the hill of *Temda*, fourteen miles from Jaisalmer in Rajputana. Soon came the downfall of Hammir Soomra's kingdom in Sind. The Samma Kshatriyas got it.

1. The time of Hinglaj, the premier Charan goddess, is approximately the ninth century A. D. The Charans have many goddesses, and when they say, *Nou Lakh Lovadial* (nine lacs of goddesses every one wearing a *Lovadi*, or a woollen Sari), they really mean it. And all the goddesses are said to be half or full incarnations of Mother Hinglaj alone.

Later on Kathiawar, Kachh and Rajputana became the chief centres of the Chārans. The Rajputana Chārans came to be known as *Maru* (lit of Marwar), the Kachh Chārans called themselves *Kachhela* or *Parjia*. In Kathiawar



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they became *Sorthia*. One of their off-shoots was the *Tumbel*; it was called rather 'half Chāran'. Others did not accept water or food from their hands. By and by their customs differed from each other according to the countries they made their homes.



Rajputana became a *Tirath Kshetra* (holy place) to all the Chārāns, and many members of their community living in far-off places came as pilgrims to the seat of Ubbat-devi. And many of the pilgrims settled down in Rajputana at different times. They love Rajputana so much.

And then came the fourteenth century; on its heels came bloody warfare. Ranthambor Fort had already passed into the hands of Alauddin. Chittor Fort, too, went. Padmini, the queen of Bhim Singh, burned herself alive, along with many other Rajput women: it was their *Jauhar*. It was their last resort; they valued their honour and for it they sacrificed themselves: and thereby they inspired their men to wear yellow clothes and face the enemy heroically, rather desperately. The Chāran saw all this before his eyes. In his heart of hearts, Mother Hinglaj spoke to him: "Why are you silent, my son? My daughter, Padmini, and many other daughters of mine have played their part well in the *Jauhar*. O! why not sing of war, my son?" Every night he saw Mother Hinglaj in his dreams and every night she repeated the same words.

And there he was with his heroic Doohas: tiny, little songs sung to the great *Maru Rag*: songs of hard realities of life; songs which the Chāran loved, which everybody loved. Soon came Rana Hammir Singh on the scene, and he resumed possession of Chittor Fort. The Rajputs rejoiced. The Chāran stood and watched the scene with the eyes of an artist. Mother Hinglaj patted him on his back. He had sung successfully. The war for honour and freedom went on for centuries. It was not always a victory for the Rajputs. Sometimes they were defeated. They suffered much. The Raj family of Mewar always yearned for a united front. But it was not possible—some of the Rajput chiefs had given way. The Mewar Raj, however, did not lose ground for hundreds of years. And as the intoxication of offering their lives at the altar of freedom grew upon the heroes, the Rajput war-poetry<sup>2</sup> leaped

into life. Every song spoke of generations of brave swordsmen, who gave their everything to the cause of freedom—their bodies and souls, their hearts, their thoughts.

The Chārāns as a race were not all bards. Many of them were cattle-breeders; and they raised their huts in the forests, every little colony called *Nes*. Say what one may, the Chāran, even as a herdsman, helped the cause of war. He raised cows and horses of fine breeds. His one consolation was that he

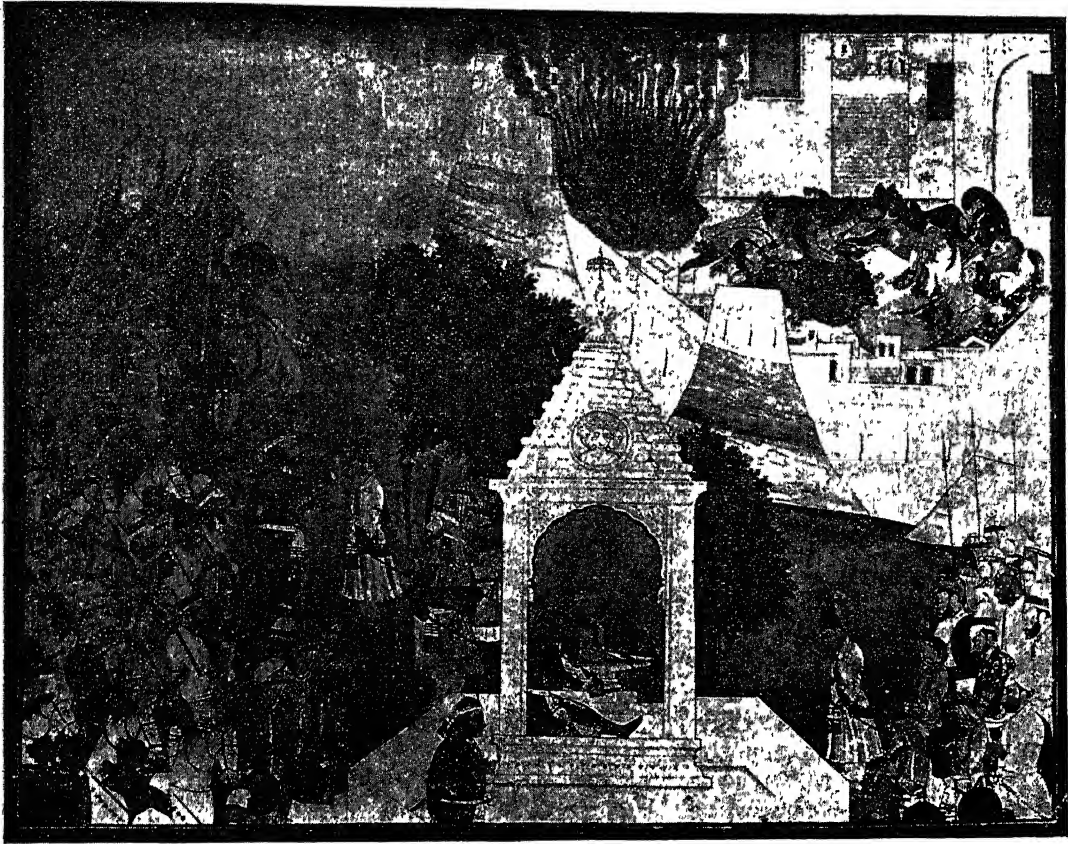


The Udaisagar Lake at Udaipur

supplied pure milk and *ghee* to the heroes, and that he produced mettlesome horses and mares. Sometimes the Chāran took to the work of a *Banjara*, or travelling tradesman; and with his loaded bullock, he went from village to village.

2. Rabindranath Tagore, *Speech before the Rajasthan Research Society*, Calcutta, Feb. 18, 1937: "The *Bhakti* literature we find in every province. Everywhere the poets sang of Radha and Krishna in a key of their own. But the literature that Rajasthan created out of her blood is unique. And it is not without reason. The Rajput bards sang extempore to the war-drum, facing the hard reality of life. It was the dance of nature, like Siva's *Tandav*, that they saw before them. Can someone today create that type of poetry through imagination? The heroic sentiment and emotion, enshrined in every little song of Rajasthani language, is the original

asset of Rajasthan, and the pride of India at large. It is spontaneous, sincere and nearer to nature. My friend, Kshitimohan Sen, introduced me to Hindi poetry. Today I have got a new thing. These stirring songs give me quite a new approach to literature. Many a time have I heard that the Charans sang and roused the heroes. Today I have listened to the age-old poems of the Charan. They have a force even today. India awaits a well-edited volume of the poetry of the Charan." (Translated from Bengali.)



#### The Jauhar

Hamir, a brave Chittor chief, fought with and defeated Allauddin, but as he was returning with his army triumphantly, the ladies in his fort mistook it for the enemy host and rather than be taken captive they threw themselves into a burning pyre to save their honour

[From an old illuminated MS of *Hamir-Nath*, through the kind courtesy of Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Director of Archaeology, Baroda State.]

Most probably he kept daggers, swords and shields, too, for sale and got many a right moment to contribute some weapons to some of the poor, honorary soldiers. The Chārans at large were always landholders, and while in prosperity they took a special care to give gifts to the *Kulaguru* (the family preceptor, always a Brahmin) who preserved their lineage-accounts and certain other people whom he called friends.

And every now and then the cattle-breeder Chāran, too, produced a son who could make new songs. Poetry was in his blood. The whole neighbourhood rejoiced when a new poet appeared on the scene: his mother got congratulations from her kith and kin; the father was congratulated separately. Every now and then the sisters smiled and laughed and joked, calling their brother *Kaviraj* (lit. poet laureate).

The Chāran's person was sacred. He was

never given capital punishment, whatever his crime. The nation wanted him for many more songs. The great range of his genius impressed the Rajput Chiefs, and he was always at liberty to say anything he liked, even before the king, who took pride in patronizing him. The Chāran's first impulse was to acknowledge the gifts, the king bestowed on him, but he never suffered from "inferiority complex". The royal patronage came to him as the dew comes to the flower. As every Rajput mother's son was expected to be a swordsman, ever ready to fight for the freedom of his country heroically, so was the Chāran expected to spread the gospel of honour and freedom through the length and breadth of Rajputana. And when it was a war to the knife, the Chāran, too, took hold of sword and shield to do his bit. It is a pity that Rajput history today cannot give a full list of Chārans who rose to distinction.

Rajput war-poetry was never the monopoly of the Chāran. Some of the Rajput Chiefs and kings contributed to it. Men and women both sang extempore; women, perhaps, sang more and with a greater force. The Chāran put many of his songs into woman's mouth; woman, in her turn, composed her own songs, too. The people generally took to *Doochas*: other metres were rare. The *Doocha* metre, in its original form, belonged to the people. The people sang of love between man and woman before the fourteenth century, and now when war was declared every now and then, the main theme of the *Doocha* was heroism.

The Chāran's wife, perhaps, had her own role; she was a helping hand to the womenfolk in their song contests. None actually claimed authorship. They shared each other's creations, as they shared each other's smiles and tears. Every Rajput woman, as she roused her husband to go to the battlefield, wove a new *Doocha*. The new recruits in the creation of heroic poetry looked to the Chāran for revision and improvement of their compositions.

The songs were not generally recorded. There are no references in the songs to the Chāran keeping always a notebook with his texts put down in black and white. Had it been a tradition to preserve every line of

heroic verse, it could have been possible today to prepare an encyclopædia of Rajput heroism. The *Doochas*, old or new, only lived in memory. The text of a *Doocha* was not fixed. It varied with each individual singer. Nor did it attain at once its final form. New songs came to being with every new battle. Their authorship passed into oblivion; the sex of the original author, too, was not known. The song, in which woman spoke, did not always indicate its origin from woman; it was a fashion with the *Doocha*-singers to put many of their songs into the mouth of woman. In some cases, the final form of a *Doocha* had one line from one sex and the second from the other.

The Chāran accompanied the soldiers to the battlefield with a flag of his own. While singing, he became a new man. Poetry flowed from his lips like a stream. All the Chārans, who made poetry, might have been cast from the same mould so similar were their traditions and ideals and views. Everything they had, their bodies, their hearts, their souls, belonged to Rajputana; they wanted it to remain free, always free.

[My sincere thanks are due to Sri Raghunath Prasad Singhanian and Sri Bhagvatiprasad Bisen, the founders of the Rajasthan Research Society at Calcutta, for helping me in the study of the Charans and their poetry.—*Author.*]

## ROMANCE OF COTTON INDUSTRY IN JAPAN

By M. V. DANI, B. com.

A TINY, little island country, in the Far East, hardly known by the world about 90 years ago, with a primitive form of economic activities and a primitive form of political control, emerged out of its hundreds of years of slumber, at the sight of Commodore Perry's ships, and began to view the world in a new light. The outworn institutions of feudal regime began to crumble down. Mr. S. Uyebara gives a graphic description of the state of affairs at this time. In his book *The Industry and Trade of Japan*, he says that:

"It was a time when the extremely distressed economic conditions of the country gave a momentum. The deterioration of nobles and the moral decay of the upper class were at a climax. Farmers especially were reduced to absolute misery and poverty owing to excessive taxation and their slavish position. There was then

no equality and freedom, no complete safety of life and property. Great barriers divided the classes. The common people had to kneel and bow so low as to touch their foreheads on the ground whenever they met a procession of feudal lords. The commoners had no right of appeal against unlawfulness, inhumanity and tyranny of classes higher in the social scale. It was not an uncommon thing for them to be whipped if they failed to pay heavy taxes. Bad harvests occurred in succession and plague often visited the country during the distressed period."

Awakened from this state the nation began to follow in the footsteps of the civilised Western nations, and comparatively in a very short time became marvel of the world. The Yamato race, supposed to have a slow understanding power, began studying things steadily and in a short spell of time made such a sure progress in all its economic, political, cultural

and social activities that it began to command respect from the foremost nations of the world.

The key industries of Japan's foreign trade are textiles, which constitute about half of her exports, cotton goods top the list even though Japan has to import all her raw cotton from foreign countries. This is the present position of the country in the cotton industry. The industry was absolutely in a primitive form till a little before Meiji era, *i.e.*, 1862 A.D. Cotton was not a local product in Japan till 789 A.D., in which year seeds were brought from the continent of Asia. However till 1554 A.D., there is no record of cotton cloth being manufactured in the country. After this period cotton cloth became clothing material of ordinary people also. Long contact of the people with the silk weaving industry had given them necessary skill for the manufacture of cotton yarn and cloth. Still all these processes were carried on by hand till 1862. In that year Prince Nariakira Shimizu of Satsuma clan in Kyuyushu became interested in modern machinery of producing cotton yarn. Before his plans were matured he died. His desire was fulfilled by his son Yoshimitsu in 1867, by establishing a mill at Kagoshima. The lord started another mill at Sakai, near Osaka as he found that the first one was established at a disadvantage as regards the supply of raw material. A third mill was started by Mampai Kashima, a merchant with the government help in 1872. In this manner there was a slow progress in the industry. Dissatisfied by this slow rate the government began to encourage the spinning industry more actively and directly. They offered to import units of 2,000 spindles and sell them to the people on ten years time, without interest and to send technical experts to teach the operatives in different mills. Model government mills were established in different parts of the country. More units of 2,000 spindles were ordered and mills were established at Hyogi, Osaka, Nara, Okayama, Miye, Yamanashi, Shizuoka, Tohigi and Miyagi. The governors of the prefectures were instructed to encourage people to take interest in the new industry. Later on these government mills were leased or sold to private parties. Various type of state help was given to foster the new industry. Foreign experts were engaged. Young men from Japan were sent to various countries in Europe and America to have first-hand industrial and technical education. The industry began to make rapid progress. The position in 1894, *i.e.*, before the first Sino-Japanese war was as follows:

Years	Companies	Mills	Total Spindles.
1866	.. 1	1	5,456
1871	.. 2	2	7,456
1872	.. 3	3	8,204
1879	.. 4	4	10,204
1880	.. 5	5	12,204
1881	.. 7	7	16,204
1882	.. 13	13	28,204
1883	.. 16	16	43,704
1884	.. 19	19	49,704
1885	.. 22	22	59,704
1886	.. 22	22	71,604
1889	.. 28	28	215,190
1890	.. 30	30	277,895
1891	.. 36	36	353,980
1892	.. 39	39	385,314
1893	.. 40	40	381,781
1894	.. 45	45	530,074

In early days Japanese cotton was used; but later on as the industry began to grow it was found desirable to use foreign cotton. During this period consumption of imported cotton increased from Y170,639 in 1880 to Y19,610,760 in 1894. The relative position of yarn was as follows:

Years	Production	Imports	Total	Exports	Used in Japan
1868	1,500	12,196	13,696	..	13,696
1871	1,983	26,561	28,544	..	28,544
1872	2,182	43,446	45,648	..	45,648
1879	2,714	78,571	81,285	..	81,285
1880	3,246	95,324	98,570	..	98,570
1881	4,310	92,421	96,731	..	96,731
1882	7,502	84,324	91,826	..	91,826
1883	11,625	82,135	93,760	..	93,760
1884	13,221	70,683	83,844	..	83,844
1885	15,881	71,385	87,206	..	87,206
1886	15,568	82,101	97,669	..	97,669
1889	67,046	142,703	209,749	..	209,749
1890	104,839	106,361	211,200	31	211,169
1891	144,980	57,792	202,772	108	202,664
1892	204,950	81,028	285,978	109	285,869
1893	214,758	64,684	279,442	1,051	278,389
1894	292,400	53,143	345,543	11,796	333,747

(in bales of 400 lbs.)

Till 1890 the industry made quite a satisfactory progress. During the next three years production and exports increased and imports began to diminish. Sino-Japanese war gave a momentum and there was increase in new mills. More capital was invested in buying new machinery and in extending already existing concerns. This period did not last for a long time. As a reaction the industry again began to suffer. Due to acute financial stringency many mills were closed down. There was a danger of widespread collapse in the industry. This would have affected the general economic structure of the nation a great deal. The government stepped in to remedy the situation. In 1896 the State established Hypothec Bank

of Japan, for the purpose of advancing long term loans, at a low rate of interest. This bank was ordered to extend extraordinary help to the industries that were in financial trouble, especially the textile industry, and to issue debentures. For this purpose ¥5,000,000 were kept at the disposal of the bank and was asked to proceed carefully, in order not to cause undue inflation and to prevent the industries helped from relying too much on the state help. The loans extended in 1898 were 2,371,000 yen. Conditions improved and the next year was found somewhat prosperous by the spinning mills. The period between 1899 and 1903 saw many amalgamations of spinning mills. Number of mills which were started after the Sino-Japanese war began to compete with each other. Mills having insufficient working capital began to suffer a great deal. This condition became acute when money market was further tight. Many means were tried to remedy the situation without any avail. Ultimately it was found desirable to amalgamate with sound concerns. This amalgamation increased number of spindles and operatives under a few heads, which could effect improvement to bring down the cost of production.

However the so-called Golden Era of the industry was found from 1904 to 1907, i.e., from the Russo-Japanese war. The war operations gave a good chance for the mills to extend their operations. The successive victory in the war opened new markets. The mills experienced a great boom and made huge profits. 11 new weaving mills, including spinning also, were started at a nominal capital of 21,500,000 yen. Twelve mills increased their capital by 11,269,950 yen. Three mills issued debentures for improvements and additions amounting to 950,000 yen. Various mills planned increases which they could effect later on. The following table shows the situation at this stage since the Sino-Japanese war:

Years	Companies	Mills	Total Spindles	Imported raw cotton consumption	Average daily working spindles
1895	47	47	580,945	24,822,097	518,736
1896	61	61	757,196	32,573,352	692,384
1897	65	74	970,567	43,620,214	768,328
1898	74	77	1,146,749	45,744,371	1,027,817
1899	78	83	1,189,929	62,210,717	1,170,327
1900	79	80	1,267,872	59,471,629	1,144,027
1901	66	81	1,295,598	60,650,362	1,181,762
1902	56	80	1,352,948	79,784,771	1,301,118
1903	51	76	1,381,306	69,518,110	1,290,347
1904	49	74	1,345,585	73,420,386	1,306,198
1905	49	78	1,426,594	110,623,183	1,402,931
1906	47	83	1,472,353	82,661,859	1,441,934
1907	42	83	1,540,452	115,641,599	1,500,579

The position of yarn manufacture and trade was as follows :

Years	Production	Imports	Total	Exports	Used in Japan
1895	366,689	48,637	415,326	11,786	403,550
1896	401,614	66,713	468,327	43,249	425,078
1897	511,236	53,636	564,872	140,116	424,756
1898	644,504	53,099	697,603	229,445	468,158
1899	757,315	27,369	784,684	341,203	443,481
1900	645,432	30,170	675,602	208,333	466,269
1901	660,590	19,982	680,491	209,172	471,319
1902	770,853	8,993	779,846	197,481	582,365
1903	801,738	3,539	805,277	307,201	498,076
1904	695,212	1,792	697,004	257,307	439,697
1905	905,536	7,405	912,986	267,383	645,603
1906	945,165	18,843	964,008	267,348	696,662
1907	983,482	5,952	989,434	226,472	762,962

(in bales of 400 lbs. each.)

Again after this boom period depression prevailed. Mushroom concerns failed. More amalgamations took place. Due to increase of many other concerns money market was tight. Value of several industrial shares declined. However the spinning and weaving industry, on the whole, did not suffer so much. Curtailment in production was adopted. The condition of spinning and weaving mills at this period was far better than that of previous periods of depression. The huge profits earned during the last boom enabled the industry to write off large amounts for depreciation and to create sound reserves, which were made use of in bad years. From 1912 things began to improve. The last Great World War was a blessing from the heaven for the Japanese industries in general and cotton industry in particular. The wealth accumulated during this period put the Japanese economic activities on sound basis. Describing the importance of this situation Mr. Arno Pearse rightly observes that Japan entered in earnest the world's market at a most opportune time, when the great war suddenly opened up to her markets which would have taken years to conquer under normal conditions.

It was a great opportunity for the development of industries. Japan took full advantage of it. Mr. Cunningham says that not only did Japanese manufacturers find themselves freed from competition in their main market, China, but owing to the incapacity of England and other regular suppliers to meet the demand they were enabled to build up a great trade in substitute goods with markets such as India, Netherland Indies, South America, Africa, and other countries to which they had not previously found entry. Mr. J. Orchard tracing the importance of all the previous wars along with the great war



says that wars and the fear of wars have played an important part in bringing Japanese manufacturing industries to their present state of development. Industrialisation was begun as a weapon against possible aggression from a foreign nation, and each of the three wars in which Japan was engaged in modern period, the war with China in 1894-95, Russo-Japanese war in 1904-5 and the World War, was a powerful stimulus to industrial expansion. The following figures will enable to have an idea of the steady development in the cotton industry till the post-war period.

Years	Companies	Mills	Total spindles	Daily average working spindles	Imported raw cotton consumption Y.
1914	42	157	2,657,174	2,369,800	220,496,000
1915	41	161	2,807,514	2,463,376	218,502,000
1916	40	161	2,875,904	2,757,299	277,572,000
1917	43	170	3,060,478	2,850,637	334,679,000
1918	43	177	3,227,678	2,936,495	522,632,000
1919	54	190	3,488,262	3,179,568	674,562,000
1920	56	198	3,813,580	3,191,753	727,365,000

The position of yarn production and trade was follows :

Years	Production	Imports	Total	Exports	Used in Japan
1914	1,666,181	607	1,666,788	569,990	1,096,798
1915	1,720,264	588	1,720,852	575,891	1,144,961
1916	1,925,579	660	1,926,239	547,147	1,379,092
1917	1,923,841	904	1,924,745	470,852	1,453,893
1918	1,803,866	1,088	1,804,954	421,512	1,383,442
1919	1,920,782	8,907	1,929,689	230,333	1,699,356
1920	1,816,976	5,121	1,822,097	304,925	1,517,172

(in bales of 400 lbs. each.)

There was a remarkable development in the exports of piecegoods particularly in war years as can be seen from the following figures :

1903	..	Y. 6,874,947	1917	..	Y. 148,108,352
1907	..	Y. 16,344,097	1918	..	Y. 268,640,465
1914	..	Y. 43,403,410	1919	..	Y. 351,195,333
1915	..	Y. 47,899,898	1920	..	Y. 352,173,295
1916	..	Y. 73,173,460			—

The condition of the weaving side of the members of the Japan Cotton Spinners Association, which constitutes a major portion of Japan's cotton industry, for the same period was as follows :

Years	Average working looms	Male	Female	Total workers
1903	.. 4,963	657	4,253	4,910
1907	.. 9,225	1,525	8,727	10,252
1914	.. 24,911	3,569	22,459	26,028
1915	.. 27,687	3,547	22,930	26,477
1916	.. 30,110	3,737	23,245	26,982
1917	.. 31,920	4,333	24,434	28,767
1918	.. 38,073	5,735	30,997	36,732
1919	.. 41,469	7,635	37,040	44,675
1920	.. 44,635	8,005	39,048	47,055

Even today one curious aspect of Japan's cotton industry is that all the spinning is carried on by big members of the Japan Cotton Spinners Association. However, that is not the case with weaving. It is considered that about half the cotton fabrics are woven in small weaving sheds and by handlooms. Due to their small unit and scattered nature it is very difficult to get their exact statistics. The above figures give only a partial idea about the looms owned by the spinning mills and labour engaged for the purpose of weaving. I have just given the figures to show as to how the influence of the great war was also felt by the weaving side of the big spinning mills. There was considerable increase among the operatives in the big spinning side also.

Years	Male	Female	Total
1903	.. 14,314	59,365	73,679
1907	.. 15,242	64,377	79,619
1914	.. 22,163	92,251	114,414
1915	.. 22,674	92,500	115,174
1916	.. 23,845	97,279	121,124
1917	.. 25,518	97,648	123,166
1918	.. 26,790	95,069	121,859
1919	.. 30,935	101,399	132,334
1920	.. 33,966	109,782	143,748

After the restoration of peace Japan's cotton industry suffered with those of other countries from the post-war depression. The export of Japan's cotton goods to the war time markets fell off a great deal. However this depression was not keenly felt by the industry as a whole as sufficient provisions were made for the bad years. The fact is well proved that in spite of the terrible disaster of earthquake in 1923, in which cotton industry suffered a great deal, marked progress was witnessed in 1925. In this year record figures were reached in the production of cotton textiles, which, considering the difficulties faced by the cotton industry of other nations of the world must be regarded as real achievement. From this year till 1930 there was a sort of a lull in the progress of the industry. On the other-hand depression was experienced till 1931. Various means were tried to get over the situation. Rationalisation was adopted and it was thoroughly practised in all the branches of the industry. Gold embargo and the subsequent exchange depreciation helped to recover its position. The Manchurian incident and Japan's success therein created a vast market. Once more steady progress was maintained since 1932 which is continuing even today.



Years	Companies	Mills	Total spindles	Looms	Daily average working spindles	Average work- ing looms¹	
1925	..	54	230	5,185,632	68,160	4,669,753	62,976
1930	..	62	251	7,045,029	75,657	5,897,894	65,169
1931	..	61	252	7,375,978	74,138	5,904,343	64,392
1932	..	63	257	7,848,494	76,591	6,307,884	68,028
1933	..	61	260	8,525,222	83,687	6,737,621	73,966
1934	..	62	264	9,325,594	87,033	7,502,504	79,630
1935	..	60	263	10,330,452	89,664	8,197,422	82,397
1936	..	71	276	11,975,584	95,813	8,392,024	85,974

The position of yarn and the consumption of imported raw cotton for the same period was as follows:

Years		Production	Imports	Total	Exports	Used in Japan	Imported raw cotton in Y.
1925	..	2,436,783	3,641	2,440,424	310,801	2,129,623	923,355,000
1930	..	2,524,699	9,052	2,533,751	59,616	2,474,135	362,047,000
1931	..	2,567,133	115,533	2,682,666	31,724	2,650,942	296,273,000
1932	..	2,810,437	28,586	2,839,023	89,604	2,749,419	447,401,000
1933	..	3,099,856	58,966	3,158,822	48,307	3,110,515	604,847,000
1934	..	3,472,442	54,518	3,526,960	64,844	3,462,116	731,425,000
1935	..	3,560,832	17,938	3,578,770	96,582	3,482,188	714,262,000
1936	..	3,607,458	14,449	3,621,907	110,524	3,511,383	850,451,000
(in bales of 400 lbs. each)							

(in bales of 400 lbs. each)

The position of exports of cotton piece-goods was as follows:

1925	..	Y.432,850,421	1933	..	Y.383,215,392
1930	..	Y.272,116,781	1934	..	Y.492,351,023
1931	..	Y.198,731,572	1935	..	Y.496,097,082
1932	..	Y.288,712,833	1936	..	Y.483,591,246

The increase in average working looms and operatives constituted as follows:

Years		Average work- ing looms	Male	Female	Total workers
1925	..	62,976	8,703	47,023	55,726
1930	..	65,169	7,396	27,956	35,352
1931	..	64,392	5,812	23,024	28,836
1932	..	68,028	5,379	25,015	30,394
1933	..	73,966	5,296	29,013	34,309
1934	..	79,630	5,245	30,709	35,954
1935	..	82,397	5,025	32,163	37,188
1936	..	85,974	4,788	33,671	38,459

The changes in the operatives of spinning industry were:

Years		Male	Female	Total workers
1925	..	39,221	134,383	173,604
1930	..	30,202	108,981	139,183
1931	..	23,661	98,008	121,669
1932	..	21,154	105,651	126,805
1933	..	19,295	110,128	129,423
1934	..	18,747	122,661	141,408
1935	..	18,640	133,899	152,539
1936	..	17,950	132,917	150,867

Years	Authorised capital	Paid up capital	Reserves (in Yens)	Fixed capital	Average rate of dividend
1889	.. —	7,499,525	—	—	—
1903	.. 38,555,400	34,029,216	5,123,892	—	—
1907	.. 90,036,300	57,731,125	20,883,730	44,478,855	20.6%
1914	.. 109,676,400	85,820,424	36,639,349	113,107,937	14.8%
1920	.. 394,327,650	276,535,896	165,697,053	187,263,695	37.4%
1925	.. 509,212,500	351,804,817	221,777,742	425,050,550	16.6%
1931	.. 509,364,750	380,555,292	240,686,976	563,380,826	8.9%
1936	.. 670,302,600	476,592,095	289,359,293	699,381,972	11.3%
1937 (June 30)	702,477,600	524,138,071	299,116,323	732,392,033	12.4%

(The figures of fixed capital in latter years are seen more than the paid up capital, they are naturally met out of debentures and debts.)

The present Sino-Japanese conflict has decidedly opened possibilities of a bright future for the industry. Due to the present war conditions and application of war time measures such as control of imports and exports and exchange the industry may be temporarily suffering from shortage of raw materials, etc. However the situation will be changed for the better when peace prevails. The picture of the phenomenal rise of the cotton industry will not be complete unless figures of investment in the industry and its further development are given. (See table below).

The total spindles at the end of 1937 were 13,474,102 and looms of the big spinning companies, who were members of the Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, were 104,666. The estimate of the total looms of the country at the end of the year 1934 were 376,704, as per returns of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

Thus the rise of Japan's cotton industry from primitivism to the acme of the modernism fills one with awe and admiration. From the position of an obscurity it has attained a position of foremost importance among the cotton industry of the world.



# Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspaper, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, address etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. —Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

**PRISON ANTHOLOGY:** Edited by A. G. Stock and Reginald Reynolds. With 9 illustrations. Jarrolds Publishers (London) Ltd., Paternoster House, Paternoster Row, E. C. 4. Price 12s. 6d. net. Demy Octavo, Pp. 292.

This singularly interesting and thought-provoking book has an introduction of 20 pages, and the prose pieces and poems included in it, written in prison, are divided into eleven sections, namely, On Prisoners and Prisons, General Criticism, Fact, Fiction, Defiance, Dock and Scaffold, Domestic, Religion, The Consolations of Philosophy, Complaint, and Miscellany; and are 176 in number. Their writers are almost as many. There are only three Indians among them, one being Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. His paper on "The Mind of a Judge," which is reproduced in the book, originally appeared in *The Modern Review*.

The "Who's Who" section tells the reader who the prisoners were whose writings make this volume so human. Many of them were or are eminent men and women. "It is natural that in every generation the most independent spirits should have clashed with the authority of the State. Hence great writers, religious and political leaders have often been among the jailbirds of their time; and from these and other prisoners, less famous but no less spirited, we might expect original and varied talent. The anthology does not disappoint this hope."

**PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND:** A Commentary. By Harold J. Laski. George Allen and Unwin, London. Demy 8vo. Pp. 453. Price 12s. 6d. net.

Among the living publicists of Britain Professor Laski perhaps is unsurpassed in his knowledge of the English parliamentary system. No man is better fitted to write a book on the British constitution than he. Readers will, therefore, be glad that he has produced this book, which is an up-to-date successor to Walter Bagehot's *English Constitution*. The author emphasizes in his preface that this book is not a formal description of the working of the parliamentary system in England, but, essentially, as its sub-title states, a commentary limited to certain aspects of its working. He has tried to deal with those aspects of its working which are most relevant to the pressing problems of our time. The problems are those which confront Great Britain as a parliamentary democracy and discusses the chances of their satisfactory solution.

The introduction, which occupies 58 pages, is very important. It begins by discussing why Great Britain's system of representative government has been more conti-

nuous and successful than any other elsewhere. He considers it unsatisfactory to attribute it to some special British genius for the difficult art of self-government.

The body of the book deals with the Party System, the House of Lords, the House of Commons, the Cabinet, the Civil Service, Parliament and the Judiciary and the Monarchy.

The provincial governments in India are at present run on the model of the British parliamentary system. If and when Federated India becomes an actuality, the Federation also will most probably be worked on the British parliamentary model. If *Purna Swaraj* is attained, that is, if India becomes fully independent and ceases to be a part of the British Empire or the British Commonwealth of Nations, there will be no monarchy. But even then substantially the British parliamentary system is likely to be followed. Hence Indian publicists and students should become acquainted with the merits and defects of that system as pointed out in Professor Laski's judiciously and impartially written book.

**THE LETTER OF AN OLD BOLSHEVIK:** A Key to the Moscow Trials. George Allen & Unwin, London. Price 2s. net.

The title of this book is self-explanatory.

"What mystifies the world is the manner in which the Old Bolshevik guard has been disposed of, their conduct and 'confessions' at the Moscow trials, and the nature of the new phase in the Communist dictatorship which the executions have symbolized." It is claimed for this book that it will help the reader to understand not only the trials themselves, but the entire character of the present phase in Russia, the conduct of the accused and Stalin's objectives.

**THE LITTLE CLAY CART:** Translated anew from the Sanskrit with Introduction and Notes. By Revilo Pendleton Oliver. Published by the University of Illinois, Urbana Illinois, U. S. A., 1938. Price \$2.50. Super-royal 8vo. Pp. 250. Printed very clearly on thick and fine antique paper.

This new translation of *Mrichchhakatika*, a Sanskrit drama in ten acts attributed to King Sudraka, is prefaced by a long and scholarly introduction. The work contains an Appendix comprising seventeen sections.

In the Introduction the translator gives the reader much recondite information relating to the Author, the poet Bhasa, the date of Sudraka, the text, the commentaries, translations, this particular translation, and transliteration and pronunciation. He says that he has tried to restrict the notes to a minimum and to include in them nothing that is not necessary to an accurate understanding of the text.

In the Appendix he treats of The Gods of Brahmanism, The Orthodox Philosophies, The Heretical Philosophies, The Caste System, The Four Stages of Life, The *asvamedha* Sacrifice, Suicide, Charudatta's Social Status, Gambling, The "Gambler's Circle," Ordeals, Erotology, The Hetaerae, The Prakrits, Authenticity of the Plays attributed to Bhasa, Bhasa's Play, and Aryaka. It is not possible in a brief notice like the present one to comment on the translator's observations in the Appendix. They are interesting and thought-provoking.

He holds that *The Little Clay Cart* is apparently a *refacimento* of an earlier drama by Bhasa, of which four acts are now extant.

The translation reads well and is easily understood.

The translator points out some differences between this drama and the dramas of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti:

1. Four of the six plays of the latter are frankly based on preternatural forces. The superhuman does not appear in *The Little Clay Cart*.

2. In the former's works human characters are of exalted rank. In them we see nothing of the ruined gentlemen, courtesans, gamblers, inhabitants of the demi-monde, and outcasts who are responsible for much of the realism of *The Little Clay Cart*.

3. The plays of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti are primarily poetic, rather than dramatic. *The Little Clay Cart* is written in a style that is simple and direct, so that, in comparison, it seems attenuated and pedestrian.

4. In the former the emphasis on poetry, rather than dramaturgy, led to a corresponding weakness in plot. Although poetic ornament is used in *The Little Clay Cart* quite freely, this element is always subordinated and made to conform to the dramatic structure of the play.

5. This drama does not present *dramatis personae* familiar to Indian audiences; the characters are drawn from strata of society, seldom represented in serious drama, and each character has a definite personality of his own.

6. It does not conform to some of the rules laid down in the treatises on dramatic theory; e.g., the hero does not appear in every act, and neither his name, nor that of the heroine appears in the title of the play.

D.

#### SARDESAI COMMEMORATION VOLUME :

Edited by S. R. Tikekar. Published by Keshav Bhujaji Dhaawali Girgaon. Bombay, 1933. Pages 318. Price Rs. 6.

Rao Bahadur Govinda Sakharan Sardesai is universally acknowledged as the foremost authority on Maratha history. His *Marathi Riyasat* in nine volumes embodying a complete history of the rise, expansion and fall of the Maratha power and the editing by him of 45 volumes of "Selections from the Peshwa Daftar," from out of 27,000 bundles of Maratha MSS. justly entitle him to the honour and gratitude of his countrymen. A prophet, however, says the adage, is not honoured in his own country; we are therefore all the more glad to find that the services of G. S. Sardesai to the cause of Marhatha history were appreciated by the people of his own province.

The volume under review embodies contributions by scholars from all parts of India and is also enriched by the writings of a few English scholars too, e.g., H. G. Rawlinson, Charles A. Kincaid and Edward Thompson. The dissertations contained in this volume relate mainly to Indian History, but treat of other subjects too, such as the Rastrapala Nataka of Aswaghosh, the caste-name Gaviti, etc.

Amongst the contributions, mention may be made first of Sir Jadunath's (1) Mahadji Sindhia's Lalsot Campaign, (2) the Earliest Persian Account of the Panipat Campaign, 1761, both of which are of unsurpassed interest. On Panipat Campaign, there are two other interesting papers—(1) fragments of a Bhao-ballad in Hindi, which make a few incidents of war alive before our eyes by the charm and vigour of the bold narrative and (2) the other entitled, the Maratha-Afghan diplomatic tussle on the eve of Panipat, gives many illuminating details of the pourparlers that were carried on by the Durrani Chief and the Maratha C-in-C Sadasiv Rao Bhau, to win over Shujaudullah, the Nawab of Oudh. The statements, however, that the Oudh Chief looked upon Najib and not the Marathas as his rivals, and the contention made that Shujaudullah was not alienated by the Maratha policy of "loot, enslavement and horror" and was induced to join the Durrani Chief "by Najib's tact, diplomacy, and personal influence" are not at all convincing. The writer seems to have lent undue weight to Najib's tact, particularly on his pan-Islamic appeal, but it is clear that though the appeal provoked a blunt outburst from the Oudh Chief he did not immediately espouse "the cause of Islam" but bided some time, and "deliberated over the pros and cons for two or three days." It would, therefore, be more reasonable to hold that the graver and weightier consideration of self-interest (described on page 275, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II) and not the cry of "Islam in danger" nor Najib's suavity of speech and melo-dramatic action (by placing his neck under the Nawab's dagger), induced the wavering Nawab to cast in his lot with the Durrani Chief.

Among other articles, incorporated in this volume, particular interest attaches to Rev. H. Heras' "The plastic representation of God amongst the Proto-Indians." This paper is a very erudite attempt to establish the worship of An, the supreme Lord, by the people of Mahenjodaro, but his reading of the pictograph writing and identification of images on the seals with An may be easily questioned. Space does not permit us to make comments separately on each of the articles, but we have no hesitation in stating that almost all the articles are well-written, and throw new light on the topics they deal with. There is, however, one contribution "Indian Theory of the Universal State" which leaves much to be desired. The statements made herein are not only grotesque, but betray a curious form of historical sense, e.g. "the Empires of Ram and Ravana are greater than the Roman empire," p. 179, "such a great hero of India (Udayan) deserves a place in World History" p. 185. "A federation of the Asiatic world . . . was established by Yudhistira." . . . p. 186, etc. One or two dark spots however do not diminish in any way the merit of the volume which, we are sure, will be prized by all lovers of history. The volume fittingly concludes with a charming sketch of Sardesai's life and work by Sir Jadunath which will be read with intense interest by all from start to finish.

We commend this volume to all serious students of history, and though there are a few misprints here and there, (pp. 72, and 255), we heartily congratulate the editor Shripada R. Tikekar in bringing out this commemoration volume.

N. B. RAY

GREAT TRADE ROUTE—A SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY: By Ford Madox Ford. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Price 12s. 6d.

Mr. Madox Ford is a well-known writer. I have, therefore, given some time to the understanding of his

book. I took it up with the hope that it would allow me an easy glide like the other sentimental journey, its Eighteenth Century predecessor, but unfortunately I could not get any sense before I attacked it for the third time and this time I began the assault backwards. Obviously it is the story of a voyage from the East to the West, from Europe to America and from New York down to the deep south of America and back from there to Europe via Gibraltar. But in reality it is a humorous description of the experiences and emotions of the author—his own reactions to the world he has found himself in; the travel is merely a peg on which to hang them. He touches upon amusing anecdotes and incidents in the right Shandean fashion. I cannot speak for his English and American readers, but to the average Indian he will seem rather obscure. There are lots of intimate things, not familiar to us, on which much of his humour turns, and therefore, they are as good as lost on us. Though discursive in treatment, the central theme of the book can be guessed from the author's antipathy to the machine age and dictatorship. He does not liquidate them however by lining them up against the wall and turning the machine gun on them, but by showing them up. It is doubtful however if the world will listen to him in the present state of circumstances.

**THOUGHT AND IMAGINATION IN ART AND LIFE:** By Katherine M. Wilson, M.A., Ph.D., (Cantab). George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Price 7s. 6d. net.

This is a book of essays in which the author approaches her questions from the standpoint of a modern mystic, relying on no authorities of the past, but finding reasons for the forms of art, moral laws and religious beliefs in our commonsense observations and nature. There are altogether fifteen essays, of which three are definitely literary. Discussing the question of Shelley's imagination, the author makes the startling remark that Shelley has little imagination but a gigantic fancy. For this she relies upon Coleridge's well-known distinction between imagination as the shaping and modifying power and fancy as the aggregative and associative power. The two other literary essays are (1) "The Lasting Quality in Tennyson's Poetry" and "The Finite Emerson." The abstract treatment of her subjects and a tendency towards sententiousness frequently reminded me of the essays of Lord Avebury. The essays are well worth the study of students preparing for examinations in English Literature.

S. N. RAY

**THE TIMES OF INDIA:** (Centenary) Annual 1939.

This sumptuous annual publication has again come out in its usual excellence. Latterly this annual has become more and more Indian in its character. Apart from its beautiful get-up and richness in illustrations, good fare is presented for the readers' consumption. Amongst other articles, "India one hundred years ago" by S. T. Sheppard and "The Fighting Patwardhans" by Sir Patrick Cadell are worthy of special mention, as is the reproduction of Mr. W. E. Gladstone Solomon's "The return from the Well" amongst coloured illustrations.

K. N. C.

**SEPARATE STAR: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY:** By Francis Foster. Published by Victor Gollancz Ltd. London. 1938. Pp. 320. Price 12s. 6d.

The author is a young man of about fortyfour, has had a life of wonderfully varied and rich experiences and the book, which is mostly a record of these, reads like a novel. Beginning life as a precocious child, who is the editor and principal contributor of a printed school

magazine he becomes by turns, a newspaper reporter, and a student in an Anglican Theological Seminary. When the great war breaks out, he enlists in the Artists' Rifles and is wounded when leading a very daring raid on the enemy's trenches. Upon the signing of the Armistice, he secures a permanent commission in the Indian army and is sent out almost immediately afterwards to Palestine and from there to Egypt. Returning to India after a couple of years, he takes an active part in the Waziristan campaign of 1921-22, with which his army career ends. He now begins to take a serious interest in institutional religion and eventually enters the Third Franciscan Order, though he was born and brought up as a Protestant. Finally, although he retains his sympathies for Romanism as the only authoritative form of popular Christianity, he leaves the Order, marries and becomes a free-lance priest after having been ordained by a bishop of the Nestorian Church. As a priest, he does not accept money for any religious service and earns his living through literary pursuits.

Although even as a child the author develops an interest in religion and the ultimate meaning of life, he does not for some years go out deliberately in search of truth so much—as truths, both spiritual and otherwise, are thrust on him by his experiences. The most interesting event in his life, we think, is his chance meeting with a Hindu Mystic, named Ananda and it cannot be denied that the author's philosophy of life, which is startlingly original in many respects, is based ultimately on the Indian mystical belief which recognises the oneness of the universe with God and considers the world of senses as merely a picture in His mind. The author goes in for a lot of original thinking when he sets out to find a basis of unity for this philosophy with what he considers to be the fundamentals of the Christian Doctrine. In some places the conclusions he arrives at in his efforts to effect a compromise may appear to some to be rather forced but his sincerity of purpose cannot for a moment be doubted.

To the Indian reader the book will doubly commend itself because the author does not make a secret of his admiration for India and the Indians. The accident of his being attached for some considerable time with a regiment of Dogras, one of the finest and manliest of Indian races, must have had something to do, with this attitude of mind, which is so unusual in the average Englishman.

S. K. C.

**THE LIGHT OF VIRTUE:** By Newman. Part I. Published by Manager, Thiruvalluvarnilayam, Tuticorin. 1933. Pp. 36. Price Re. 1. 2as.

This is a translation in English verse of some passages from the Tamil work, *Dharmadheepikai* by Kaviraja Jagaveerapandian. It consists of a number of moral precepts, more or less of the hackneyed kind. The translation is not at all happy and in most places is neither English nor poetry.

**CHILDREN OF AN IDLE BRAIN:** By Nagendra N. Mukerjee. Published by Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., London. Pp. 15.

This is a lovely little volume of humorous poems. Although its bulk is small its contents are of exquisite quality, all the pieces being genuine poetry with elegant diction, faultless metre and delicious wit.

**THE SWAN MESSENGER:** By G. K. Pillai, B.A. Published by Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., London. Pp. 48.

This is a dramatic poem giving a beautiful poetic version in English of the fascinating Indian legend of Nala and Damayanti. It is a remarkable performance and shows all through a dramatic sense, verbal elegance and

metrical melody of a high order. The work deserves a wide circulation and is sure to meet with warm appreciation wherever it is read.

P. K. GUHA

**MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION IN BENGAL.**  
PART I. (HOWRAH) : By *Bejoy Krishna Bhattacharjee*,  
Published by the Book Agency. Pp. 292. Price Rs. 2-8.

With the growing consciousness in the country, the civic administration has slowly but steadily come to be dominated by advanced public opinion. Consequently the civic problems have come to loom large in public eye ever than before. Any attempt to study the problems in their proper perspective must be viewed with a sense of satisfaction. Mr. B. K. Bhattacharjee, the author of the present book under review, deals with the problems of the Municipal Administration of Howrah, and hopes to deal with the other Municipal Towns in a separate book. Municipal problems in most of the towns are more or less identical and the problems dealt with in the case of Howrah, gives a rough idea as to the civic problems of Bengal in general. In the circumstances the usefulness of the present volume cannot be overestimated. Education, health and sanitation are the main problems of the cities and towns, which call for more serious attention of the Municipal authorities, and the author has made a critical analysis of the subjects.

With the growing populations in the urban areas, the question of improving and expanding the cities and towns, has added to the complexities of the problem. Referring to the operations of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, the author regrets the influx of foreign population, displacement of original inhabitants and abnormal rise in the land values in Calcutta. This is no doubt a deplorable situation, but how far that is due to the operations of the Improvement Trust alone, it is difficult to assess. This cannot be viewed as an isolated factor. In fact, it is the failure of the villages to maintain the growing number of population that hastened this influx to the cities and towns, and no satisfactory solution of the problem is possible unless the countryside are made habitable and attractive for the people to live in and the exodus is stopped. This is the crux of the economic problem of the country, urban, and rural, and is a tragedy of our economic life.

Mr. Bhattacharjee is a nationalist, and a freshness of outlook hits up the pages of this thought-provoking book.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

**SADHANA OR SPIRITUAL DISCIPLINE.** Its various forms (Expository and critical) : By *Sadhu Santinath*. Published by the Oriental Book Agency, 15 Shukrawar, Poona 2. Pp. 157+CXXXII+XVIII.

The book forms the eighth chapter of the author's bigger work in two volumes "The Critical Examination of the Philosophy of Religion" (published by the Indian Research Institute of Philosophy, Amalner) with many additions as footnotes and appendices mostly from other parts of the latter. Both the former and the latter works are meant for free distribution to interested persons and important libraries.

Sadhu Santinath, the well-known scholar-monk of Upper India, is one of the chief disciples of the late Saint Gambhiranath of Gorakhpur. He has spent twenty-five years in strenuous practice of, first devotional, then Yogic and finally Vedantic Sadhana, as the result of which, he was, as he tells us in the book under review, fortunately able to attain the state of *Samadhi* (trance). The severe austerities he had undergone in course of his prolonged *Tapasya*, produced serious brain-troubles. For

relief, he had to divert his attention to the study of Philosophy and has occupied himself with the same for over a decade.

He had the rare fortune of studying difficult philosophical Texts, mostly in Sanskrit with some of the celebrated scholar-monks of India and going through all the available printed works on the Advaita School of Vedanta. Afterwards he turned his attention to the perusal of the unpublished manuscripts on Vedanta and studied more than six hundred of them from different libraries at Bombay, Poona, Baroda, Madras, Tanjore, Srirangam, Mysore, Sringeri, Broach, Nasik and Calcutta. Then he issued a series of publications in Hindi, Bengali, Sanskrit and English, embodying his Religio-Philosophical views formed from life-long study and meditation; of which the one under review is the latest and, we hope, not the last.

Sadhu Santinath, to our bewilderment, says that in the trance, he has attained after so many years of intense Sadhana, he has not been, however, blessed with the vision of Truth and hence jumps to the hasty conclusion that direct awareness of Truth in Samadhi is impossible. Sadhana, he says, has no metaphysical or ethical end and no metaphysical truth can be rationally established nor can it be intuited. He frankly confessed that he started his spiritual journey as a staunch believer but had unluckily to end it as an inveterate agnostic. His remarks about after-life which are no less astonishing, are as follows : "What next? I can't answer. I confess, the whence, the whither and the why of man, I do not know." So in this book, he plays the role of an "uncompromising critic," and attempts to prove the futility of all kinds of Sadhana advocated by various religious and philosophical systems of the East and the West, such as Buddhism, Jainism, Nyaya-Vaisheshika, Sankhya and Yoga, Purva-Mimamsa, Vaisnavism and Vedanta as well as non-Indian Theistic Schools of Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity and Muhammedanism.

With due respect for the holy life of the author, the present reviewer feels con-trained to opine that the author himself stands condemned by his scathing condemnation of all Sadhanas. The readers, I am sure, will agree with me in questioning the genuineness of the author's trance; for Samadhi that does not give one the vision of Truth is not the real Samadhi. Such a trance is no better than a swoon or an unconscious condition something like that under chloroform. The Gita clearly states that many practise Sadhana, but only a handful can realize Truth. The Upanishads also in the same strain declare that Truth reveals its real nature to those it listeth. It seems to be the very height of folly on the part of the author to challenge the validity of the spiritual realizations of Buddha, Shankar, Christ, Mohammed and such other world teachers, all of whom have proclaimed in no uncertain words their realization of truth as ultimate Reality.

The author however spares no pains to bring out some corollaries of his main conclusion, as stated above. He is of opinion that there is no necessity in Sadhana, of accepting a Guru (Spiritual Master) and he goes to the length of observing that there is "nothing new about the art of concentration to be learnt from an expert." Moreover he has questioned the authority of the religious scriptures of the world. The arguments he has advanced in this connection are too frail to require refutation.

Next the target of his attack is Ramkrishna Paramhansadev, whose synthesis of religions, in his opinion, is based only on an assumption and it is nothing more than a particular view among other existing views. The Rig-Veda proclaims in unmistakable terms that Truth is one, and weers describe it variously. In our opinion, Sri Ramkrishna's message may be, as our author says,



one of many systems of Spiritual Sadhana, but it is none-the-less directed to that supreme realization of Truth, and are as comprehensive and thorough in that regard as have not yet been evolved by any Teacher.

The book has, however, descriptive contents at the outset and an elaborate index at the end. The language of the book is lucid but loose, simple but shallow, clear but not convincing. It is an erratic and blasphemous work and hardly repays serious perusal.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

RAMALINGA SWAMIJI. By T. V. G. Chetty. Published by the author c/o Messrs. C. H. Ashe & Co., 22, Richmond Road, Bangalore, S. India. Pp. 177. Price Rs. 2.

This book is an account of the life and writings of a Swami or saint of southern India. There are two Forewords to the book, and one Preface by the author. There is an index covering 15 pages, three appendices, and a long list of *errata*. The text contains plenty of Sanskrit words and references to Sanskrit authorities, which are explained, sometimes wrongly, in foot-notes. The foot-notes thus cover almost a third of the entire volume of the book.

Of the writers of the Forewords, one is a retired Dewan of Travancore, and the other is a Lieutenant-Colonel, whether military or medical, is not clear. But this latter gentleman writes from France and is apparently a European. He, therefore, as might be expected, is not inclined to believe in the miracles which must be there in the life of a Swami. "It is not to be expected," says he, "that the accounts of the miracles will prove acceptable to all readers." Another of his adverse remarks has produced the 3rd appendix of the author.

A feature of the book is the wrong transliteration of some Sanskrit words; the Sanskrit *a* almost invariably becomes *e*; thus, for *nakshatra*, we have *nakshetra* (p. 6 & 34), for *dakshina*, we have *dekshana* (p. 6), &c.

Some of the foot-notes make interesting reading, but it would have been prudent for the author to withhold them from the readers. In a foot-note on Dharma (religion), the author says that 'it is co-extensive with God' (p. 1). In another, he displays his etymological skill by deriving the word *guru* in four different ways—all meaning 'God Almighty' (p. 16). Sometimes a Sanskrit word is introduced in the text just for the pleasure of writing a foot-note on it (cf. p. 9).

The book has been written in English obviously for a larger circulation. But the Swami whose life we read here does not appear to have much following outside the Madras Presidency; and the book might well have been in one of the many vernaculars of southern India. Whatever else it may be, it is not a scientific biography. Perhaps the subject itself does not admit of such treatment.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

REVOLUTIONARY PORTUGAL (1910-1936): By V. de Braganca-Cunha. Published by James Clarke & Co., Ltd., 5 Wardrobe Place, Carter Lane, London, E.C. 4, 1938. Pp. 282. Price 7s. 6d. net.

In the Iberian Peninsula, Spain has been in the limelight for the last two years and more, on account of the war still raging on its own soil, a unique war, more international than civil. Portugal like Spain has a glorious past, and the author successfully conveys to the reader an impression of its past greatness. Since the beginning of the present century, however, the process of disorganization or disintegration has been at work, the King and the Crown Prince were put out of the way, and the forces of revolt proclaimed a republic in October

1910. But what has been the achievement of the republic? The ancient monarchy was insulted, the press was not made free, the nefarious Acts were still in the Statute book, the workers were not satisfied, the carbonarios were continuing their work of espionage and revenge; even the gentle Queen Amelia, devoted to humanitarian work, was not suffered to be proof against slanders and the government did not refrain from attacking the Church. The Revolutionaries, in course of more than a quarter of a century, have shown themselves thoroughly unfit for their task, by reason of their fascist mentality, imperfect political education, want of an alert intellect, and the maladministration that has followed has been inevitable under the circumstances.

The writer feels sick of the insecurity that reigns, and voices his protest against the powers that have usurped the authority in the State. He has weighed "the new State" in the balance and found it wanting. The book thus amounts to a censure on the present government of Portugal, which is helplessly weak in foreign relations, in the economic organization and in the enforcement of law and order. Mr. Braganca-Cunha prophetically declares: "The political complications which accumulate on Europe's head might result among other things in endangering the position of Portugal as the third colonial power in the world." Signs are not wanting to indicate that he may, in this, prove a true prophet.

It is not necessary to dilate here on the comparative excellence of republics or monarchies, and to pronounce a judgment at this time of the day on one form of government at the expense of the other, but one cannot help feeling sometimes that the writer is pressing for changes that cannot come about—all government, till the world is made *fundamentally* better, has to depend upon efficient espionage, press censorship, etc., only these must not lend a handle to popular discontent, and such work should be done on the responsibility of the trusted and chosen leaders of the people.

Mastery of detail and a vivid imagination, love of Portugal and faith in its people, are evident in the book, and the treatment of events and causes is not that of a cold, lifeless treatise, but it is instinct with the author's hopes and fears, emotions and impulses, and that makes the book all the more enjoyable in the reading.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

INDIAN FEDERATION: By Bool Chand, Ph.D. (London.), Lecturer on History and Political Science, Hindu College, University of Delhi. Published by the Fabian Society, London, Fabian Tract, No. 245.

The fundamental defects of the proposed Indian federal scheme are more effectively brought out in this tract in most of the publications on the subject. Dr. Bool Chand questions the very basis of the new constitution. In his view federalism is quite unsuitable as a form of Government for any progressively industrializing country, for "the basis of all political and economic development today is scientific planning, and scientific planning is impossible unless it is operated upon a uniform, general and national scale." Prof. Bool Chand's objection is not directed to a further division of administrative control in purely social and cultural matters. He is primarily concerned with the division of directing power in economic matters, which is a sure concomitant of the federal scheme of organization, but which in his view can cause "nothing but an obstacle in the way of social and economic adjustment." He points out in support of his view that "even in America, rightly thought of as the traditional home of federalism, the defects of the federal structure are receiving far more attention today than its virtues have ever done."



The author is, of course, not blind to the "prospect of completely united India offered by the Government of India Act," his objection is to the way that union is to be effected and the intentions behind the whole scheme. The angry reception of the Simon Commission Report in India, the author thinks, convinced the British Government that India would not accept any constitution which did not concede at least partial responsibility at the Centre; but the British Government had no desire to accord responsible government to British India without ensuring that Government's conservative character, and this could be done only by bringing the autocratic Indian States into the Federation.

The author regards as invalid and wholly biased the findings of the Indian States Committee of 1928-29 that although the Indian States were fully sovereign as against the Government of India they could not claim either external or even internal sovereignty against the Paramount Power, which means the British Crown in isolation from the British Government of India. "Once these two propositions were established, it was naturally to the interest of the British Indian Government to seek to accomplish a union of the whole country by taking in Indian States as a part of All-India Federation on almost any terms. At the same time, the Indian States would be only anxious to join such a Federation, if possible on their own terms, for joining such a federation would ensure (1) a voice in the affairs of the Indian Government such as they have not possessed so far and (2) a comparatively larger measure of freedom from interference from the Paramount Power than had so far been the case."

The Tract then proceeds to discuss the various main anomalies and complexities in the organization of the legislative and executive authority of the federal scheme. For instance, it notices that "in any federation, there is a double citizenship, Federal and Provincial; the Federal Government acts not only for the associated Provinces but also directly for their citizens. But in the Indian Federation, the subjects of the Native States, although these States may accede to the federal scheme, would not be citizens of the federation; they would not be in the enjoyment of the same civic rights as those enjoyed by the citizens of the British Indian Provinces."

In the end, the author analyses at length, with great acuteness the attitudes of the people of British India and Indian States' Rulers towards the proposed federation. To British Indian opinion generally the scheme is wholly unacceptable, for it offers the possibility of an almost continuous control of the Federal Executive by the States representatives either by themselves or in coalition with some other small group. The attitude of the Indian Princes is still uncertain and unmade; the trouble is that the advantages which accrue to the Indian States from the federal scheme are in reality no advantages to them, although they certainly are a serious loss to British India. "The truth is that the Rulers are quite conscious that in a progressively industrialising State their position is very weak. As the State becomes more and more positivistic, the existence of feudal territorial autonomies becomes more and more anomalous. In the face of growing economic and political necessities, neither law nor rights, however well-founded and however well-reorganized by the Paramount Power, do really avail."

Dr. Bool Chand's argument is convincing throughout and strikes a new hope inasmuch as the author objects to the very idea of Federation. Life in the modern world has become and is tending still further to become so increasingly technical and complicated that the running of the State is bound to become more and more difficult

unless there is a greater concentration of authority. This line of thought, the author thinks, seems completely to have escaped the constitutional advisers of the Indian National Congress, as is revealed by the adherence of the Congress Resolution to the idea of the federation in principle.

Prof. Bool Chand's is the first tract written by an Indian to have been published by the Fabian Society.

PREM NARAIN NICUM

### SANSKRIT

HAIMAPRAKASA MAHA-VYAKARANA of *Vinayaviyaya-gani*, Part I (*Purvardha*). Edited with Notes and Indices by Upadhyaya Ksemavijaya-gani. Sri-Ami-Soma Jaina-granthamala, No. 1. 57-59, Old Modi Street, Fort Bombay. 1937. Pp. 472+separate pp. of Introduction, Indices, etc. Price Rs. 8.

An industrious and prolific writer of versatile talents, the great Jaina teacher Hemachandra occupies an important place in the history and literature of mediæval Jainism. Of his many useful compilations, his grammatical compendium, the *Siddha-Hemachandra*, which devotes its first seven chapters to Sanskrit grammar and the last to Prakrit, is a well-known and widely used work. Although it reshapes older materials, its practical arrangement and convenient terminology earned from Kiehlhorn the praise of its being "the best grammar of the Indian middle ages," and made it a popular work in Western India, necessitating a number of commentaries in later times.

The present commentary on the Sanskrit portion of Hemachandra's grammar, rearranged in the Prakriya form, was composed in the third decade of the 17th century by Vinayaviyaya-gani, pupil of Kirtivijaya-gani. To his credit there is also a work called *Loka-prakasa* (published in the Devchand Lalbhai Jaina-pustakoddhara Series) and a learned commentary on the *Kalpa-sutra*. The present work is not only a commentary but also a detailed and exhaustive grammatical study in itself. The first part, which has so far been published, contains Samjna, Samdhi, Sabda-rupa, Avyaya, Stri-pratyaya, Karaka, Samas and Taddhita, and thus covers some of the most important topics. It has been edited with great care, knowledge and industry by a learned Jaina scholar; and the typographical and other resources of the famous Niraya Sagara Press of Bombay have left nothing to be desired by way of neat printing and general get-up. It is unfortunate, however, that the list of misprints, corrected in the Errata, should run into double columns of four quarto pages. There is an introduction written in Gujarati, but in the interest of a wider public it would have been better if it had been presented in Sanskrit or English. The work augurs well for the new Jaina Series which it opens, and we hope that the rest of the work will be soon in the hands of interested Sanskritists.

S. K. De

BADARAYANA-SAMMATA-BRAHMA SUTRA BHASYA-NIRNAYA: By Pandit Rajendranath Ghosh, *Vedantabhusana*, Pada I, Pp. 90. Published by S. Kshetrapal Ghosh of 6, Parsibagan Lane. Price Re. 1.

This is a work of a novel kind—a comparative exegesis of the Vedanta Sutras of Vyasa, with a view to the determination of the position of the Sutrakara himself, amidst the various commentaries, with which the text of the sage, is encrusted over. Pandit Vedantabhusana, whose labours in the field of popularisation of Vedantic thought among the Bengali-reading public have been varied and spread over many years, attempts here a systematic application of certain canons of interpretations well-known and time-

## BENGALI

**CHANDIDAS-CHARIT:** Edited by Prof. Jogesh Chandra Ray, Vidyandhi: Published from Prabasi Press, 120/2 Upper Circular Road Calcutta. 1344. B. S. Price Rs. 2/8. Pp. 235 of the size of *The Modern Review*.

It is a long narrative poem, describing the life of the great Bengali poet Chandidas, who lived about a hundred years before the birth of Chaitanya Deb. The poem was composed by Krishnaprasad Sen, on the basis of a Sanskrit poem by his great-grandfather Udaynarayan Sen, and the Editor puts down the date of this Bengali work at somewhere near 1815 A.D. about 125 years ago. The manuscript on which the present publication is based is dated at about 1867. It is a remarkable production, not only in regard to its length, which is considerable, but also on account of the variety of material which is woven together round the life of its hero. Love, war, adventure, religious controversy—all are here, and the march of events as well as of the verses is vigorous. Judged by the amount of miscellaneous information on the many topics with which it deals, it is almost encyclopaedic in its scope, and in that it conforms to the general principle and practice of most Bengali poems of length.

I have said, it is a unique poem in many respects. It has a tendency to synthesise the different forms of religion—the Tantric, the Vaishnav, Islam, all faiths come to understand each other. Chandidas, the great figure in Bengali Vaishnav poetry, is here much more than a mere shadowy figure or literary convention; he is a great transmuting agency in real life. Even in the customary description of the world the book differs from the common run. The indications given regarding the dates also show a sort of recondite learning; the learned editor has been baffled in explaining or restoring the *Svastika*—the group of eight stanzas in praise of Siva which here appears in a corrupt form. There are many allusions to different episodes, and all of them have not yet been explained, e.g., on p. 150 a form of austerities is described which makes for kingship. We refer to the minister of Karnat, jealous of the King's power, expressing his surprise at this item of information.

But it is not proper to confine one's attention merely to the reconditeness of the work. There are many passages of poetic excellence; they are not purple patches, nor is the vein cloying in its continuity. The episode of Kalyani, beautiful, brave and skilled in fighting, by itself is sufficient to establish the author of the book as a poet of rare merit. It is of a piece with the rest of the work, and, as I have said, the metre and the rhythm keep pace with the content. It may be expected that the reading public will come to appreciate *Chandidas-Charit* as a work of poetry, apart from its value in the examination of the basis of Chandidas's life.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

**KURU-PANDAB:** By Rabindranath Tagore. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Second Edition. Price Re. 1-8.

From its very origin Bengali literature has been intimately connected with Sanskrit. Hence the older Bengali style was specially influenced by the Sanskrit language, from which Bengali borrowed a large vocabulary without any change. Students and others cannot fully master Bengali without mastering Sanskritized Bengali. The book under notice, narrating the Kurukshetra war, as described in the Mahabharata, was, therefore, written in the kind of Bengali which has a large proportion of Sanskrit words. It is used as a text-book in the upper classes of the school at Santiniketan. It

honoured, but not employed before with the same degree of thoroughness or with a comparative view to the bhāṣyas of Shankara, Bhaskara, Ramanuja, Nimarka, Madhva, Shreekantha, Sreekara, Vallabha, Vijnanabikshu and Baladeva, and by examining and tabulating the deviations to suit the doctrine of his own school, that each has been forced to arrive at the conclusion, that Shankara the exponent of Absolute monism comes nearest to the import of the author of the aphorisms. The treatise is written in Sanskrit, still the lingua franca of the world of Indian indigenous scholarship, as an invitation to the adherents of the different schools to peruse it and to verify where the works of the ten great masters stand under this examination. Pandit Vedantabhusana has been under the necessity of making the classical language a vehicle of modern historical spirit and methods of investigation and it is to be hoped that the adapted medium will commend itself to those accustomed to the classic idiom and manner of exposition. The learned writer proposes to examine the entire text of the Brahmasūtras numbering 555 and in Shankara's treatment divided into 191 adhikaranas or sections, which will make his work a considerable Volume. For the wider public interested in Indian philosophy the presentment of the work in an English garb is desirable and may be expected from the Pandit, whose industry equals the close method and thoroughness of his treatment of absolute topics.

BATUK NATH BHATTACHARYA

## BENGALI-ENGLISH

**BANKIM-PRATIBHA:** ("Genius of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee"). Edited by Bimal Chandra Sinha. Price Rs. 3. To be had at Ranjan Publishing House, 25/2, Mohan Bagan Row, Calcutta. Pages 84+86 of the size of *The Modern Review*, with a portrait of Bankim Chandra.

The Bengali section of this well got-up and neatly printed volume contains the papers read at the Bankim Chandra Centenary celebration at the Paikpara Raj Palace, Calcutta, together with some other material. Among the contributors are Rabindranath Tagore, Praphulla Chandra Ray, Hirendranath Datta, Jadunath Sarkar, Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, Brajendranath Banerji, Mankumari Basu, and Bimal Chandra Sinha. Some of the papers have a permanent value.

The English section contains Bankim Chandra's hitherto unpublished Letters on Hinduism and an English translation of parts of his novel *Devī Chaudhurani*. The editor says in his introduction that the Letters on Hinduism and the translation of *Devī Chaudhurani* have been printed as they are in the manuscripts, which the author left unfinished and unrevised. His Letters on Hinduism nevertheless are deserving of serious study. They evince powers of clear and deep thinking and lucid and forcible expression, and also show how well-read he was. He does not stand up for Hinduism as it is, as the following sentences will show.

"It is precisely popular delusions of this sort that have encrusted Hinduism with the rubbish of ages—with superstitions and absurdities which subvert its higher purposes; and which it is the duty of every true Hindu actively to assail and destroy. The noxious parasitic growth must be exterminated before Hinduism can hope further to carry on the education of the human race. Hinduism is in need of a reformation;—not an unprecedented necessity for an ancient religion. But reformed and purified, it may yet stand forth before the world as the noblest system of individual and social culture available to the Hindu even in this age of progress."

D.

is suitable for similar use in other Bengali schools. All, including non-Bengalis, who wish to master Bengali may with advantage study this book.

**BANGLAR RISHI (OR RISHIS OF BENGAL)** By Anil Chandra Ghosh, M.A. *Presidency Library, Dacca.* Price Re. 1-4.

This book contains biographical sketches, with portraits, of "Rajarshi Rammohun Roy," "Maharshi Devendranath Tagore," "Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen," "Mahatma Bijayakrishna Goswami," and "Swami Vivekananda." These sketches are fit to serve as introductions to the larger biographies of these worthies.

**BYAYAME BANGALI (OR BENGALIS IN ATHLETICS) :** By Anil Chandra Ghosh, M.A. *Presidency Library, Dacca.* Price Re. 1.

This book gives an account of some two dozen Bengali athletes and 'strong men,' with portraits. The list includes those who have won renown in wrestling, or ordinary athletics and gymnastics, or as bowmen, or in fencing and boxing, or in *lathi*-play. It has chapters devoted to physical culture for both men and women, and to drill and parade. It is a good handbook for physical culturists.

**MAHAKABI-KRITTIBAS-BIRACHITA RAMAYAN, ADI-KANDA :** Edited by Sri Nalinikanta Bhattachali, M.A., Ph.D. Published by P. C. Lahiri, M.A., Ph.D., Hony. Secretary, Oriental Text Publication Committee, University of Dacca. Price Rs. 2-8.

The story of the Ramayan has been told in verse in extenso by many old Bengali poets. Among them Krittibas is the most widely known and his work is the most extensively read. But the book which has been printed again and again by various publishers as the Ramayan of Krittibas is in great part not his work but that of others. The work under notice is an attempt at giving the public a re-constructed version of one of the first canto of his Ramayan. Dr. Bhattachali has very extensive knowledge of old manuscripts. He has attempted the re-construction of the first canto of this Ramayan with the help of ten manuscripts of the Ramayan of Krittibas and of other versions of the Ramayan. He has done his work with scrupulous care and great industry. His learned introduction alone covers 64 pages of the size of *The Modern Review*. He devoted more than two years to this task. The book was published more than two years ago, though it reached *The Modern Review* office only last month. It is stated in the introduction, written more than two years ago, that the editor has almost finished editing two more cantos of the work. It is to be hoped, he has by now approached the end of his labours, and the public may expect to see at no distant day a complete edition of the authentic Ramayan of Krittibas, as far as it is possible to restore it now. For the poet wrote his work about 520 years ago, but the oldest manuscript available at present is some three centuries old.

Both scholars and the general readers will find Dr. Bhattachali's edition profitable and pleasant reading.

**KASHIRAM DAS—MAHABHARAT :** Edited by Sri Purna Chandra De, Kabibhushan, Kabyaratna, Udbhat-sagar, B.A. Indian Publishing House, 22/1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. In two volumes. Price of the complete work Rs. 7. Pp. 1576+68. With 101 illustrations in colours and 2 in monochrome, and a map of India of the age of the Mahabharat.

The editor says in the introduction that he has devoted nine years of his life to the preparation of this work, which was composed some three centuries ago. He has had access to more than 900 manuscripts, but did his

work with the help of some 50 or 60. He has given a biographical sketch of the poet Kashiram Das, and also a biographical sketch of the late Babu Chintamani Ghosh, founder and proprietor of the Indian Press.

This edition of the Bengali Mahabharat by Kashiram Das differs from the editions previously published in numerous readings and in that it contains 35 hitherto unpublished episodes. Difficult and rare words have been explained throughout at the bottom of the page. Where necessary for elucidation, verses from the original Sanskrit Mahabharat have been quoted. The editor has pointed out the differences, where they occur, between the narrations of events in the Sanskrit and this Bengali Mahabharat.

The type used is big, and the printing and paper excellent. The pictures, which do not claim to be works of art by well-known artists, have been neatly printed.

D.

### ITALIAN

**LA POLITICA FINANZIARIA BRITANNICA IN INDIA :** By Monindra M. Moulik. Nicola Zamichelli Editore. Bologna, 1938. Price 25lira.

The present volume, which is a study of the financial condition of India under the British rule, was prepared by the author as a thesis for the Doctor's degree in political science of the University of Rome. Within the scope of the 238 pages of the book, the author has covered most of the important aspects of the British management of Indian finances and he comes to the conclusion, supported by facts and figures as well as by quotations from various well-known writers on India, that the many economic ills from which the country is suffering is due to the control of its destiny by the British Parliament and not on account of over population, primitive type of agriculture, frequency of famine and other causes as is asserted by interested parties. There are altogether nine chapters in the book. The first chapter is an effort to place the British responsibility for the poverty of India. Then follow chapters on statutory guarantees and commercial safeguards, home charges, military and administrative expenses, public debt, customs and industries, railways, land revenue and agriculture, money and exchange. In the concluding chapter the author throws out certain suggestions for the development of Indian finance in the future. We congratulate the author for his clear and comprehensive, though succinct, survey of the economic condition of the Indian people, which he has done not only with emotion but also with enthusiasm.

P. N. Roy

### BOOKS RECEIVED :

**SAINT APPAR, HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS :** By M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, B.A., L.T. Published by The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works, Publishing Society, Tunnevelly and Madras. Pages 96 and a portrait of Saint Appar. Price annas twelve.

**SAINT MANICKAVASAKAR : HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS :** By Prof. M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, B.A., L.T. Published by The Bibliotheca, Munnirpallam P.O. Tunnevelly District, South India. Pages 95.

**ASHRAMS, ANCIENT AND MODERN, THEIR AIMS AND IDEALS :** By Dr. Savarirayan Jesudason, F.R.C.S.E. Pages 58 and 12 plates. Price annas eight.

**UNPASSED UNTOUCHABILITY :** By P. Venkayya. Pages 60. An exhortation to abolish examinations and detentions of school-going children in India and to make attendance and study at a public school a sufficient qualification for promotion to next class automatically.

## BRITISH POLITICS TODAY

By PROF. NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D.

WHEN early in the present year Mr. Eden resigned his office of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and explained his position in the House of Commons and the country, a distinct section of the people and a conservative section at that was found inclined to support him. An opinion seemed to gain ground that Mr. Chamberlain was showing too much of deference to the dictators and lowering thereby the independent tradition of the country. The trend of speeches on different public platforms and the comments in the columns of the newspapers misled unwary people to think that the days of Mr. Chamberlain as Prime Minister were numbered. In India at that time it was taken for granted by many people that the existing government was on its last legs and Mr. Chamberlain's leadership of the Conservative Party and the National Government would soon be challenged both from within and without. For long of course nothing very spectacular happened. Mr. Eden continued to be in the wilderness and the National Government continued to sit tight in office. It is true for months before September its prestige was not very high. The policy of Mr. Chamberlain was also not spectacularly successful. An agreement with Italy was mooted but it could not be operated for long because of Italy's continued participation in the Spanish Civil War. But while the National Government could boast of no distinct success in the realm of foreign policy which alone loomed large before the public, it still held its own in the country. It even seemed to make good the setback which had been administered to it by the resignation of so popular a Minister as Mr. Eden.

Then in September was raised the issue of the Sudetan Germans in Czecho-Slovakia and along with it was, as a matter of fact, raised the question of the future of this country as a sovereign state in Central Europe. The way in which this subject was handled by the Government of Mr. Chamberlain was interpreted in India as definitely reflecting not only discredit but also shame upon this Government. Great Britain first of all appeared upon the Czecho-Slovak scene as a candid friend and a benevolent mediator but then suddenly it changed its role

and became associated with its despoiler. This was a change of front which appeared to most people in India as amounting to a moral bankruptcy on the part of the Government, which, it was rather glibly assumed, would never be tolerated by the British people. Secondly, the reduction of Czecho-Slovakia to a position of virtual vassalage to Germany increased the strength and augmented the strategic position of the latter country to a degree which must be disquieting to the Western Powers. From this standpoint also it was thought in India that Mr. Chamberlain's policy was an abject failure and he would be held accountable to the bar of public opinion on this account. But none of these speculations so seriously indulged in India have come true in Great Britain. As a result of the great betrayal of September last, Mr. Chamberlain instead of losing one iota of his former influence has rather gained considerably in prestige and today he may be said to be securely entrenched in power.

Recently two bye-elections were held—one in Oxford and the other in Darford. The Government retained the first seat and lost the second to labour. The fact that the second seat was lost should not be regarded as a symptom of the general decline of prestige on the part of Mr. Chamberlain and his Government. It should be remembered that the general election was held as far back as 1935 and the Government is now in the fourth year of its life. This is an important fact to be reckoned with. A Government so long in office and power cannot but create a revulsion of feeling in some quarters. That has been a natural and inevitable concomitant of party government in Great Britain. Secondly, the constituency which has just elected Mrs. Adamson as a labour member to the House of Commons has never been reputed for its loyalty to any particular party affiliation. During the last one decade and a half it has wavered between different parties and has divided its attachment between labour and conservatism with strict impartiality. So although the election of Mrs. Adamson may be interpreted in some circles as the desertion of Mr. Chamberlain's Government by this constituency, its significance is not very far-reaching.

The Oxford election however has a moral of its own. The city of Oxford has been, it is true, a conservative stronghold. So the return of Mr. Chamberlain's candidate by this city may be taken as inevitable and may be regarded as having no special significance of its own. But the circumstances of the election have given rather a special importance to this election and its result. The candidate of the National Government was Mr. Qunton Hogg, the son of Lord Hailsham who has just retired from the Cabinet. He is a young man without much of an influence of his own in the constituency. His strength lay only in his candidature on behalf of the National Government. His opponent on the other hand was no other than Mr. A. D. Lindsay, the Master of Balliol College, Oxford, and an ex-Vice-Chancellor of this University. Mr. Lindsay has an academic reputation which is almost unrivalled in modern England. As the Master of Balliol, he has a prestige which not only extends over the whole country but has travelled beyond it as well. Some years back he paid a visit to India as a member of the Commission which enquired into the condition of the Christian Colleges in that country. He was invited also by the University of Calcutta to deliver a series of Readership Lectures on Plato, which by the way were very largely attended and created a very considerable interest in all intellectual circles. For long he has been a keen student of Karl Marx and has interpreted him in a well-known book. His sympathy for socialism has been well marked for years and for long he has also taken an enthusiastic interest in the labour party. His term as the Vice-Chancellor, which has just completed, has testified to the great business ability which he possesses and has won for him friendships in all circles and groups. Mr. Lindsay is in other words a great national figure. He also fought this election not as the candidate of the Labour Party but as an independent. This he did in order that he might secure for himself the support not only of the Labour Party but also of the Liberals and those Conservatives who have been alienated by the foreign policy of Mr. Chamberlain. It is significant that both the official labour and liberal candidates withdrew in his favour and there was a straight fight between the candidate whom Mr. Chamberlain set up and Mr. Lindsay who had the support of the labourites, the liberals and the conservative malcontents. What is more, the issue on which the candidates fought was a straight and clear one—more straight and clear than it ever is in an election. The question at

issue was whether the foreign policy of Mr. Chamberlain should be condemned or supported. The verdict of the electors was unmistakably in favour of Mr. Chamberlain.

And the verdict declared by the Oxford electors will be the verdict of the nation when some time later there will be a general election. Mr. Chamberlain's majority may not be as great in the next Parliament as it is today. Some of the seats he will certainly lose but there can be no two opinions about this that he will still have a sufficient majority in the House to carry on the Government in his own lines.

How could we account for this confidence which Mr. Chamberlain still inspires in the country? This we can do only by studying several factors. First, it is important to remember that the policy which the National Government has pursued during the last few years is the only policy which any other Government would have followed in the circumstances. There can be no gainsaying the fact that the British Government is not militarily prepared for any war on a large scale. It has been the verdict of competent experts that German preparations have gone far enough to make it equal and possibly more than equal to Britain and France combined. So in case of a war it would have been out of the question to calculate the damage which would have been done to English interests as a result of German attacks. Now it may be asked if the National Government itself is not responsible for this state of unpreparedness. The general opinion in the country is that it may be partly responsible for this undesirable state of things but mostly not so. It has never been in the tradition of this country to support in peace time any large army. The people here had in all their history a soft corner only for their navy. But they have been uniformly unwilling to maintain a large army in peace time in all ages. Since the conclusion of the World War, this tradition was further strengthened by a new ideal which came to dominate the men's mind in a rather increasing manner. This was the ideal of peace at all hazards and in all circumstances. This ideal was engendered first by the horrors of the last war, secondly through the efforts of a large body of internationally-minded people who pinned their faith to the League of Nations and the Hague Court and lastly by the activities of the labour politicians who gave it out perhaps justly and always vigorously that all wars had their origin only in capitalistic greed and had therefore no interest for the labouring population. The English Governments had, in view



of this attitude on the part of a large section of the people, to cut down their expenditure on the fighting services and keep them thereby in a state of hopeless inefficiency. It is true since 1935 a new policy has been in operation in this respect. But Germany had already gained an advance in this field which it is difficult if not impossible to overtake in the course of three years of efforts. The National Government is responsible for the sorry state of things only to the extent that it has tolerated slackness in the operation of the policy of rearmament during these three years. But beyond this the responsibility does not attach to it but to the whole country. It is only the members in the opposition in the House of Commons who lay the blame at the door of the Government in power. But all others including those who are very well informed as regards the foreign policy of this country and can speak with authority on this subject are inclined to exonerate the Government of Mr. Chamberlain from this responsibility. Dr. G. P. Gooch is a reputed historian and an experienced publicist with liberal inclinations. His knowledge of the foreign policy of this country and the circumstances in which it has been carried on during the last fifty years and more is unrivalled in these islands. He has in his many addresses brought home to audiences not convinced before that there was no alternative to the policy which the National Government has pursued of late regarding foreign affairs. When a great historian and publicist like Dr. Gooch makes an assertion like this, it is accepted without much demur by the general people. More so as Dr. Gooch has no party affiliations and is held in high esteem for his impartial treatment of public affairs.

Secondly, there is a definite school of thought in England—and this school has now the ear of the public—which regards the rise of Germany from the position of humiliation to which it had been condemned by the Treaty of Versailles, as inevitable. A great country and a great people, this school holds, may be defeated in a war and for the time being may be in a condition of helplessness but that is not the fate to which it can remain reconciled for long. It must try to rise and assert itself. It must make an effort and succeed in its effort to gain back its old position of influence and authority. Germany was occupying a position of leadership in Central Europe before the War and the Germans of today must efface the memories of the years since Versailles and get back this position. It is not only futile but unwise as

well to do anything to stop this progress. It is not only not humiliating but it is actually statesmanlike to allow Germany to have a free hand in Central Europe. This is the point of view of men like Lord Lothian under whose inspiration the *Times* early in September suggested the cession of Sudeten German area to Germany. For the time being this suggestion was greeted with a howl of execration no doubt. But gradually it was brought home to the people that if injustice was now being done to Czechoslovakia, far greater injustice had been done to Germany during one decade and a half after the Great War. What now looked like an injustice to Czechoslovakia was really a belated recompense, and that too on a very small scale, for the grievous wrongs done to Germany. As a result of the hammering of this point of view, the people of England in general do not speak any longer of the betrayal of the Czechs. They simply speak today of the justice that is being rendered to Germany. So in the eyes of the general people of this country Mr. Chamberlain has done nothing by his visits to Herr Hitler in September last, of which he or his country need be ashamed. On the contrary the agreement which he signed at Munich only tears up an unjust provision of the Treaty of Versailles and thereby prepares the ground for European appeasement.

Thirdly, it should not be ever forgotten in India that although the principle of leadership has been for some time past associated with the existing system of government and administration in Germany, it has been an effective force in British politics as well. The British people are not required to choose their leaders in the way that Americans choose their Presidents. English leaders are not chosen by that hazardous method of the ballot box. They come of themselves to the front as a result of the winnowing process of parliamentary life. Members are returned to the House of Commons. It is on its floor that leaders make their appearance and are automatically and spontaneously acclaimed as such by their fellows. None of the members are ever recognised as leaders until they have passed through years of hard work in that chamber and acquired long and varied experience of its life. It is not again by good speeches and by effective rejoinders alone that a member may acquire an ascendancy over his colleagues in the House. Capacity for ready speech and ability to meet the opponents squarely in the face are a part of the equipment of the future leaders no doubt. But more than that is necessary. Judgment and character are



equally the requisities of leadership. True loyalty to party principles, clear appreciation of the needs of the nation are also the qualities which future leaders must be reputed to possess. It is only few of the parliamentarians who may combine in them these virtues. Some may show early promise, may acquire a transitory fame by making a few beautiful and attractive speeches or by making some effective replies to the opponents. But very soon they may turn out to be erratic and unreliable on important occasions. They may develop themes which may not be consistent with true party principles, or may make criticisms which may be wholly irresponsible. In spite of their brilliance therefore they are winnowed out of the front rank. They may continue to be effective gladiators in their individual capacity, but they cannot be the captains of their teams and the leaders of the nation.

Mr. Chamberlain entered Parliament rather late in life. He turned fifty when he first entered the portals of the House of Commons. But even at that comparatively late age he gradually made his mark not only as an effective speaker and a clear enunciator of complex problems of administration and finance but also as a man of cool judgment and mature opinion. He had the advantage also of being the son of Joseph and the half-brother of Austen Chamberlain. He did not require therefore much introduction to the public. But this was not his only capital. He added to it as years rolled on by faithful services to his party in the House and by the exhibition of real character on all critical and important occasions. During the five years of Conservative Government from 1925 to 1929, he was occupying the important but by no means a spectacular office of the Minister of Health. This office was regarded by many as the grave of even established reputation. But Mr. Chamberlain succeeded in making that office as well a footstool to higher reputation as a parliamentarian. The way he enunciated the Local Government Bill of 1929 and piloted it through the House elicited admiration and praise from all quarters. It was but inevitable that a man of so much ability and so much loyalty would rise to the highest position in the party and the Government which that party would form.

It is true that the leaders of the different parties have been for some time past formally elected in the party meetings. But this is, except on a few occasions, only a formal affair. Actually the leader is chosen as it has been pointed out in the House by the only sure

method of the general recognition of his character and ability. Now Mr. Neville Chamberlain is the accredited leader of the Conservative Party. It is in the blood of the British nation to remain faithful to a leader once he is accepted as such by his fellows. The British mind moves slowly. The British people may not be really enthusiastic about a person only after a short experience of his activities. But once after a long experience of a man they accept him as their leader they are unwilling to throw him overboard. It is in their tradition and habit to listen to him, to act up to his advice and follow him in his movements. In this respect the British people differ fundamentally from the democrats of ancient Athens or the democrats of modern France. In ancient Athens, people might today laud up a leader to the seventh heaven but tomorrow they might take offence at one or two of his activities and immediately hurl him down to the lowest depth. In France also there is much of Celtic fickleness noticeable in parliamentary life. But far otherwise is the tenor of life of the English people. Their mind being rather stolid, they are not given either to any paroxysm of enthusiasm or to that of sudden condemnation. They do not think much for themselves and even if they form any opinion on any subject, they either conceal it or change it at their leader's behest.

This being the attitude of the British people it may be easily understood why the conservatives in this country would continue to support Mr. Chamberlain in the foreign policy which he has chalked out for the Government to follow. There may be here and there some dissentients. There may be even some resignations from the Government as there have been resignations of Mr. Eden and Duff Cooper. There may also be consistent denunciations of this policy from some quarters within the camp as there have been denunciations from Mr. Winston Churchill. But all these notwithstanding there can be no gainsaying the fact that Mr. Chamberlain has behind his back the support of over 95 per cent of the conservatives in the country.

It may however be said that the conservatives alone do not constitute the British nation. There are the liberal and the labourite voters who may now be more organised and in conjunction with the conservative malcontents may defeat the nominees of Mr. Chamberlain in the next general election. But such a hope is only a delusion. A contingency like this is unlikely to happen. It is true that the liberal and the labourite voters may together exceed the

strength of the conservatives in the electorate. But there is little chance of the two groups working together. The Liberal party has for the last few years been broken into two. The Simonites are all but in name conservatives. They are in the same position today as the Unionist Liberals were forty years back. In one or two respects they may have maintained their identity still but it is only a question of time when they will be merged more completely in the conservative party. As for the independent liberals who in fact are making a desperate effort to keep flying the old banner of liberalism in this country, it may be safely said that their strength is not appreciable in the electorate. Theirs is in fact a dwindling number. It is true that recently Mr. Ramsay Muir, the old Liberal guard, has renewed the offer of liberal co-operation if the Labourites want to organise a popular front in conjunction with the independent liberals. But so far this offer has fallen flat. There has been no response from the labour headquarters. This indifference to liberal appeal on the part of the labour leaders may be explained and even justified by the fact that the co-operation with the Liberals will mean the abandonment of the socialist programme of the labour party. The Liberals may co-operate with the Labourites against the Conservatives but this on their own terms. They are as opposed to the complete labour programme as the conservatives. In fact today opposition to socialism is the battle cry as much of the conservatives as of the liberals of both shades. Recently in the local elections the liberals were found in the anti-socialist camp and if stray liberals supported

the candidature of socialists immediately they were put down as black sheep in the otherwise uncorrupted fold. Even among many voters who before 1931 would have unhesitatingly supported the socialist candidates there is now considerable hesitation. They are in an undecided mood. They have not completely got over the anti-socialist contagion which coloured their views in 1931. There is no knowing if they will declare in favour of socialism or will still vote for the conservative candidates.

When the predominant opinion in the country is anti-socialist, the socialist cause could have any chance of triumph only if the leader of the party had the personality and magnetism of a Gladstone or even of a Lloyd George. If the socialists had a leader who could enthuse and inspire the electorate as Mr. Gladstone did in his Midlothian campaign, there was of course now an opportunity for Labour success, which may not recur in the immediate future. Such a leader could have exploited the pitfalls of Mr. Chamberlain's policy and could have revived the old moral fervour of the nation in a way that would have swept off the conservatives from the electoral stage. But neither Mr. Attlee nor for the matter of that any other stalwart of the Labour Party has that personality and that magnetism which alone could have carried it to electoral triumph. On the contrary it may be said that Mr. Chamberlain has greater weight as a leader of men than the accredited leader of the Labour Party. This is unfortunate but it is a fact. So the conservatives remain enthroned.

LONDON,  
November 11, 1938



# HASTE

In great literature in general and Shakespeare in particular

By BERTRAM GODWIN STEINHOFF

MONTAIGNE, whose Essays show him up as the hastiest of all writers, wrote: 'Authors have no excuse for haste—who hastens them?' In the many autobiographical notices of himself, scattered through his pages, he confesses to haste. But it is this very element of haste that gives to his Essays their peculiar excellence, which they would never have possessed, had he been continually revising and polishing his periods. 'Who compels an author to write?' is a question that might be answered in various ways. But the query—'who hastens them?'—is more intriguing. For then you are up against Horace's—

Nonumque prematur in annum

*Hor. Art. Poet.* 338.

and

Definet in piscem mulier formosa superne

*Ibid.* 4.

And the Jesuit Father Sirmond advised a young friend not to publish anything till he reached the age of fifty.

But apart from the question whether authors have any good excuse for haste, it is certain that many of the greatest works of literature bear the most unmistakable signs of it. *Tristram Shandy* has it on almost every page; but haste is here transmuted to art; and Sterne might plead the excuse that, with a handicap of about thirty years, he had need of haste to catch up with Time. Gibbon said he could not abridge Tacitus, whose works, some critics say, are brief hasty notes. Burton's *Anatomy*, which Johnson and Lamb loved to read, is full of haste; and so the purist Macaulay condemned it (wrongly) as being little more than a mere off-scouring of the Bodleian. Pope generally wrote in haste, on stray bits of paper; but spent much time in polishing. And then there is the greatest of all—Shakespeare—the greatest intellect that has left a record of itself. Shakespeare cannot escape the charge of haste, though, in most of the instances, that apparent haste is dramatically correct. Much of his work seems to have been done as if he were writing against time; except *Hamlet*, of which, there is clear proof that he revised it, and made the most

daring alterations, in respect both of matter and form. He is the one author of whom it may be said, 'Language was made for man, and not man for language.' He has broken every rule of grammar, syntax, and English usage (of his day). He has coined words for himself, and made his coinage pass muster as the current coin of the realm. He is something more than a mere writer of books. This master-intellect, and also craftsman so dominated, and domineered over language that he was able to turn and twist it whichever way he pleased; he fingered all the stops of the spirit; and language, in the use of which, lesser men find themselves tied down to rules and usages, in his hands became a mere vehicle of thought, and plastic as clay in the potter's hand. King of the realm of thought, no ordinary rules of grammar are applicable to him—there are no rules for rulers. No writer may dare to imitate him, save at his peril. He has made all the 'parts of speech' interchangeable. He has ridden rough-shod over all rules and usages. Yet, strange to say, it is those very passages, where he has asserted this royal prerogative, that read the best. As *Hamlet* says of *Ophelia*: 'Hell itself she turns to prettiness.' Wherever he breaks a rule, that breakage itself becomes a rule. His handling of language is not more different from all other writers than it is different from that of his own contemporaries. No ordinary rules are applicable to a writer, who, in the plenitude of his power, abrogated the whole lot of them, whenever he thought fit. Milton, his equal as a master of thought and language, was the first to remark this (*Vide* his lines in *L'allegro*, and his studied Sonnet 'On Shakespeare 1630.').

How did Shakespeare achieve this? The only answer seems to be this: He first thought out all things for himself, more deeply than other men, and meditated long and intensely on every presentation of his environment, so that his soul, in silent communion with Nature, became a part of Nature herself, and the vehicle he employed for the expression of his Art, partook also of the qualities of Nature, in whose manifestations we see many apparent irregularities

and deformities, but not one of them, if closely considered, mar her work, or detract from her universally acknowledged perfection of workmanship. Helmholtz, as a scientist, said some rash things about the human eye being a bad specimen of workmanship, from an optician's point of view. He was certainly wrong. For the human eye is so skilfully adapted to its circumstances, that no camera-maker could ever make the like. And to Shakespeare alone it was given to so completely identify himself with each one of the multitudinous characters of his dramas, in each particular situation in which that character was placed (or rather, in which he chose to place him) that he set down exactly what each one of them, so situated, would naturally speak. In short, he fused Nature and Art into one harmonious whole. In this respect his works are not like those of other men. They are something more than merely great works of Art. Sure of this god-like faculty, he coined his own words, made all the 'parts of speech' interchangeable, without detriment to his rhythm, began sentences without ending them, and broke every rule of grammar—the grammar of words—whenever it suited his purpose, or the exigencies of drama. His thought, and the emotions engendered by his thought moved with such rapidity, that not only his pen, but language itself lagged behind. Hence the peculiarities of his 'style'; if that tame word 'style' can be applied to the work of so consummate a master of thought and language. Hence also what often appear to be 'lapses,' irregularities, and haste in the swift movement, and wide compass of his thought. In none of the works of any other writer—except Milton—does there appear so vast a conception of plan. And, as if in deliberate confirmation of these remarks, it is to be noted that none of these apparent indications of haste are to be found in his non-dramatic works—his *Sonnets*, his *Venus and Adonis*, and *The Rape of Lucrece*. In his works ugly and repellant things appear, just as they do in the works of Nature—ugly hairy insects and crawling things, and crooked trees—side by side with the terrible, and devastating, as in *Hamlet*, and *King Lear*, and the soft and beautiful, as in *The Tempest* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*—all of these also often in the same piece.

Viewed in this light there are no lapses, or halting passages in Shakespeare, except the most obvious ones, which might at once be set down to the copyist, or the printer. Had he lived longer, or had he cared to revise his

works, and publish an authentic edition under his own hand, it is very doubtful whether he would have altered a line, except to make it more *dramatically true*, as distinguished from the argot of the grammarians. Speech and writing existed long before the grammarians. Herbert Spencer boasted that he did not know a single rule of grammar; and defied the grammarians to point out any flaw in his writings.

This paper would not be complete without a few quotations taken almost at random, bearing, however, in mind, when viewing his works *in the bulk*, as they now appear in the best editions, Shakespeare cannot wholly escape the charge of haste.

Rashly—

And praised be rashness for it, let us know  
Our indiscretions sometimes serve us well,  
When our deep plots do pall.

*Hamlet*. V. II. 6.

'Rashly' is here left standing high and dry. The sentence is not carried on; but yet nothing could be more dramatically forcible, and also correct.

Few words, but, to effect, more than all yet;  
That when we have found the King—in which your pain.  
That way, I'll this—he that first lights on him  
Holla the other.

Kent. In *Lear*. III. II. 52.

No, you unnatural hags,  
I'll have such revenges on you both,  
That all the world shall—I'll do such things—  
What they are yet I know not—but they shall be  
The terrors of the earth.

*Ibid*. II. IV. 278.

Here whole sentences are massed together, and left incomplete; but nothing could be more expressive of the thoughts and emotions of the speakers, in the circumstances in which they found themselves.

As a daring instance of a noun used as a verb, take this :

My face I'll grime with filth,  
Blanket my loins, elf my hair in knots.

*Ibid*. II. III. 10.

Stranger still, but none the less correct, for the sudden breaking off, is :

Me, poor man—my library  
Was dukedom large enough: of temporal royalties  
He thinks me now incapable.

*The Tempest*. I. II. 109.

The whole dialogue between Prospero and Miranda is full of these sudden turns of thought and expression, the main ideas, however, being unerringly carried on to their com-

pletion. Grammar and syntax are thrown to the winds in the following:

The dead man's knell  
Is there scarce asked for who!

*Macbeth*. IV. III. 120.

Equally domineering is his coining of words like 'laggardise', 'recordation', and hundreds more, his double negatives, double comparatives, and double superlatives—too numerous to be quoted.

But it is only in the bulk and viewed in large masses that his works give, sometimes, the impression of haste. In single passages it may always be put down to dramatic propriety. His grammar, in his highest moods, was not the grammar of the schools, but the grammar of thought and the ideas. Hence his frequent use of 'singular' verbs as predicates to apparently 'plural' subjects, but 'singular' in idea. All these curious constructions and grammatical 'irregularities' cannot be put down to haste. In his works, haste, as above stated, appears only 'in the bulk', and not in 'single passages.' In confirmation of this view might be quoted Professor Dowden's remarks on *The Taming of the Shrew*:

'The question of authorship is difficult, but there can be little doubt that here we have an instance of the hasty revision by Shakespeare of an older play, with certain additions which are characteristically his own.'

These remarks may be applied to other plays also, or to certain parts of them. For Shakespeare too, being human, is not *always* at his best.

But his handling of language remains one of the wonders of literature. No other writer has dared to attempt the like. Was he careless of verbal accuracy? How much of it is haste? How much is 'lapses'? It is dangerous for the mere grammarian of words and sentences to point the finger at any of the passages in the

works of a genius so consummate, a master-mind so comprehensive, that could project itself into all ages, into all countries, into every variety of circumstance, and feel itself at home, alike in the old world of Greek and Roman History and myth, and the magic world of the creative imagination, as in the familiar scenes of England and English history—and yet there is no evidence that he ever travelled out of England: Stratford-on-Avon to London, and back, is, perhaps, the whole extent of his travels.

In his handling of language, and the material he commandeered from every quarter of the globe, he is like Prospero, in the last Act of *The Tempest*, in those remarkable lines, which, not unlikely, he meant to be a self-portraiture of himself, in the evolution of his Art:

Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves;

\* \* \* \* \*

You demi-puppets, that  
By moonshine do the green sour ringlets make  
Whereof the ewe not bites;

\* \* \* \* \*

By whose aid—

Weak masters though ye be—I have bedimmed  
The noontide sun, called forth the mutinous winds,  
And 'twixt the green sea and the azured vault  
Set roaring war: to the dread rattling thunder  
Have I given fire, and rifted Jove's stout oak  
With his own bolt: \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

King of the realm of thought, he asserted his dominion over language, and wherever, as he deemed fit, he departed from its ordinary forms, he majestically conferred upon it the sanction of established usage. His vocabulary of 17,000 words is itself a phenomenon. But the use he made of this colossal vocabulary is one of the chief wonders of the world—the Works of Shakespeare.



## INDIAN WOMANHOOD

SRIMATI PRAMILA BASU, five years after her marriage, had passed the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University in the First Division as a private candidate in 1932. Then she passed the I.Sc. and B.Sc. Examination with Distinction. This year she has come out successful with a Second Class in Botany in the M.Sc. Examination of the Calcutta University. She is the first Bengalee lady student of the Calcutta University to pass the Degree



Srimati Pramila Basu

Examination in the Master of Science with such high distinction in Botany. As a married lady she had to struggle hard to prosecute her studies after looking to her household duties.

SRIMATI LILABATI DESAI has been elected as the President of the Ahmedabad People's Co-

operative Bank, Limited. She took a prominent part in the last Civil Disobedience movement and underwent six months' rigorous imprisonment as the first Dictator in 1932. She is also



Srimati Lilavati Desai

connected with various institutions for the upliftment of women.

Srimati Bindubasini Devi, B.A., B.T., obtained a first class first in Bengali in the M.A. Examination of the Calcutta University in 1938. Srimati Sati Gupta stood sixth in the first class. Srimati Himani Gupta, Srimati Kamala Das, Srimati Chitra Sen and Srimati Bharati Mukerjee passed in the second class.

A Muhammedan lady Rezia Sultana Ahmed obtained a first class first in Persian.

Srimati Jyotirmoyee Basu also obtained a first class first in Ancient Indian History and





Srimati Supriti Majumdar

Srimati Aloka Banerjee passed the same examination in the second class. In English, Srimati Saraju Roy, Srimati Hemaprova Sen, Srimati Lina Sen and Miss Laila Khan passed in the second division and Srimati Ena Ghosh in the third division. Srimati Juthika Pan and Srimati Renuka Sen passed in the second division and Srimati Ena Ghosh in the third division in Philosophy.

Four ladies passed the M.Sc. examination of the Calcutta University this year. Srimati Asima Mukerjee got a first class in Chemistry; Srimati Ava Mitra and Suhasini Dutt passed in the second division in Mathematics, and Pramila Basu in the second division in Botany.

SRIMATI SUPRITI MAJUMDAR, daughter of the late Professor Abhoykumar Majumdar, obtained the M.A. degree in Bengali literature and language from the Calcutta University, this year.

## SECOND WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS



The Student building where the plenary sessions of the Congress were held



Main building of Vassar college, the venue of the Congress

## SECOND WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

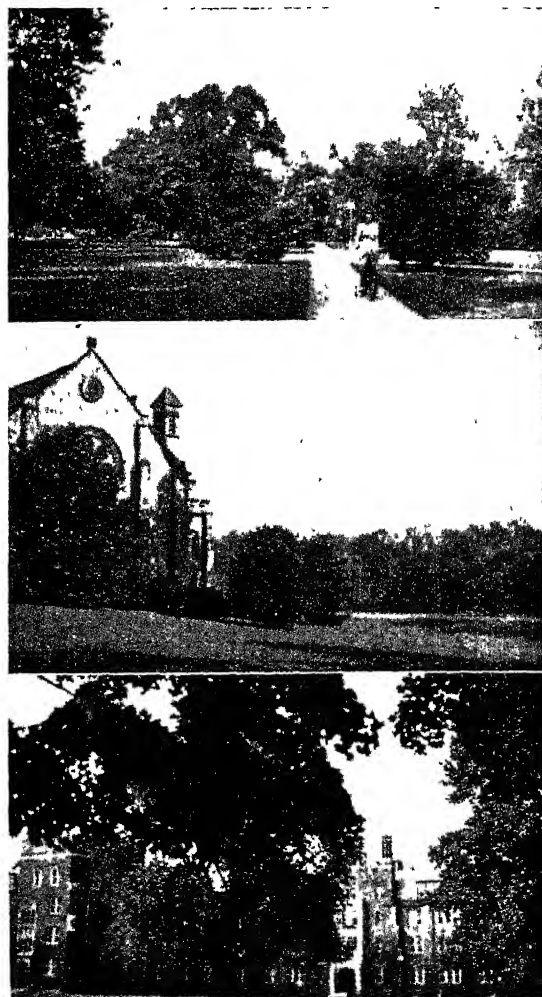
A comprehensive account of the Second World Youth Congress was published in *The Modern Review* for November, 1938. The Congress, which was held at Vassar College, Paughkeepsie, New York, from August 16 to August 24, was attended by five hundred delegates and observers from fifty-three countries of the world. The Indian delegation was composed of eight members, Mr. M. Iftikar. Mr. Ysuf Meherally, Mr Arun Bose, Miss Renu Roy, Mr. Tarapada Basu, Mr. A. K. Abbas, Mr. Krishnalal Shridharani and Mr. Satya N. Mukerji. Mr Ysuf Meherally presented India's report



A group of delegates representing different countries of the East and the West



Delegates to the Second World Youth Conference  
Left to right: Margaritta Robles (Spain),  
Tarapada Basu and Renu Roy



Vassar college, where the Second World  
Youth Conference was held

## COMMENT & CRITICISM

### MAHOMEDANS AND THE ARMY

Mr. Jinnah in justifying his support to the Army Recruitment Bill in the Council of State, said that he did it in the interest of the Mahomedans, who form 60 to 70 per cent of the Indian army. One is surprised as to how the president of the Muslim League arrived at these figures. The percentage of men according to religion in the Indian army is as follows:—

	Infantry	Cavalry
Hindus (Including Sikhs and Gurkhas).	.. 66 954	61 92
Mahomedans ..	.. 29.974	38.08
Burmans ..	.. 3.072	..

At the sitting of the Council of State on the 13th September, Mr. Syed Husain said, "Muslim is a soldier not because he belongs to a certain blood, but because of his religion. Every Muslim whatever his sect acts in the same manner."

Now if one looks into the facts and figures of the Indian army the accuracy of Mr. Syed Husain's statement could be easily challenged. As regards the Mahomedans in the army, they are practically all recruited from Northern India and especially from the Punjab. Before the last great war there used to be companies of Madras Mahomedans in the Carnatic regiments, and Deccan Mahomedans in the Mahratta regiments. After the war enlistment of Mahomedans to these regiments was stopped, the Carnatic regiments being disbanded, and only Hindu Marathas from Konkan and Deccan are now enlisted in the Mahratta regiments.

As regards the Mahomedans that are recruited from Northern India, the vast majority of them come from the Punjab, and the rest from the Delhi province, Rajputana and the N.-W. Frontier. Other provinces do not provide any Mahomedan soldiers for the Indian army.

I am afraid the army authorities who know something of the fighting qualities of the different classes in India, do not fully agree with Mr. Syed's dictum. The Mahomedans that are recruited from the Punjab, are practically all from the following classes only: Awans, Tiwanas, Ghakkars, Janjuas, and Chibs, who proudly call themselves Rajputs and Jats, magnificent men, styled "P.Ms." by the army officers. I remember sepoy Rahm Dad, a Chib from Jammu, saying with a feeling of pride, "Seb, Kashmirda Maharajah sadi komda hai," "The Maharajah of Kashmir belongs to my caste." No other class of Mahomedans in the Punjab is recruited for the army.

The Mahomedans from the Delhi province and Rajputana who are enlisted in the army are either Ranghars or Kaimkhanis, who would feel insulted if the denomination Mussalman Rajput is not used in their case. The Pathans recruited from the N.-W. F. are also selected from particular classes only, viz., Afridis, Orakzais, Bangash, and Khataks.

Thus the army authorities hold a different view from that held by Mr. Syed. Although the Hindus are recruited to the army from the provinces of, the Punjab, United Provinces, Bihar, Delhi, Rajputana, Bombay, Madras and Nepal, recruitment of Mahomedans is confined to the Punjab, Delhi province, Rajputana and N.-W. F. Province. Under these circumstances one wonders what

Mr. Syed Mahomed Husain, actually meant by saying " . . . we are more competent than you are, etc. . . " in his reply to the statement of Mr. Kumar Shankar Ray Chowdhury.

V. M. KAIKINI

### CORRUPTION AND THE PUBLIC SERVICES—A NOTE

[*The Modern Review*, October 1938, Page 473.] The Remedies suggested for eradicating corruption only touch the fringe of the problem. Sufficient contact between the officials and the people can be obtained by raising the standard of self-respect among the governed and by reducing the emoluments of the Public service. In the mofussil, the public servant in a town is the person with the highest income. There is tendency in such cases on the part of officials to become inaccessible and look down upon the people. Paying surprise visits, formation of agencies to detect corruption will help little unless there is in the background honest, self-respecting, economically independent people who will stand upright. The repellent reserve of superior officers can only be shaken off among the governed consisting of people of the same intellectual, economic, political status as the officials. The disparity in pay among officials also must be reduced. Otherwise it is impossible to eradicate the insidious form of corruption among the superior class of public servants who refuse to shoulder or who passively resist shouldering the gentlemanly obligations due from them to their inferiors in relation to their dealings with them. This can be said to be a silent incentive to corruption among the lower officials.

In Russia, where there is greater equality, where the officials are drawn from the people, the officials are subjected to two cleansing processes or *Chuska*. These are referred to by Sidney & Beatrice Webb in their book *Soviet Communism—a new civilization*, pages 475 and 509, 1st volume.

The workers can be present and the technical and administrative staffs have to be present during this process. Every questionable act, which the officials may have done, any indiscreet conversation and any part of his public life may be hauled up into the light of publicity. Any one can be present and ask questions.

This institution gives a sense of power to every citizen. It lessens the tendency on the part of the personnel to be corrupt or tyrannical.

This is only possible in a society where all persons, officials or non-officials, are of equal status. In India racial and other considerations have weight, and such a cleansing process may not be possible. Subjecting a member of the I.C.S. to this cleansing process may be a sight for the gods. If corruption has to be eradicated, some modified method will have to be adopted.

Relaxation of the rules of evidence, admission of hearsay in departmental enquiries, a stern punishment for screening offenders by brother officials, punishment for persistent suspicious behaviour, refusal to prosecute newspapers, relaxation of laws of libel, etc. with regard to such publication may go a long way to eradicate corruption, if backed by a vigilant public opinion.

K. L. KUDVA



# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## The Plight of Modern Cities

Twenty-two years ago Rabindranath Tagore visited Japan. The travel-diary which was written in 1916, is now translated from the original Bengali by Indira Devi Chowdhuran and published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*. The following is Tagore's reflections on modern and commercialised cities, specially with reference to Calcutta :

The goddess of commerce is hard, and the lotus of beauty that springs from man's idealism does not bloom beneath her feet. She does not look at men, she wants only things, and the machine is her own special mount. When our boat was coming up the Ganges, signs of her shameless cruelty were evident on both banks of the river. It is because her heart knows no tenderness that she has been able so lightly to deface the lovely banks of the Ganges in Bengal.

I consider it to be an inestimable privilege to have been born before the iron flood of ugliness hastened to drown both sides of the river near Calcutta, from Garden Reach to Hooghly. Then the landing places of the Ganges, like cool arms of the village, still used to hold the river to their breast in a familiar embrace, and the factory ferry-boats still used to go from one landing to another, carrying each one back to his home in the evening. No hard and ugly barrier had yet been built between the flow of the country's heart on the one side, and the flow of this country river on the other.

In those days there was nothing yet to prevent one from seeing the real aspect of Bengal round about Calcutta. Hence, though Calcutta is a modern city, it had not, like a young *koil*, occupied the whole of its foster-mother's nest to the exclusion of everything else. But in course of time, the appearance of the country gradually became hidden beneath the growth of commercial civilization. Now Calcutta is banishing the real Bengal from its outskirts; in the struggle between time and place it is the green loveliness of the place that was defaced by the fierce figure of time that spread out its iron nails and claws, and belched forth its black breath.

Once upon a time men used to say that the goddess Lakshmi dwells in trade. Then they saw the goddess revealed not only in her splendour, but also in her beauty. Because in those days man was not yet separated from trade, there was a communion of spirit between the weaver and his loom, the smith's hand and the smith's hammer, the artisan and his work of art. So the heart of man used to express itself through trade in varied forms of richness and beauty. How else could Lakshmi have got her lotus-throne ?

But ever since the machine became its vehicle, trade has become godless. If one compares modern Manchester with ancient Venice, the difference will become apparent. In the splendour and beauty of Venice, man had revealed

himself, in Manchester man has stultified himself on all sides and revealed his machine. Therefore, wherever this machine-ridden trade has gone, it has spread a pestilence of greed throughout the world with its soot and ugliness and cruelty. It has given rise to no end of struggling and fighting. It has polluted society with falsehood, and made the earth slippery with bloodshed. The goddess of plenty has changed into the dread goddess Kali; her serving ladle has now become a scimitar for drawing blood, and her sweet smile has turned into wild laughter.

## The Future of Religion

In the course of his article on the future of religion J. D. Beresford observes in *The Aryan Path*:

The first "sign of the times" is provided by Mr. Aldous Huxley's recent book *Ends and Means*, which has a very special significance for our present purpose. Mr. Huxley represents a type of mind that is characteristic of many thinkers in the world today. The type, as such, is that of a man of very wide reading who has sufficient imagination and power of reason to save him from any form of specialisation, whether in philosophy or science. These gifts give such a man the ability for that detachment which is absolutely essential for those whose aim is the search for truth; a detachment that has always been clearly evident in Mr. Huxley's writing. Now, in *Ends and Means*, he has reached a stage at which he finds in this "non-attachment" one of the paths to wisdom. It is a path that corresponds to meditation in the East. Both lead to a realization of the evanescence and unreality of the phenomenal world regarded objectively, and thence to the recognition of the animating principle responsible for the objective appearance. This is a stage that will infallibly be reached by any thinker who has the courage and independence of mind to refuse the adoption of any specific formalised belief.

Another exemplar of this type is Mr. Gerald Heard who in his last book, *The Third Morality*, arrives at the same position as that of Mr. Huxley. In the first half of this book, he gives a scientific and historical, as opposed to philosophical, account of the way he has come, tracing the development of worldthought through the stages of anthropomorphism and mechanomorphism to the uneasy conditions, political and religious, of the present day. The difference of training, experience and natural tendency between these two thinkers is very marked, yet we find them arriving at that conclusion which is, I maintain, the only possible one for any thinker who strives to keep his mind as nearly as may be, free from prejudice. This conclusion is that all matter as we know it through the senses is a presentation of something other than matter, a conclusion that is the beginning of wisdom.

### The All-India Language

Is it necessary for the building up of a nation that there should be an uniformity of language? According to Prof. Madhav T. Patwardhan, this national unity appears to be of the same kind as the German unity which the German Imperial Government tried to force upon Poland and upon Alsace-Lorraine. He writes in the *Triveni* :

The question of a *lingua franca* for India is no longer one of mere academic interest. The Congress has made up its mind about it; and an attempt is being made in the non-Hindustani-speaking Provinces, on the strength of the Congress majority in the Councils, to force its decision down the throats of the people. This move to impose Hindustani on all students at the secondary stage is being stoutly opposed in the South, particularly in the Tamil district. One Editor of *Triveni*, Mr. K. Ramakoti-swara Rao, who is not a non-Congressman, admits that there are people "who are genuinely apprehensive that a new language like Hindustani is likely to affect adversely the growth of their mother-tongue." If these apprehensions are genuine, they ought to be sympathetically considered and removed, with arguments and authoritative assurances. But when Mahatma Gandhi thinks otherwise why should his followers adopt a conciliatory policy towards Hindu doubters in particular? In the *Harijan* for September 10, 1938, Mahatma Gandhi says, "The cry of 'mother-tongue in danger' is either ignorant or hypocritical. And where it is sincere, it speaks little for the patriotism of those who will grudge our children an hour per day for Hindustani." But Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, who, I trust, is neither ignorant, nor hypocritical, nor unpatriotic, in his editorial note (p. 284 of the September number of *The Modern Review*) remarks "that the logical and natural outcome of making Hindustani the State language of India under Congress rule would or should be to make it the cultural language too, of those Universities in India of which English is at present the cultural language" "If what we have said be correct," he proceeds to observe, "the development of the Hindustani language would receive a very great impetus, and at the same time the development of other provincial languages would be arrested, for no language, no literature can attain its full stature if it be not the medium of the highest education and culture."

That is how some public-spirited men are genuinely apprehensive about the language policy of the Congress. The Editor of *The Modern Review* thinks that the Congress has not yet placed all its 'linguistic' cards on the table. While on one hand an attempt is being made to teach Hindustani compulsorily at the secondary stage, there is, on the other, no authoritative ministerial statement of policy as to what is to be the position of the regional language in administration and in education. It is often said that Hindustani is to occupy the place now held by English, and it is argued that under the domination of Hindustani Indian languages and literatures will continue to grow just as they have grown under the domination of English. But if Indian languages and literatures have grown during the last eighty or ninety years, the spread of education and contact with Western thought—cause other than that of the political ascendancy of English—have contributed to this growth, which would have been considerably greater if there had not been this domination by English. And then, if English has to a certain extent affected adversely the growth of

Indian languages and literatures, the rise of Hindustani to the same position is much more likely to affect similarly all the other Indian languages. English has never been looked upon as the national language; and opposition to it and preference for a provincial language could never be construed as want of patriotism. But with the recognition of Hindustani as the *Rashtrabhasha*, who can take objection to a person like Mr. Jinnah, for instance, if he refuses to speak publicly the language of the Province in which he has made his home? I have heard of a Maharashtrian member of the Hindi-Prachara Sangha who addresses Marathi-speaking audiences in Hindi, and confesses without any qualm of conscience that he cannot speak his mother-tongue. He who for such conduct under the regime of English would certainly be cried down as a traitor may now be hailed as a nationalist.

### The Co-operative Movement in India

Economists are of opinion that co-operation to be successful must be started not in isolated toy-organisations, but comprehensively, covering the whole field of economic activities. The *National Reconstruction* writes editorially :

The Co-operative Movement in India has not been a full success; this is frankly admitted by many now. The word Movement is really a misnomer when applied to it. A movement is that which is live, and through its own life can bring in a new order of things.

The Co-operative Movement, so called, was started in India in 1904 with the passing of the Co-operative Societies Act. That Act was the outcome of the recommendations of the Famine Commission of 1901, and as the Royal Agricultural Commission observed, was not 'the outcome of a popular demand, but was essentially the act of a Government . . . to ameliorate the condition of the people, and to give it effect, a government department had to be established.' This Act was strictly limited to credit. In 1912, a second Act was passed, which permitted the extension of Co-operation to non-credit activities also. But it has always been, up to now, a department of the Government. It has grown in number during the 34 years of its life. It has grown in volume also, both in membership as well as in working capital. But it has not grown into the life of the people; it does not shape or control, by even a small measure, the economic life of the Indian people. It is no movement in any real sense of the term.

As regards the question of developing the habit of thrift the same journal observes :

Co-operation has helped to develop the habit of thrift in the people. This claim perhaps is true, but only so far as it goes. For one thing, Co-operation has not touched in many provinces more than a small fraction of the people. The Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee found that co-operative societies were formed only "in one village out of five in the province, while the proportion of agriculturalist families benefited is only about 1 in 15." Secondly, while thrift is a good quality helping contented sufficiency, it is not the main problem of our economic life. The income of our rural ryot leaves very little surplus to save. It is absolutely inadequate (according to the Banking Enquiry Committee) to make possible any improvement in his standard of living. "In the estimation of the Committee (the Bengal report said) there is very little room for improve-



ment in the standard of living *unless means are devised to improve the productiveness of the soil and to bring to the producer a greater share of the value of the crops than the harvest price that he now commands.*" The portion italicised by us puts the economic problem in a nutshell. And Co-operation has failed to do practically anything to substantially improve the income of our agriculturist. A few production and sale societies were started, in insignificant proportion to the credit societies, which, except in rare instances, were never allowed to thrive. As a result, in spite of co-operative credit societies rural indebtedness has been increasing, reaching a figure almost beyond redemption.

### Economic Planning for India

Industries Ministers from the Congress-administered provinces met in conference in Delhi, early in October last, under the presidency of Subhas Chandra Bose, to discuss economic planning on a nation-wide scale and also development and co-ordination of industrial resources in India. The following extract is made from a synopsis of his speech appearing in the *Financial Times*:

Rastrapati Subhas Chandra Bose, who presided, in his opening speech indicated the lines on which constructive effort could be directed, like the establishment of a national planning commission, regional distribution, technical research and training and starting of "mother" industries.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, emphasized that Congressmen today had not only to strive for liberty but had also to devote a portion of their thought and energy to problems of national reconstruction.

National reconstruction would be possible only with the aid of science and scientists. There was at present a lot of loose talk about schemes for bringing about industrial recovery in the country, but to his mind the principal problem was not industrial recovery but industrialization.

India was still in a pre-industrial stage of evolution. No industrial advancement was possible until they had passed through the throes of an industrial revolution.

"I am afraid," said Mr. Bose after a pause, "that it has to be a forced march in this country. In the world as it is constituted today a community which resists industrialization has little chance of surviving international competition."

Detailing the problems the conference had to consider he made the following points: arrangement for a proper economic survey of each Province; co-ordination between cottage industries and large scale industries, to prevent overlapping: the advisability of having a regional distribution of industries; rules regarding technical training in India and abroad for Indian students; provision for technical research and the advisability of appointing a committee of experts to give further advice on the problems of industrialization.

"It is our aim to see that every man, woman and child is better clothed, better housed, better educated and has sufficient leisure for recreation and for cultural activity. If this aim is to be realized the quantity of industrial products has to be increased considerably, necessary works have to be organized and a large proportion of the village population has to be diverted to industrial occupation."

India had similar resources to those of the United

States or Russia. What was wanted was a systematic and organized exploitation of the resources in the interests of the nation.

There was no conflict between cottage industries and large scale industries. Such a conflict, if any, arose out of misunderstanding. He was a firm believer in the need for developing India's cottage industries, though he held that they had also to reconcile themselves to industrialization.

### George Russell and Indian Thought

George William Russell, better known as AE, was greatly influenced by Hindu philosophy. Swami Jagadiswarananda writes in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

George William Russell, popularly known to the world by his pen-name, AE, was the greatest poet of Ireland. He was also a good artist, a great patriot and, above all, a dynamic mystic of rare calibre. A many-sided personality though he was, the mystic in him was the dominant note of his character. What characterizes his mysticism most is its surprising similarity to Indian thought and, as such, a study of his views is made in the following paragraphs in the light of Vedanta.

George Russell was born in April, 1867, at Largan and educated at Rathmines school, Dublin. He studied art for some time in a school but his academic education did not proceed far like that of Tagore and other celebrities of our time. When his student career was cut short, he entered an accountant's office, but in 1897 he joined the Irish Agricultural Movement and became a successful organizer of Agricultural Societies. From 1904 to 1923 he was the worthy editor of *The Irish Homestead*, an organ of the Agricultural Co-operative Movement. In 1923, he became the able editor of *The Irish Statesman*, in which capacity his mighty pen did much to direct the new literature on national lines. In Celtic Renaissance and in the Revival of Gaelic language and literature he has left a permanent mark in Ireland. In the last decade of his life he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature from the Dublin University in 1929 and passed away in July, 1935.

As a mystic AE has much in common with Hindu thinkers and shares many of their ideas and conceptions of soul, God and universe. "In thought, ideas and visions," writes Mr. Mehesh Chandra, M.A. in his *Study of Modern Irish Literature*, "AE is so like a Hindu seer that it is difficult to keep in mind the fact while studying his works that he is an Irishman. Even there are poems which use Sanskrit words and phrases and the impression created is that of reading splendid transcriptions of Hindu philosophical books or hymns."

George Russell had deep love and longing for the Orient and Oriental wisdom. He had a soft corner in his heart particularly for India and her spiritual wealth. Mr. Frank O'Connor, the Irish author, who delivered the grave-side oration at the funeral of his departed friend, struck a true note when he said that AE saw the light in the East and longed for the East. AE believed firmly like Tindall and Rolland, Emerson and Keyserling and a host of other Western savants that spiritual light has always come from the East and will again come from the East. In a letter written on the 17th October, 1922, he pays his loving tribute to India as follows: "I have watched with interest so far as I could, the economic and spiritual movements in India, a country which I regard as a kind of spiritual Fatherland and whose influence on the thought of the world must, I think,



grow greater because in no literature there is such a reservoir of divine truth as in the Indian."

### Improvement of Cattle

*The Indian Veterinary Journal* writes editorially:

It is a well-known fact that our country has got a number of excellent indigenous breeds of cattle which had been evolved solely with an eye to their utility. It is also an equally well-known fact that these breeds of cattle have been gradually deteriorating, chiefly from want of care and attention to their *breeding and feeding*. It is further agreed that there is bound to be definite and rapid all round improvement when once these two defects are removed. This aspect of the matter has been forcibly brought out by experiments which were recently conducted and which have been recorded by Col. Olver, till lately the Animal Husbandry Expert with the Government of India, in the following words:

"Within the last 20 years, simply by proper feeding and management, combined with *strictly controlled breeding* (Italics ours), the average milk-yield of several herds of pure-bred indigenous cows in India has been raised from 5.3 lbs. to 16.8 lbs. per diem. With more forcing methods such as special hand-feeding, very frequent milking, and very high feeding, which are commonly employed by pedigree breeders of dairy cattle in other countries to obtain records, there is little doubt that still higher yields could have been obtained."

The real remedy for the improvement of the live-stock is to be looked for in better feeding and more careful management of our own live-stock.

This object cannot possibly be achieved by the opening of a couple of breeding farms in a presidency and trying to evolve a pure strain of cattle under conditions greatly foreign to their native habitat. There are a number of breeders in the various parts of the country whose knowledge of things pertaining to Animal Husbandry is not negligible. They may not be well versed in the three R's and they may not be educated according to the modern concepts. But their knowledge of practical cattle-breeding is something extraordinary. It is the accumulated experience of generations of practical farming and practical Animal Husbandry. They know exactly what the ryots need; they study the conditions of the market very accurately and they try to meet those requirements in their own limited way. If latterly they have become apathetic to their profession of cattle-breeding and indifferent to their occupation of cattle-rearing, it is not because they have no interest in their work. It is because of the grinding poverty in the country-side, of the encroachment on pasture lands, and of the absence of patronage and encouragement from the Government. And, therefore, unless these causes are remedied, there is very little chance of our inducing these people to take a live interest in their work.

The Government must arrange for taking a comprehensive census of the real cattle-breeders in the various parts of the country. These people must be approached by the Government and induced to take an active interest in their work by the grant of liberal subsidies either in cash or in kind, as, for instance, by the offer of Grantee farms solely intended for cattle-breeding on the lines of what is being done in the Punjab, or by the grant of free pasturage in the forest areas. Simultaneously, better facilities for the transport

of fodder and cattle from place to place should be provided. If the above plans be adopted, we are quite confident that the whole country-side will all at the same time be electrified into action with a comparatively less cost to the Government than the maintenance of a number of farms at an enormous expenditure.

### An International University

The following is an extract from the editorial notes of *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon*:

The football party from the Student Hostel in Calcutta who made their pilgrimage to Santiniketan, and there had an interview with Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, were able to see for themselves the fruition of a dream which the Poet described to another student audience of the Y. M. C. A. in 1920. It was in London at the old Shakespeare Hut, the original home of the Indian Students' Hostel, that Dr. Tagore made his appeal for the creation of a centre of indigenous culture in India. The chair was occupied by the Minister of Education, Dr. H. A. L. Fisher, and there were notable people in the audience. But for one of the least of these what remains in the memory after all these years is a striking simile used by the Poet when speaking of the languages of India. There was a time, he reminded us, when European culture, still in the bud, was concentrated, so to speak, in a point—the Latin language; only when the petals of its distinct vernaculars unfolded was the beauty of the flower revealed. And so it would be with India, he said, when her vernacular literature and her characteristic art revived.

But more lasting than any "flower of perfect speech" was the seed the Poet planted of a great idea. He appealed for the establishment of a new type of Indian university, "which should revive the splendid memories of Taxila and Nalanda, where students flocked from the four corners of Asia—a university which should be racy of the soil, which should be self-supporting in the sense that it maintained its own life by the work of its own hands; students and teachers sharing in a common life, contributing to the life of the surrounding villages and to the solution of India's problems as they present themselves in the neighbourhood, building their spiritual life on the foundation of India's great past, and welcoming, as on the white carpet of Akbar, the spiritual contributions of every culture in the world."

That was in 1920, and the idea has borne fruit in Visva-Bharati, the international university founded by Dr. Tagore which our footballers saw at Santiniketan.

### A POEM

Early winter spreads her filmy veil  
over midnight stars,  
and the call comes from the deep,  
"Man, bring out your lamp."  
The forests are bare of flowers,  
the birds have ceased to sing,  
the riverside grass has shed its blossoms.  
Come, Dipali, waken hidden flames  
out of the desolate dark,  
and offer symphony of praise to eternal light.  
The stars are dimmed,  
the night is disconsolate,  
and the call comes from the deep,  
"Man, bring out your lamp."

RABINDRANATH TAGORE  
in the *Visva-Bharati News*

# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## China Stronger than Ever ?

Has China any chance in her conflict with Japan? Writing in the *Christian Science Monitor*, Randall Gould says that from now on the Chinese will have things far more their own way. Extracts from the article are made here from a condensed version published in the *News Review*.

The Japanese army conveniently prefers not to know that from now on China is a great bog into which the Japanese wade at their peril.

They recognize that the next phase of war must be fought on China's terms, not Japan's; for while Japan could operate with reasonable ease and efficiency along the coasts with aid of her navy and with heavily mechanised units utilising China's new communications media (chiefly highways and railroads together with the ancient canals), the hinterland is a different story.

China is in this new phase merely falling back on her own essentially agrarian structure; what has happened thus far has deprived her only of the coastal industries, which were rather luxuries than necessities in any event. At no time did China ever have single points which meant to her what such cities as Osaka mean to Japan, or Manchester to England. That has been one of the most exasperating phases of the campaign, to the Japanese the great sprawling Chinese monster was nowhere vulnerable for a death blow.

What is more, the Chinese actually appear to have gathered fresh strength under stress. New armies have been built up, a system developed for supplying fresh men in ever-increasing numbers, inland industries are starting, which means less need to import, while many small munitions plants are turning out the true sinews of Chinese military resistance, even though China must still look abroad for big guns and airplanes.

Some of the hitherto neglected interior provinces are experiencing a boom and undergoing rapid development of communications and natural resources such as never would have occurred within many years under other circumstances. What is more, China is fighting "on the cheap"—throwing into action a man power five or six times that of Japan and making Japan spend from three to five dollars for every one China lays out.

## A Mad New World

Our civilisation is in a curious predicament; peace, prosperity and plenty are in our grasp, yet we seem bent on destruction—writes C. E. M. Joad in *The Living Age*. Thanks to science, he observes, all the age-old enemies of man have been conquered—all except one, the enemy which is human nature itself. Human power has increased but human wisdom has stood still, so that while science has given us powers fit for

the gods we bring to their use the mentality of savages, of madmen.

Look at that airplane humming across the summer sky. The knowledge of mathematics, of dynamics and mechanics, of electricity and internal combustion, the ingenuity in the application of that knowledge, the skill in the working of woods and metals that have gone into its making are such as to suggest that its inventors were supermen; the intrepidity and courage which were shown by the early flying men were the qualities of heroes.

Think now of the benefits which the airplane might have conferred upon mankind; of how it might have brought all the countries of the world to John Smith's back door and made Bagdad as accessible as Balham.

Now think of the purposes for which the airplane has been and seems increasingly likely again to be used. To drop bombs that shatter and choke and burn and poison and dismember defenseless people, so that modern war has become, in the words of a lady novelist, 'a running away with one's children and a not being able to run fast enough.' In a word, the supermen made the airplane and the savage has got hold of it.

Consider the case of machines. Machines were invented in order to relieve mankind of dull and drudging work. The ordinary citizen nourishes a dream wherein after three or four hours' machine-minding a day he will have produced enough and to spare, after which he will, presumably, have nothing to do but enjoy himself. But two things have combined to prevent the realization of this dream.

In the first place, the new leisure which the inventor of machinery has made available for men, instead of being distributed evenly among us all, is concentrated in the form of unemployment upon a certain number who do not want it, while the rest of us work as hard or nearly as hard as we worked before.

In the second place, instead of using machines as our servants, we have grown so dependent upon them that they have become our masters. We cannot now perform the simplest operation of life without their assistance.

Potentially we are masters of the world, yet we are on the verge of committing mass suicide through sheer inability to control the powers that science has given us.

Mind, I am not saying that we are any worse than we ever were; merely that we have a need to be very much better—much better because we are so much more powerful.

## Social Insurance in the U. S. S. R.

The following extracts are made from a report on Social Insurance in the U. S. S. R., 1933-1937, published in the *International Labour Review*:

### SCOPE

The new Soviet Constitution of 5 December 1936 includes among the basic rights of the citizen "the right

to material security in old age as well as in the event of sickness and loss of capacity to work." This right, according to Article 120 of the Constitution, "is ensured by the wide development of social insurance of workers and employees at the expense of the State, free medical aid, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the toilers."

The class of insured persons coincides to all intents and purposes with that of wage-earners. The increase in the insured population during the years 1929-1937 merely reflects the extremely rapid rise in the number of employed persons in the Soviet Union during the first two quinquennial stages of the industrialisation of the country.

The size of the insured population from 1929 to 1936 is shown below :

	Thousands		Thousands
1929	.. 10,932	1933	.. 22,156
1930	.. 13,659	1934	.. 23,935
1931	.. 17,658	1935	.. 24,949
1932	.. 22,385	1936	.. 25,633

In 1937 the number of insured persons again rose by over a million to about 26,700,000.

#### FINANCIAL RESOURCES

The financial resources of the insurance scheme are derived from contributions in proportion to wages. These contributions are paid by the undertakings, institutions, businesses, or individuals, employing workers, and no part of the contribution may be charged to the worker or deducted from his wages. As all undertakings, institutions, and businesses, employing paid labour are State property, the Soviet scheme is described in the Constitution of 1936 as "social insurance of workers and employees at the expense of the State."

The right to benefit does not depend on payment of the contribution. Section 179 of the Labour Code expressly states that failure to pay the contribution may in no case deprive a worker of insurance benefit.

Another important feature of the Soviet scheme is the inclusive nature of the contribution. The undertaking pays a single inclusive contribution for its workers which covers all the risks mentioned in the legislation. Until 1937 these risks were the following: temporary incapacity resulting from an accident, an occupational disease, or illness other than an occupational disease, or pregnancy or confinement, together with permanent incapacity, old age, and death.

#### BENEFITS

The transfer of the administration of social insurance to the trade unions made it possible to inaugurate a new benefit policy increasingly adapted to the economic plans of the Government.

The most important of the insurance benefits provided directly by the trade union organizations are undoubtedly those granted in connection with *temporary incapacity*. The rates of these benefits depend on a number of factors: the nature of the work performed, membership of a trade union, period of service, and membership of a shock brigade. Thus, for example, a worker who is a trade unionist and employed in a State undertaking, and who has completed at least three years' work including an unbroken period of two years in the same undertaking, is entitled to benefit equal to full wages from the first day of incapacity. If the worker has been employed without interruption in the same undertaking between one to two years, he receives two-thirds of his wages during the first twenty days of incapacity, and full wages from the twenty-first day of

absence. A non-trade-unionist worker receives only half his wages during the first thirty days of incapacity and two-thirds of his wages during the rest of his absence.

Expenditure on *pregnancy and confinement benefits*, which are assessed in the same way as benefits for temporary incapacity, shows both an absolute and a relative increase. Between 1933 and 1936 this expenditure increased progressively; in 1933 it was 58 per cent. of the insurance expenditure met directly by the trade unions, and in 1936 it was 98 per cent. In the 1937 budget, these benefits were estimated at 163 per cent of the total, and in the 1938 budget at 168 per cent. *Benefits for children of insured persons* underwent a similar increase. These benefits include layette and nursing allowances, maintenance in pioneer camps and sanatoria for children, assistance outside school, and relief for parents who are momentarily in need. Between 1933 and 1936, expenditure for such purposes varied between 6 and 7 per cent of the insurance benefits paid directly by the trade union. In the 1937 budget, it amounted to 10.5 per cent, and in the 1938 budget to 11.1 per cent.

#### Trotsky Judges Russia

Josef Tejkal discusses the economy of Soviet Russia in the *Krestanska Revue* (Prague), basing his criticism on Trotsky's "Revolution Betrayed".

The new economic development has increased the production and permits of a higher standard of life, but this amelioration, which is clearly in evidence among the leading classes, is completely absent in the lowest strata. They build little and badly for the workers, but money is spent lavishly over Soviet palaces, grand theatres and such other structures, which are there only to dazzle the eyes. A similar state of affairs is obtained in regard to industries of transport, provisions, clothing, etc.

In order to raise the economic level and increase production, the ordinary methods of improving wages, e.g. piece-work wages, have been introduced. Whoever earns more rubles can, therefore, obtain better commodities of life. This leads to the social stratification of the workers. The Stakhanov workers, who succeed so well in their execution and economy of material by means of their more economic methods of work, form, as it were, the aristocracy among the workers. Among them there are, of course, some who accomplish more work through socialistic motives, but most of them only care for more earnings. There are workers who earn more than 2,000 rubles, while workers of a lower category scarcely get 100 rubles a month. According to Trotsky this type of production excludes real equality and the present Soviet system has widely overstepped the permissible measure of inequality. . . . The workers defend themselves, by means of acts of sabotage, against the Stakhanov movement and one has often the impression of a small civil war.

This social stratification is found also in agriculture. Ninety per cent of the agricultural concerns are collective farms, the rest are Soviet farms. But the most of the collective farms draw their income from a private 'supplementary' landed property and not from the common economy. . . . Again, a part of the soil is allowed by them to be worked on leases, which reminds one of the old serfdom. The bureaucracy is afraid of removing these injustices.

To a small extent, there exists also private economy, which is allowed or tolerated in the cases of intellectual

workers, specialists and the privileged classes of labour. It can be said, in brief, that property is acquired by the state, but its income is distributed according to a bourgeois standard. This gives rise to a new social structure and a privileged class.

If the Soviet Union represents the realisation of Socialism and the most developed form of Communism, as it is constantly emphasised, why are there, then, if there is a society devoid of all classes, all the organisations of such an energetic political power, a dictatorship and persecutions? Stalin, of course, does not speak of a bureaucracy or of a ruling class, but of socialistic 'cells.' He asserts that they are so strong as not be swept away even by a new civil war. But this cult of 'cells' is in reality only a cult of bureaucracy, of stewardship and of the technical aristocracy.

The Marxian theorists may assert that it is a transition period, but the question is how to prevent the authorities in the society from becoming the masters. . . And yet Lenin presumes that a proletarian dictatorship is a dictatorship of the majority for the suppression of a privileged minority!

TRs. DR. V. V. GOKHALE

### Good out of Communism

Vincent McNabb observes in *Blackfriars* :

The good that can come, *yet may not come*, from Communism is the conviction that "if any man will not work, neither let him eat."

A second great good which may come of Communism is a lively sense of each individual's duty towards the groups of which he is an individual, *e.g.*, to the family, the city, the mother-land, the Brotherhood of Mankind.

We cannot give to Bolsheviks the credit of discovering this fundamental social principle. It was already known to the Greek philosophers and mediæval 'Scholastics' as the principle of General Justice.

But this science of the Greek pagan philosophers, and of the mediæval Christian philosophers was little better than a science. In other words, it was a thought if not a conviction when it ought to have been a life.

Communists are determined that this social science which gives us the doctrine of General Justice shall be a life.

But it can never be sufficiently emphasized that "heresy is a truth in isolation," and the greater the principle from which the truth is isolated the greater the heresy. Communism as we see it in practice, if not in programme or principle, by denying God has isolated the two truths from their fundamental principle.

### D'Annunzio, the Real Inventor of Fascism

Gabriele D'Annunzio, the eminent soldier-poet of Italy who died early this year, was the real inventor of Fascism, according to an article published in the *Parade*.

The war of 1914-1918 left in its wake, to a certain extent everywhere, and especially in Italy and Germany, a new category of white-collar proletarians, who were an exceedingly troubled wreckage in a society in which capitalism and the world of the working man seemed equally hostile to them.

In Italy the greatness of our Middle Ages, in which all is disorder and life, was necessarily incomprehensible to their limited capacity. By a strange paradox, it was

Gabriele D'Annunzio, whose lyric richness had been so splendid, who became the poet and the prophet of all these pathetic misfits. It was he who was the real inventor of fascism.

Literary glory never seemed to D'Annunzio a prey quite worthy of his talons; and that is the secret of his conduct after the war; even before the war, although he was one of the most famous Europeans, he always envied men of action; but, unfortunately, to act meant, to him, not to act for an ideal—as it did to a Mazzini and a Garibaldi. D'Annunzio was a pathological left-over from the Renaissance, lost in the wave of democracy which swept over Europe from 1890 to 1920. The psychological confusion of the after-war must have seemed to him his great opportunity. Moreover, in the Renaissance itself (his books prove it) he never lifted his eyes to a Michelangelo, nor even to a Machiavelli; his man was Caesar Borgia, with his ferocious individualism.

When in 1919, D'Annunzio seized Fiume, what drove him on was not the idea of preserving the Italian character of the unfortunate Adriatic city (whose occupation by the French immediately after the armistice constitutes the greatest psychological blunder France has been guilty of in her dealings with Italy); what he thought of, and immediately, was a coup aimed at the whole of Italy; for him, Fiume was to be merely a springboard.

D'Annunzio was too intelligent and too subtle to believe in this adulterated wine of the heritage of Rome. But he took advantage of all these springs of action, because he felt that they were more within the imaginative grasp of the *petite bourgeoisie*, embittered by the after-war, and it was from this class that he recruited his volunteers. It was he who, at Fiume, invented that "Roman salute," which has now become also the "German salute," and which he, overlooking its implications, copied from some statue or fresco, forgetting that, in Rome, the *cives* greeted each other by shaking hands, and that only slaves made the sign which has been adopted by the subjects of Mussolini and Hitler.

It was D'Annunzio who invented those dialogues with the crowd, which fascism later on found so useful at the *Piazza di Venezia* at Rome.

"To whom shall Fiume belong?" D'Annunzio called down from the capitol balcony.

And the mob of volunteers who had invaded Fiume thundered from below:

"To us!"

And the poet-dictator:

"And Italy?"

And the mob, once more:

"A noi!" (To us!)

This "to us" gave the key to the real love of D'Annunzio for the fatherland, a love of possession, not a love of devotion and sacrifice.

The fascist conquest of Italy, which came three years later, was nothing, after all, but a gigantic repetition of the mad and romantic enterprise of Fiume—the same following up of D'Annunzio's brilliant pioneering.

### Spain under Franco

The following account of Nationalist Spain is reproduced here from *The Living Age*.

In a comparatively short time a totalitarian structure of surprising completeness has been evolved. The distinctions between Legislature and Executive, between Government and Party, and between military and civilian have been blurred.

Nationalist Spain is a dictatorship. General Franco, the dictator, is head of the State, head of the Government, head of the only political party and Commander-in-Chief of the land, air and sea forces. He is responsible for the conduct of policy, administration and war. This accumulation of powers in his hands insures that the relations between Government, Party and armed forces shall be harmonious and that no troublesome problems shall be allowed to arise until the war has been won. The Generalissimo is the corner-stone of the new State.

Since February, General Franco has presided over a Cabinet on the European pattern, consisting of eleven Ministers, each of whom is responsible for a State Department. The Junta Tecnica, the pioneer body of law-givers that laid the foundations of the State, has gone forever. The vast sum of its empirical legislation is at the disposal of the new Ministry; and it is to be expected that any further changes will take place without affecting the basic structure of government as it exists today. The new Cabinet was formed after careful consideration of the varied elements that have given their support to the Nationalist movement.

The Cabinet follows its course without any direct consultation of the people. There is only one channel for the expression of public opinion, and that lies through the *Falanga Espanola Tradicionalista*. The F.E.T. was formed nearly a year ago by the fusion of the Falange and the Requetes, the Fascists and Traditionalists of pre-war days.

Any body of opinion which lies outside the F.E.T. has no means of public expression. There is little possibility of disagreement between the Government and the F.E.T., since the same men are at the head of both. The supreme authority in the Party is the National Council. General Franco is its President, Senor Cuesta its General Secretary. The Council meets to pronounce on the fundamental bases of the movement and on any question submitted to it by the head of the State. It has no power for effective opposition, because the fifty Councillors are appointed by General Franco and can be removed by him at will.

### Modern German Art

The following review of Modern German Art appears in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*.

For centuries Munich under the care of the Wittelsbachs was a home for artists of all kinds and from all countries. Its renown as an artistic world-centre was founded by the astute and highly gifted King of Bavaria, Ludwig I, who developed his capital into the "Athens on the Isar" during his reign, 1825-48. He filled the city with art museums and buildings of high architectural merit, and gave every encouragement to artists to reside and work there. The results exceeded all expectations, and for nearly a century Munich stood at the summit of its artistic glory. An eminent band of artists, including noted painters and sculptors, collected here. Among them were Lenbach, Kaulbach, Leibl, von Poloty, Ramberg and Diez—to mention a few. Each had his school, his followers and his pupils. *Colorismus* and *Naturalismus* were terms for friendly argument and discussion, not only among the artists themselves but by the whole popula-

tion, which gradually developed artistic tastes and knowledge to a remarkable degree. Joyous picnics in the surrounding mountains, river parties on the rafts of timber being floated down the river in summer, and in winter the highly artistic carnival balls—arranged and decorated by leading artists and always patronized by the Royal Family without the slightest formality—these were harmless recreations in which they indulged. Their influence gradually percolated throughout the entire population, and instead of this artistic community being influenced by its surroundings, it transmitted to the city that peculiar, indefinable atmosphere which was its great charm. At the annual Salon held at the "Glass Palace," the leading artists of Europe exhibited—among them, Rousseau, Dupre, Daubigny, Millet, Corot, Stevens and Courbet.

Then came the War followed by revolution. The artistic edifice, so carefully constructed and jealously guarded by the dynasty, crumbled as the latter disappeared from the scene. Years of degeneration followed, but a chosen few still remained and the atmosphere still slumbered amongst the old-fashioned "Burghers," who had little sympathy with the new ideas and cults. The political upheaval followed, sternly combating all traditions, discounting all individuality and emphasising new principles in its laudable but too violent procedure to rid Art of all the evil influences and excrescences which had established themselves during this era of depression. The little good remaining perished with the bad or hid itself as far away as possible from the turmoil. Having completed the cure, the new Government began the reconstruction of the country's art edifice, applying the same methods which it had adapted in other directions. A large and imposing building—"The House of German Art"—was erected, in which the first exhibition was opened last year. Simplicity and lack of inspiration and initiative ruled throughout. It was obvious that the exhibitors were either wanting in enterprise or had failed to grasp what was expected of them. The tone was throughout sombre, even depressing, and the remaining nucleus of well-known and influential artists held rigidly aloof. It was clearly demonstrated that the very rigid precepts and attempts to formulate artistic production by hard and fast rules were not likely to be a success and that a considerable relaxation was urgently necessary. This has taken place to some extent in this year's Exhibition, marking a considerable improvement on the last. Several artists of note have again submitted their works; here and there bright colours and careful execution show that the more venturesome spirits have emerged from their retirement, and that the original plans for education have been considerably altered. The Art Pageant, also a yearly event costing several million marks, has been instituted with the intention of re-awakening amongst the Munich populace their love for all things artistic, and of advertising the city as the centre of Art in Germany. But whilst admitting that it was both beautiful and effective as propaganda, it was more generally regarded as an imposing and interesting spectacle than as a return of those more simple processions of other days which relied entirely on their artistic merit to appeal. These two years of experiment and attempts to revive the old traditions or to create a new school of art conforming to the principles upon which the Government is based, would appear to indicate that the initial steps are not likely to produce the desired results.



# JAGADISH CHANDRA BOSE AND HIS INSTITUTE

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

WHEN by some fortunate chance I came into an intimate contact with Sir Jagadish he was in the prime of his youth and I was very nearly of his age. At that moment his mind seemed entranced with a vision of the living creatures' fundamental kinship with the world of the unconscious. He was busy in employing his marvellous inventiveness in coaxing mute Nature to yield her hidden language. The response which he received through skilful questionings revealed to him glimpses of the mystery of an existence that concealed its meaning underneath a contradiction of its appearance. I had the rare privilege of sharing the daily delight of his constant surprises. I believe, poets inherit the primeval age in their temperament when things in their infant simplicity revealed a common feature. Somehow these lovers of *Maya* feel the joy of their being spread all over the creation which makes them indulge in seeking the analogy of the living in things that appear lifeless. Such an attitude of mind may not in all cases be based upon any definite belief, animistic or pantheistic, it may be merely a makebelieve, as we notice in children's play which owes its origin to the lurking tendency in our sub-conscious mind to ascribe life-energy to all activities in the natural world. I was made familiar from my boyhood with the Upanishad which in its primitive intuition proclaims that whatever there is in this world vibrates with life, the life that is one in the infinite.

This might have been the reason of the eager enthusiasm with which I expected that the idea of the boundless community of life in the world was on the verge of a final sanction from the logic of scientific verification. Being allowed to follow the Master's footsteps in the privacy of his pursuit, even though as a mere picker of his casual hints, I had my daily feast of wonders. At this early stage of his adventure when obstacles were powerfully numerous and jealousy largely predominated over appreciation, friendly companionship and sympathy must have had some needful value for him even from one who to maintain intellectual communion with him lacked special competency. Yet I can proudly claim to have helped him in some of his immediate needs and occasional

hours of despondency in those days of an inadequate recognition and feeble support that he received from the public.

In the background of that distant memory of mine I find not the slightest gleam of a vision of the enormous success that could before long combine scientific renown with a vast material means adequate enough to build this Institute, one of the very few richly endowed mediums in India for bestowing the benediction of science upon his countrymen. In fact, it makes me laugh at myself today to read in some of my old letters my effort to encourage him with the likelihood of filling the gaps in his funds when my own resources were precariously limited to persuading friends who were foolish enough to have faith in me. Still it is comically sweet to think of the proud magnificence in my assurance fitfully accompanied by contribution absurdly poor compared to the ceaseless flow of tribute that later on he could attract by his own magnetic personality and also by the general confidence he widely aroused in his genius. But I repeat again, it was sweet to have dreamed impracticable dreams and to have done however little it was possible, as it proves a courage of joy in the faith in greatness which itself is a bounteous gift to one's own mind.

However, ill equipped as I was by the deficiency in my training and by the poet's idiosyncrasy to be a fit companion to a man of science at a luminous period of his self-revelation, I was still accepted as his close friend, and possibly because of the contrariety in our natural vocations, I was able to offer some stimulation to his urge of fulfilment. Not having the necessary amount of vanity in my constitution, it had been the subject of constant wonder in my mind.

Since then time passed quickly, maturing the fruits of our expectation. During this period of his fast growing triumph I was modest enough to feel less and less the urgency of my comradeship in his journey towards the goal, which was no longer arduous or beset with uncertainty. And yet I can rightfully claim the credit for strengthening in some measure his trust in his own destiny by adding to it my own unwavering faith, at that painfully hesitant moment of fortune during the dubious



dawn of his career when even persons of meagre resources might have some important use.

Victory is the inalienable claim of all genuine power having the might of attraction that naturally exploits all kindred elements on its path and moulds them into an image of glory. And such an image is this Institute, which represents the Master's lifelong endeavour taking a permanent shape in the form of a centre for the inspiration of similar endeavours.

However, the early association of mine with the Master's first great challenge of genius to his fate whose path at that time did not run smooth, belongs for me to a remote period of a history in which I feel myself hazily indistinct. And this made me seriously waver to accept the invitation for taking an honoured seat at a ceremonial meeting in this institution. The presumptuousness of youth made me absurdly proud to imagine that my companionship was growing into an organic part in the history that was being evolved before my eyes and in that belief I did try to hearten the hero, which was a part of my vanity. But foolish youth does not last for ever and I have had time to come to realise my limitation. Anyhow it is quite obvious that I am a mere poet carrying

on my *sadhana* in the temple of language, the most capricious deity, who is apt to ignore her responsibility to logic, often losing herself in the nebulous region of fantasy. Our oriental custom is to bring proper gifts to sacred shrines, but my gift of words for this occasion cannot but be out of place among the records of memorable proceedings of a learned society.

Fortunately there are some few men among us who can claim fellowship with the aristocracy in the realm of science, and can be expected to make splendid this ceremony with the wealth of their thoughts. I can only bless this institution from that obscure distance where the multitude of the uncared-for generations of this country have helplessly drifted to the pitiless toil of primitive land-tilling. I offer my salutation to the illustrious founder of this Institute, humbly sitting by those who are deprived of a sufficiency of that knowledge which only can save them from the desolating menace of scientific devilry and from the continual drainage of the resources of life, and I appeal to this Institute to bring our call to Science herself to rescue the world from the clutches of the marauders who betray her noble mission into an unmitigated savagery.

## WORLD AFFAIRS

THE PASSING away of Kemal Ataturk is a tragic event of first magnitude to all people in the East. Turkey had just but celebrated the fifteenth anniversary of the Republic on the 1st of November last and its creator had been spared, it appeared, only to witness the celebration. The shadow of death was already on him, and on the 10th of November he departed. The whole of the East mourns his death and recalls with pride and gratitude his achievements. Seldom it is given to a man to lead a country to revolt and to lead it from rebellion to revolution. Still more seldom does it fall to a man to lead the country on from that revolution to reconstruction. And Kemal must have been a darling of fortune to be marked for the two great roles. But he must have been a genius as well to fulfil this great destiny with such daring and success. A King like Amanullah lost his kingdom in attempting to follow only a fraction of the Gazi's example;

and there is real truth in the words of the Turkish youths in mourning who declare the dead to be the 'most loved ruler of all time.' For, he was a ruler—a ruler of men in spite of his most sincere republicanism and endeavours to steer Turkey clear of the dictatorship, he himself embodied, into the safer and calmer waters of democracy and parliamentarism. To force out the puppet Ottoman Sultans from the Turkish throne, to abolish the Khilafate to substitute a code of civil law, on the model of Code Napoleon, for the sacred law of Islam, to suppress the religious orders and disestablish the church, to prohibit by law polygamy, to emancipate women from the harem, to forbid the wearing of the *fez* and turban, to set up a drastic system of taxation, to compel to read the Islamic prayer, including the call to prayer to the mosque, in Turkish, to banish the Arab words from Turkish language and from the Turkish names so that Ghazi Mustafa Kemal

becomes Kemal Ataturk, Ismet Pasha, his collaborator and now successor, becomes Ismet Inönü, and lastly, to introduce the Roman alphabet for the Arabic script in the Turkish language—these required the driving power of a masterful man, a Dictator in the truest sense, and Kemal had to accept the responsibilities thereof. This meant a suppression of inelastic forces, at times by a method of terror which the soldier statesman would not shrink from, as in July 1925, when a conspiracy against his life was unearthed, or, a little later, when the Kurds were put down, or in 1930 when an agitation for the revival of the Khilafate was smashed by the arrest of about a thousand religious leaders. His iron hand wiped out all trace of obscurantism; but the people looked so much to the hand to guide them and drive them, that an Opposition which he attempted to create, would not actually take shape and Turkey was ruled by one-party with the President of the Republic as the dictator. The trial of a dictatorship arrives when death removes the strong man from the arena, and that trial the departed great is standing now, as his successor Ismet Inönü, who fought by his side in the Anatolian days, acted as the leader of the Turkish Delegation through the fateful days of the Lausanne treaty, and later parted company with his chief on political grounds, is now called on to occupy the Presidential seat at Ankara. His will be a great mission to carry on—a great tradition to continue. For, as has been aptly pointed out by an Indian Muslim, the character of a people was the object of Ataturk's experiment. He discarded things and ideas which had gone to make up the very tone and temper of the Turkish people. And this revolutionary experiment has been now handed over to his successor.

#### BALKAN STATES

It is a critical period in the life of Turkey and other peoples of the Near East and Balkan Europe Nations are passing through times which will test them hard and break them cruelly if they are found wanting. "The one thing I want to emphasize is," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on his arrival in Bombay on November 17, "that the world today is witnessing a revolutionary change. The map of the world is being written and rewritten." In this remaking of the maps the Mediterranean world and the Balkan and Danubian states are vitally interested. The position of Turkey is not for the moment jeopardised. Kemal by a wise method of friendliness with neighbours, Russia,

France and Italy in particular in the early days, and latter with Britain as well, kept his country out of the European tangle. Ably the Turk secured for it its right of fortifications at the Dardanelles, and control the Bosphorous gate of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. All this was gained by peaceful negotiations a year back, and set the only instance of its kind in the method of revision of peace treaties. He again was instrumental in bringing back Bulgaria into the friendly orbit of the Balkan peoples some months ago and thus ending a chapter of silent hostility that the last war left as a legacy. Alive again to the danger that threatened nations, Turkey inaugurated a Ten-Year Plan of economic reconstruction which is designed to place the rather backward Anatolian land in the map of the modern world. While in this undertaking Kemal had to look for loans from Britain—of course the foreign loan would not any more mean foreign interference in the affairs of the state,—a trade agreement with Germany on barter principle was entered—and no one was estranged. This was particularly a delicate task in view of the Italian ambitions in the Mediterranean, in the Dodacanese islands particularly, and the German and British economic advance in the Balkan states as also because of the British anxiety in the Eastern Mediterranean and in Palestine.

A wise foresight has drawn the Balkan peoples nearer, and Turkey and Greece are friends and the Balkan states are trying generally to move together. "The little states are scurrying to put themselves on the right side of Germany," concludes 'Spotlight' in a survey of their position after Munich in the November issue of the *World Review*. "They have been forced to." Hungary, for example, tried to suppress National Socialism, and even as the Regent Admiral Horthy paid a visit to the home of Nazi doctrine on the eve of the great crisis, Bela de Imredy, the Premier (the Government is about to fall?) co-operated with others in welcoming Bulgaria to the Little Entente fold and repeating the Entente assurances to Czechoslovakia. Yet there was the claim again put forward for the return of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia to Hungary. The bargain was delayed and partially gained this month (November) through of course the friendly help of the Italian and German dictators, and as Kassa and the other towns are entered by the Hungarians the Regent gratefully thanked the benefactors for this. Of course Hungary has not been allowed to gain all, so as to effect a.

junction with Poland that the two desired. It would bar Berlin's road, now newly opened, through Prague to the East, and Hitler cannot allow Hungary to be posted there.

In Yugoslavia, it is known, the people were in sympathy with the Czecho-Slovaks; but the Prince Regent Paul and the Prime Minister Dr. Milan Stoyadinovitch, a democrat who suppressed all opposition criticism in the press, successfully piloted his country through all troubles by the simple device of cultivating the friendliness of the dictators who were set on destroying democracies. The Little Entente was continued, Hungarian and Bulgarian jealousies were counteracted when the neighbour on the other side, Italy, in the anxious days of the Abyssinian sanctions, was set on wooing the Yugoslav to friendliness. 'Italy had to call off her hounds in Bulgaria and Hungary' at that time, and Yugoslavia's stock went up in the Balkan circle and Little Entente. As the Nazi triumph began, Stoyadinovitch as well as Prince Paul knew the game that was to be played though their people bitterly disliked this. The policy has, however, been vindicated now and the Premier goes to the poll as a democrat so strong that he can proudly and triumphantly declare that he was not going to yield an inch of Yugoslavia's territory to any power. The best security for a democrat, Stoyadinovitch proves, today is not to put your trust in democracies. That is his policy too. "It is based on the conviction, born at the time of the Rhineland seizure, that France and England, at the decisive moment, would retreat before Germany, that small states would be left in the lurch, as was Abyssinia. Therefore, make friends with Germany and Italy, while keeping the line open to Paris and London."

And now that the London-Paris line may prove only another extension of the Rome-Berlin 'axis', naturally the Balkan and Danubian powers are anxious to know if their independent growth and existence can be guaranteed by any powers in Europe. For, the Nazi hegemony in trade and commerce is bound to be transformed and consolidated into a political 'sphere of influence' as France and Britain go more and more pro-Fascist. King Boris of Bulgaria went back to Sofia after he had visited France and Britain before the crisis, Germany, in the midst of it, and Yugoslavia later. He is keeping his counsels to himself. Carol of Rumania, a King and Dictator himself, could not suffer long the pro-Nazi, pro-Fascist and anti-Jewish policy of Goga; and he even is said to have promised passage to Soviet in case of a Nazi

attack on Czecho-Slovakia. Carol, after Munich, is now in Britain and France anxious to gain support for Rumanian industry and commerce, 'capable of forming a counterbalance against the excessive German ambitions for economic advance' as *Le Petit Parisien* puts it. Rumanian oil and Ukrainian corn are, it is known, the two necessities for the Great Germany of Hitler, and as practically Czechoslovakia is liquidated and the Magyars fall in a line with Germany, Rumania and Ukraina know they are open to the danger. Carol would be at Berlin too before his return. Inevitably, the little states of south-eastern Europe are veering away from France, which had practically been their centre of diplomatic gravity in the post-war period of European history. Poland, the former pivot of French diplomacy, was the first to leave and act most unscrupulously with all—the Baltic States, France, Czecho-Slovakia, and now again with Germany in that they it is reviving its Soviet friendship. They feel that domination of Berlin would mean a German *Mitteleuropa*—a virtual end of their independent role; and unless they gather round Soviet Russia in a democratic front they must look to Britain and France, which too are likely to disappoint them at the final hour. In fact, they will disappoint even now. For, they are already anxious to accommodate themselves to the Nazi ambitions.

#### FRANCE AFTER MUNICH

M. Daladier and the Radicals in France are definitely moving to the right, and the Socialists will only refuse to fall in with them against the Communists. The *Front Populaire* is shrunken into a shadow if it is still alive. M. Daladier and M. Reynaud's policy is centred on rearmament and finance. The French Naval Commission proposes to build up a navy equal to that of any other Continental European power. (Apparently Italy is meant). But this is an ambitious project. For, already France realises the necessity of being put on a better footing as regards the air-arm of her defences. But all this requires a reorganisation of finance over which for the last few years many French ministers have made shipwreck of their political ambition and career. This has been put down by the press to the *Front Populaire's* 'extravagant' social programme. But now that the *Front* is weakened and, reaction is in saddle, a recovery drive is being attempted by M. Reynaud, the French Minister. Aided by a plenary power for the purpose, limited to

November 30, not less than 33 decrees were announced by the Cabinet recently.

One of them provides for the revaluation of the gold stock of the Bank of France at the rate of 170 francs to the pound. Gold at present is valued at about 110 francs to the pound.

Another decree provides for the credit of £570,000 in aid of French agriculture by appropriation to special accounts of a hundred million francs repayable in ten years to be devoted to agriculture at home and in the colonies by way of bonuses, subsidies or loans.

The decree stipulates that agricultural production should be rationalized by agreements to be reached between parties concerned.

The revaluation of the Bank of France's gold reserve at 170 francs will yield a profit of about £170,000,000.

The Government contemplate a three-year-plan of financial and economic recovery.

Decrees provide that the principle of a forty-hour week shall be retained but for a period of three years a 5½ day week shall be worked and each employer is entitled to employ workers up to a 54 hour week while further extensions of hours will be subject to the approval of the Ministry of Labour.

#### INCREASED WAGES

Increased wages will be paid for extra hours and a special ten per cent tax will be imposed on extra profits to the employers.

Workers, refusing to work extra hours in national defence works will be dismissed immediately and will be debarred for six months from receiving unemployment pay.

Other decrees impose a special emergency national contribution of two per cent on all professional incomes and an increase by an unstated amount in the rates of income-tax and taxes on securities and stamp duties. The wages tax is also raised from 7.56 to 8 per cent.

The French National Lottery has been abolished as from January 1, 1940.

Inland letter postal rates have been raised from 65 to 90 centimes and telephone calls from 65 to 85 centimes.

Certain indirect taxes including those on coffee, petrol, sugar, tobacco and wine are to be readjusted.

Total taxes to be paid by any tax-payer will in no case exceed 40 per cent of his income.

A more strict watch is to be kept on foreigners in France. Restrictions are to be imposed on the acquisition of French nationality and the watch on the frontiers is to be tightened.

Criticism from the Socialist side and Trade Unionist quarters were mainly directed against the virtual giving up of the 40 hours week. It was one of their hard earned gains in social legislation, and 26,000 of the Engineering workers have gone on a strike at Valenciennes (Which threatens to develop into a one day national strike; requiring semi-military requisitions against it—a foretaste of French Fascism possibly?). But longer working hours may make it easier for M. Daladier to defend the franc, and 'Back to Work' is the formula of his recovery plan. France must work, work more and more, increase industrial production, if the budget is

to be balanced (this would call for an economy of 2,000 to 3,000 million francs), monetary stability attained and re-armament for security proceeded with. Meanwhile, in obedience to the spirit of Munich, Spanish Republicans are no longer objects of sympathy, they are abandoned to 'non-intervention'. And though the Saarbrücken speech of the Fuehrer showed no recognition of France's 'change of front', patiently the country waits behind Britain for an hour when the great dictators will be pleased to admit her into a Four Power Agreement as foreshadowed in the Munich settlement. Much expectation is centred on Mr. Chamberlain's visit to be followed by that of Herr von Ribbentrop.

#### BRITISH PACTS

The chances for a Four Power pact are, however, at the moment not very bright. The Anglo-Italian agreement has, after the delay of months, come into effect—much to the relief of Mr. Chamberlain. This of course means that the question of Italian volunteers in Spain is not to be raised. For, while there has been withdrawal of some by Il Duce, fresh volunteers have been poured in. Evidently, withdrawal in the dictatorial dictionary means nothing more than replacement, just as non-intervention means to keep out others from intervention. While, therefore, British approach to Fascism is appreciated by Mussolini, Hitler and his party are not yet prepared to accept their bona fide. They consider that Mr. Churchill's broadcast against dictators must cease. If the British people resent this as intrusion into the internal affairs of their state, Mr. Chamberlain must see how best he can disabuse or disillusion their mind of all these conceptions when Nazism is out to rid Europe—and necessarily Britain too—of those degenerating doctrines of democracy or Bolshevism.

The way to Anglo-German understanding is further blocked if after the Munich entente Britain still busies herself with the armament programme that, according to the Nazi argument, is the right and monopoly of the Germans who alone know their use and know the value of war as a great civilizing process. Great Britain has further forfeited the goodwill of Germany by Mr. Malcolm MacDonald's authorised assurance that the colonies were not to be handed over. "We do not beg but we demand," reminded the Nazis. And when Hitler demands Chamberlain cannot refuse.

## ANGLO-GERMAN TRADE PACT

Objection from Germany originated with the Anglo-American Trade Agreement. Negotiations for it went on for a long time and it has been hailed as a great success of diplomacy and as a new opening for co-operation, long desired for, between the two English-speaking people.

Not only does it greatly strengthen the commercial ties between the contracting parties but in a lesser degree it effects economic arrangements throughout the Empire.

The agreement is based on the most favoured nation treatment and will run for three years from January 1, 1939 after which it will be subject to 6 months' notice. Stripped of diplomatic terminology the agreement shows that the United States is Britain's largest foreign customer, British exports to America reaching £40,000,000 in 1936, while in the reverse direction British imports were larger than from any other country. Greater part of reductions range between 30 to 40 per cent. Reductions have been secured covering a bulk of the British textiles (cotton, wool and linen). The general level of reductions in the United States manufactured goods will be from 20 to 15 per cent.

While British imports from the United States consists mainly of raw materials, Britain's exports are mainly manufactured goods headed by textiles exceeding £10 millions in value and followed by whisky of which 5 millions pounds worth is filtered in the United States from the British Isles. The remainder consists of a large variety of products of which the chief is machinery worth £900,000, £17,000,000 worth out of the £40,000,000 exports to America are duty free. This will be stabilized on 9½ millions worth, while on dutiable goods—now 23 millions—reductions will be granted on 11 million and the existing duty stabilized on six million. Whisky figures among the most important stabilized existing duties.

## TARIFF CONCESSIONS

The United States tariff concessions number 600.

Contrary to general anticipation there will be no reduction in the British duty on motor cars but Britain will not increase the duty on cars of over 25 horsepower. The other British concessions provide that the present preference of about two shillings per lb. on empire tobacco will not be increased. Britain will maintain the existing free entry of raw cotton and maize. Wheat, certain kinds of fruit and soft wood figure among the United Kingdom concessions in regard to the reduction in duty. The general level of reductions in the United States manufactured goods will be from 20 to 15 per cent. Colonies will reap the same general benefits and assume the same general obligations as the United Kingdom. The existing duty—free entry of practically the whole colonial empire exports into the United States will continue. In this connection the British preference of motor cars by certain colonies, principally Malaya, will be reduced from 20 to 15 per cent. Provision has been made for the termination of the agreement, if the pound dollar rate of exchange radically alters and may be modified, should some other country obtain major benefit of any particular concession. Provision has also been made against dumping and export subsidies.

The reduction in British guaranteed preferences range up to 10 per cent and affect the United Kingdom trade to the extent of over two million sterling. The main items are chemicals, tinplate, iron, steel and manufactures.

There will be no reduction in the British duty on motor cars but Britain will not increase the duty of cars of over 25 h.p. The present preference of two shilling per lb. on empire tobacco will not be increased and Britain will maintain free entry of raw cotton and maize. Wheat, certain kinds of fruit and soft wood figure are among the United Kingdoms concessions in regard to reduction of duty. The colonies will reap the same general benefits and assume the general obligations as the United Kingdom.

The political rather than the economic aspects of the British-American trade pact are stressed in the New York papers. Pointing out that "the real significance" of the pact goes far beyond its probable trade benefits, *The New York Times* says that the treaty marks a closer union between the two most powerful democracies at a particularly decisive moment in the world's history. It increases the hope of more effective co-operation among all democracies in the defence of peace and order.

The paper urges world democracies to form a strong democratic union, while America's trade policy should be the establishment of a vast area of free trade thrown open to those nations, and only to those nations who are ready to show respect to international law and to the dignity of human life.

Such compliments are really now embarrassing to Mr. Chamberlain, nicknamed as he has been by some French journals—Mr. J'aimie-Berlin. He has covered so much of the path to Fascism in his dislike of Soviet company and possible accession of strength to the popular side as against the ruling classes that talk of co-operation among all democracies can no longer be to his taste as it is no longer to his advantage. On the contrary, it puts him in a bad light with his real allies, the Nazis and Fascists. They do not favour any trade relation between Britain and America, specially as the Nazis themselves are making headway in South America with their own programme which is likely to meet with resistance from the U. S. A.

## JEW-BAITING

British relation with Germany has been further retarded by the wave of indignation that has swept over all civilised country by the recent barbarous persecution of the Jews. A Jewish youth in Paris had foolishly thought of revenging his people by the murder of a German diplomat, Herr Von Rath of the German Embassy. This served as the signal for the most cowardly attack on the Jews throughout Germany and the Reich stepped in only to tighten the last screw when organised hooliganism had done its worst.

Dr. Goebbels, the Nazi Minister for Propaganda, declared that the outbreak was a spontaneous demonstration on the part of the German people. "I could not tell policemen

to shoot at Germans who committed the assaults because I inwardly sympathised with them," he told foreign press correspondents in Berlin. The German Government, he threatened, would reply to the shooting outrage in a "legal but hard way". The 'legal' form which Nazi ruthlessness against Jews in Germany takes is in the shape of an order upon the Jews in Germany to pay a thousand million marks as compensation. A law has been promulgated forbidding Jews to carry any kind of arms including even the most primitive weapons of defence, such as knuckle-dusters, steel-rods, rubber truncheons and pocket knives with fixed blades. This law applies to foreign Jews as well. All Jewish theatres, cinemas, newspapers and schools have been banned and Jews have been prohibited from entering Aryan places of entertainment and, Jewish children from Aryan schools. From the New Year Jews are not to be allowed to engage in retail, export and independent handicraft business and will not be permitted to hold any managerial post whatsoever. All damage "caused through the indigation of the people" in the recent riots is to be made good by Jewish business men. Compensation from Insurance Companies is to be confiscated.

This Aryanism sent a thrill of horror through the degenerate Aryans, the Anglo-Saxons of Britain and U.S.A. and Mr. Roosevelt has recalled his Ambassador from Berlin who is to be absent thus from Germany indefinitely. The Nazis replied by repeating the same method and recalling their Ambassador from Washington. The ghoulis pleasure of Goebbels is responded to by the British press with disgust and abhorrence, and, it is rumoured that Berlin may ask its London ambassador to return as well. Thus is being ruined through an unfortunate crime in Paris the fond dream of Mr.

Chamberlain of effecting the Four Power Agreement and Fascist appeasement. Of course, the British Premier will not be discouraged by this temporary set back. He will bind Britain to Fascism, only he will have to wait more and pay a higher price.

#### Jews AND PALESTINE

The Jews are really in a sad plight. Germany is bent on fleecing those who cannot escape out of that Nazi hell. The refugees by thousands have no place to go to; the dream of a National Home for the Jews is all but shattered. It never took note of the fact that the country is the Arab's now; and that they mean to hold that to the last. The Report of the Woodhead Commission and the Government resolution on it were available this month. At last it is admitted that "partition" is dead. The new proposal is for a Round Table Conference in London in which the Jews and Arabs are to be invited to evolve a scheme. This is foredoomed to failure as Husseini, the rebel Grand Mufti, is barred from attending it. Nor is it welcome to the Arab world, or the Islamic world, who has come to take an interest in the fate of their fellow-brothers in Palestine. On the other hand, Imperialism cannot forget the oil-line that passes through Haifa, the air line to the East across which the land lies, the Suez canal almost at the door of which Palestine can keep watch and the big trade and financial interests that have developed in Palestine, during these years of Mandate.

So the Wandering Jew waits without knowing where to wander to—to British Guiana, Tanganyika, Uganda or Kenya?

G. H.

November 22, 1938

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#### ERRATUM

*The Modern Review* for December, 1938 (current issue), page 675, col. 2, last line

*For June 28, 1930 read June 28, 1938*



## INDIANS ABROAD

### INDIANS IN BURMA

Replying to a question Sir Grijja Shankar Bajpai said in the Indian Assembly on November 17, "The Government have no information regarding the condition of Indian refugees who have come back to India from Burma. The number of Indians still left in Burma must be over a million. With the return of conditions to normal, the personal, commercial and agricultural interests of the Indians will be safe as they used to be before the recent riots"

A considerable volume of opinion on the Eastern coast is highly exercised over what has happened in Burma. Most of the sufferers from the anti-Indian riots come from the poorer section; and there is a feeling abroad everywhere that their cause, their life and property, has not received adequate consideration from the Burma Government or their servants. Shiploads of Indians returned during the last two months and a pathetic despair has overwhelmed them. Yet one has to remember that only yesterday Burma was one with us, a partner in the Indian Empire.

The Burma riots call for a bit of self-examination on the part of the Indian emigrants too. Did we do our duty by the Burmans? We all leave our shores for bread; but the shore that offers us this primary need of life—and offers bountifully to some—has certainly first claim on our gratitude and service. A regrettable spirit of exploitation, however, creeps in sometimes, and then the whole atmosphere is poisoned as it has been in the case of Burma.

### CEYLON FRANCHISE

Ceylon, our another neighbour, figured in another question in the Assembly on the same day. Indian rural labourers were sought to be shut out from the right of representation. This led to protests, and, a Bill to amend the Ceylon Village Communities Ordinance proposes now, to circumvent the difficulties, to disenfranchise all estate labourers, Indians and Sinhalese. This is not discrimination, but worse; it is negation of all principles of responsible government. The Government of India, Sir G. S. Bajpai informed the Assembly, have addressed His Majesty's Government on the subject of the amended ordinance which has been reserved for His Majesty's assent.

### INDIAN LABOUR IN CEYLON

The Annual Report for 1937 of the Agent of the Government of India in Ceylon, published

October 13, gives a resume of the events in regard to the Indian labour and its questions in Ceylon. It is an excellent document, as summed up by the *United Press*, and, extracts from it are presented here as offering best account of the position:

#### THE NEED FOR INDIAN LABOUR

The year 1937 was one of general economic improvement, both in the planting industries and in the general trade of the island.

On a request being made by the Ceylon Government to the Government of India for immigration labour the latter held that they would not feel justified in permitting the reopening of recruitment to Ceylon unless they received satisfactory assurances in respect of two outstanding questions, namely, (1) the restoration of wages in mid and low country estates to the levels which prevailed between May, 1931, and February, 1932, and (2) the grant of franchise for village committee to Indian estate labourer settled in Ceylon.

No settlement has yet been reached and no licences are being issued to recruit labour from India to Ceylon estates.

The question of the restoration of the cut in wages, it was stated, would be referred to the Regional Wages Boards for determination; and at the end of the year the necessary information was being collected to be placed before the Wages Boards.

#### VILLAGE COMMUNITIES ORDINANCE

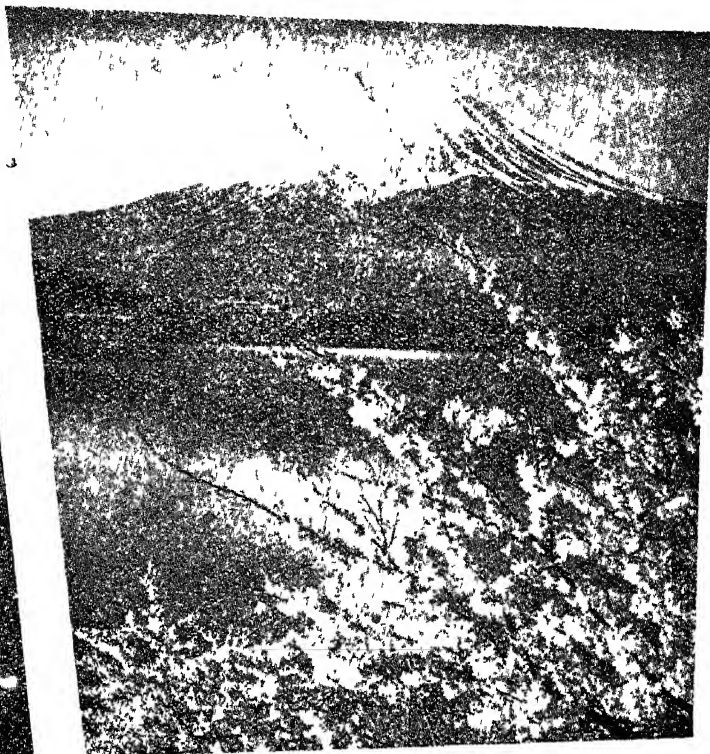
The draft of the Village Communities Amendment Ordinance was published in March 1937. The Village Communities Ordinance of 1924 excluded from its operation Europeans and Burghers as well as Indian estate labourers who were deemed to be "excepted persons," the draft Amendment Bill, one of the objects of which was to extend the franchise to all adults of both sexes extended the franchise to Europeans and Burghers, but maintained the exclusion of the Indian estate labourers on the ground that the Indian estate labourers derive little benefit from the activities of village committees.

The Indian community was unanimous in demanding that the Indian estate labourers who had a permanent and abiding interest in Ceylon should be granted the village committee vote in common with the adults of other communities in the Island. An amendment to extend the franchise to all "excepted persons" who own not less than 5 acres of land in a village area on which land tax is payable was accepted in the State Council. This did not satisfy the Indian claims because the practical effect of the proposals would be to enfranchise the great majority of Europeans and Burghers, and leave almost the entire Indian estate labour population without votes, because few Indian estate labourers, except perhaps a handful of Kanganies, possess 5 acres of land in Ceylon.

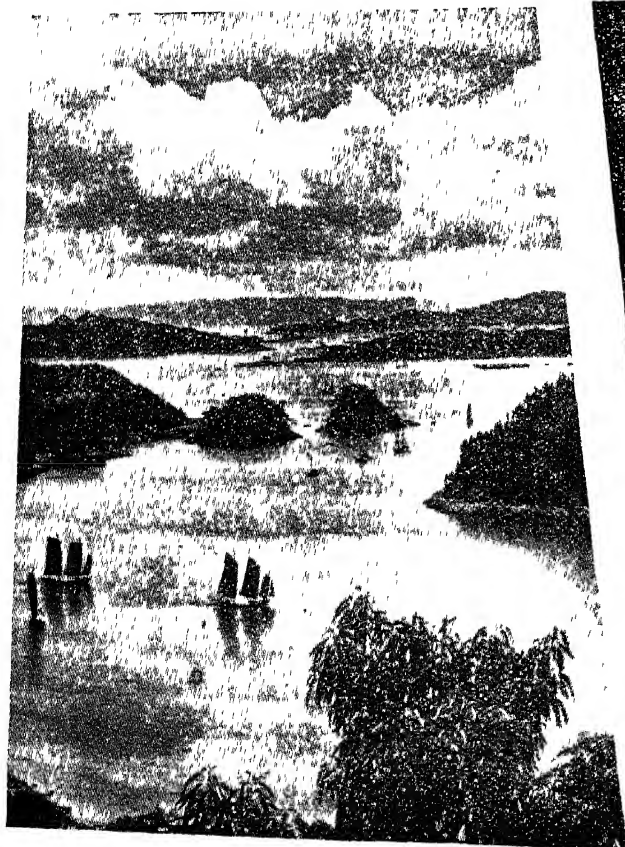
The Bill was passed by the State Council by a majority on the 10th December 1937 but has been reserved by His Excellency the Governor of Ceylon for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure.

#### THREATENING OF EVICTION

A matter which exercised the minds of the Indian public in the Ceylon to some extent during the year was the case of certain Indian residents and lessees of the "Portwood Vegetable Gardens," Kandapola, who were served with notices to quit the plots of lands, cultivated by them for a number of years. Representations were



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made to the Minister for Agriculture and the matter is still under consideration. The notices expired on the 31st December 1937, but no action to enforce them has been taken.

#### THEIR TOTAL NUMBER

During the year there were 51,427 arrivals and 39,747 departures (besides 10,322 repatriates) of Indian labourers. The total number of Indian estate labourers at the end of 1937 was 677,897 (211,631 men, 204,364 women and 261,902 children).

#### INDEBTEDNESS PROBLEM

Indebtedness is perhaps the most perplexing problem connected with the life of the Indian labourers in Ceylon.

In almost all cases the Kangany on the boutique-keeper is the creditor and most debts are due to the purchases necessities or perhaps minor luxuries in anticipation of wages.

#### THE WAY OUT

The only way to put an end to this pernicious system, the Agent suggests, is for the Superintendent of the estate to discourage all the attempts by the Kangany to get the labourer under a financial obligation to him and for the employers to discourage the Kanganies from making advances to labourers.

A hopeful sign is that there was during the year a small increase in the number of co-operative stores and co-operative thrift societies on estates.

As many as 1,371 cases were dealt with the Agency on representations made by labourers—a fact which shows the readiness of the labourers to avail themselves of the assistance rendered by the Agency. In all cases of irregularity in the working of the Labour Ordinance, protests by the Agency set matters right, and there was no instance in which any irregularity once pointed out recurred on the same estate.

#### IN MALAYA

An official delegation from Malaya is soon to visit Delhi to arrive at a settlement of the question of the Indian emigration: "It has been agreed between the two Governments that a delegation from Malaya should visit India during this cold weather," said Sir G. S. Bajpai in reply to Mr. S. Satyamurthi on the 17th November. "The Government of India are already in touch with the Madras Government."

**Question:** Will the Government of India send for their Agent from Malaya at the time the delegation is received and will they consult the Emigration Committee of this house?

**Answer:** That is the intention.

Replying to other questions, Sir G. S. Bajpai said that the Government of India considered that the consultation envisaged with the Government of Madras and the Standing Emigration Committee of the Indian Legislature should suffice to bring into focus representative Indian opinion. They would, of course, be willing to examine views that may be communicated to them by other responsible quarters. The exact date of the delegation's arrival was under consideration.

The Central Indian Association of Malaya has addressed a memorandum to the Madras Government in which its minimum demands are outlined. The following, according to the *Statesman* (November, 14.) summary, include the important ones:

- (1) A high officer of the Government of Madras should be present at the forthcoming negotiations;
- (2) there should be controlled emigration from India;
- (3) purely economic principles should govern the future course of Indian emigration to Malaya;
- (4) "some form of a written agreement is essential to which both the Governments should be signatories. This agreement may usefully follow the lines of international labour treaties dealing with the recruitment etc. of workers."
- (5) "The principle of fixation of quotas should form an essential part of the agreement;"
- (6) "the principle of selection of emigrants to be recruited is to be recognized";
- (7) "the principle of having the entire emigration under the immediate control of the Madras Government subject to the directions of the Central Government needs sympathetic examination";
- (8) "broadly speaking, there should be a basic wage operating as a minimum throughout Malaya with a small sliding scale which will enable the labourers to share in the prosperity of the industry" concerned;
- (9) "the entire question of wages to be adjusted by an independent wages board and not by the Indian Immigration Committee which is over-weighted in favour of the employers";
- (10) "the ban on assisted immigration should not be lifted pending the conclusion of an agreement between the parties."

#### CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS

In addition to the above points of immediate labour interest, the Association suggests that in any settlement arrived at between the Governments of India and Malaya, assurances from the latter must be obtained on other questions affecting the Indian community in that Colony generally. Included in this category are educational facilities for Indian children; recognition of Malayan citizenship for those who have cut off connexions with India; recognition of the principle of nomination to legislative and public bodies of Indians proper but not Sinhalese and Jaffna Tamils as was the case in several recent instances to represent the Indian community; and the non-enforcement of the Banishment Enactment in the Malay States against British Indian subjects.

#### IN RHODESIA

As a tourist Mr. Roma Nath Das's name is well known in this side of India. Cycling through Rhodesia Mr. Das found himself in hopeless condition very often. Indian settlements are few and far between; writes Mr. Das in the Bengali Press, and, as he would knock at the door of the white settlers he would be sent to the pit—with the apology that he was taken to be Muslim, if he introduced himself as a Hindu, *vice versa*, "I am simply an Indian and, I don't care a damn for your religion" was his national reply. This only meant that "You are a communist." And, the doors were closed—any way Mr. Das was told that the position is worse in South Africa where he was proceeding.

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A Royal Commission inquiring into the question of immigration in Rhodesia as well as Nyasaland; and, Mr. C. F. Andrews' statement in the Press some months ago is worth recalling in this connection :

Among the questions, he says, which will be decided by the Royal Commission, two, affecting Indian interests vitally, will be (1) whether these three colonial areas shall be united together, in future and form one "Dominion," similar to that of South Africa, and (2) whether the Indians will be entirely excluded from these as immigrants ?

Rev. Andrews goes on to say, "at the present time there is already in existence a very severe restriction on Indian Immigration. Only a very few are allowed to enter. The total number of Indians in these large areas of Africa hardly comes to over three thousand five hundred persons in all. But while this restriction has been accepted in the past, and Indians in large numbers have never wished hitherto to enter these areas, we cannot be at all certain about the future. We must not on any account let our case go by default in the same way that it has already been abandoned in the colder region of South Africa.

The Europeans in these colonies are very few in number, as contrasted with the African population; and for the African's sake as well for India's sake we must protest against this vast portion of tropical and semi-tropical Africa being put under the sole dominion of the European. For if it once becomes a "dominion," a small number of Europeans will then have the power given them of prohibiting immigration and also of taking away all franchise rights from any who are not European."

#### IN KENYA

In Kenya the question of the White Highlands is there to the insult and injury of Indians. The proposal for a Jewish immigration arrangement was also examined and its danger to Indian interests explained in an earlier issue. An "Immigration Advisory Board" was announced to in October, and the *Kenya Daily Mail* points out the significance as well as the dangerous possibilities of the measure for Indians :

In our view it will be highly dangerous for the Indian community to have such a Board in existence without adequate and effective Indian representation thereon to protect and safeguard Indian interests. The appointment of this Board involves an issue of great importance to the Indian community and we would request the political and commercial organizations of the community such as Congress, Federated Chambers and Indian Elected Members Organisation to approach the Government with a view to seek information about their intention behind this move and secure adequate and effective representation on it. This must be done without delay as it appears to us that the Board is already in the process of formation.

#### TRANSCAAL BLACK LAW

The following summary of the evidence of the Agent-General for Africa, is recently available :

Mr. Rama Rau, Agent-General for India in the Union, pleaded before the Asiatic Land Laws Commission in Johannesburg, for the right of Indians to own

property in the Transvaal. The refusal of ownership rights tended to lead to slum conditions and the evil of rack-renting, he said.

He suggested that the Commission recommend that Asiatics be given the elementary right to own land, right held by any permanent, intelligent section of the population of the country.

In the Transvaal, trade was almost the sole occupation open to an Indian, and thus threatened with the loss of his trading licence, he was placed in a terrible dilemma.

The law affecting Indian rights—Law 3 of 1885—apart from prohibiting the acquisition of fixed property in general by Asiatics, empowered the Government to grant the right of ownership, should not have been granted. The Government in that respect had failed to carry out the intention of the law.

The refusal of ownership and rights tended to lead to slum conditions. No tenant would willingly spend money on the repair of another man's property, and that factor in turn rendered ameliorative social measures ineffective.

#### PURCHASES THROUGH WIVES

Speaking of marriages between Indians and Malaysians and Indians and Europeans, by which the Indian could acquire property through his wife, Mr. Rama Rau said the number of properties bought by Indians through Malay wives was very small.

Since 1932, out of 122,215 deeds of transfer of fixed property, only 188 were in the name of Malay persons, and while the total value of the property concerned was £104,223, the value of the property acquired by Malaysians was £98,143. Those figures included purchases by Malay men and wives of Malaysians.

It followed that the number of properties acquired by Indians through Malay wives was small.

If as had often been stated, Indians marriage Malay wives with the ulterior motive of purchasing fixed property, one would naturally expect to find a rapid increase in such marriages.

Since 1932 when the law regarding the acquisition of property by Asiatics was considerably tightened up, this was not the case. The tendency was for the number of these marriages to decrease, because the disproportion between Indian men and women in the Transvaal was gradually disappearing.

It had been clearly proved, Mr. Rama Rau concluded, that where property had been purchased in the past, whether legally or illegally, it had mainly been for occupation only, with a view to trading.—*Reuter*.

#### IN TANGANYIKA

Tanganyika has come to the fore as a result of the German claim for the restoration of the colonies. Indian settlers, who number 23,422 according to the 1931 census, were energetically protesting against this as that would virtually mean an end of their business there—exactly as it happened in Abyssinia. Mr. Macdonald's declaration this week that the return of the colonies was not being considered, would set at rest their doubts and anxieties—of course if any one can any more put any faith in any such declaration from Mr. Chamberlain's Government.

G. H.

November 19, 1938

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